Isaac Whood pinxit.

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First Edition

F-798

POLYMETIS:

OR,

An ENQUIRY concerning the

AGREEMENT

Between the WORKS of the

ROMAN POETS,

And the REMAINS of the

ANTIENT ARTISTS.

BEING

An ATTEMPT to illuſtrate them mutually from one another.

IN TEN BOOKS.

By the Rev^d. Mr. SPENCE.

Omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum; & quaſi cognatione quâdam inter ſe continentur. Cicero; pro Arch.

The Verſe and Sculpture bore an equal part;
And Art reflected images to Art.
Pope; of Poetry and Statuary.

——Each from each contract new ſtrength and light.
Id. of Poetry and Painting.

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PREFACE.

THERE is not any ſort of writing that I ſit down to with ſo much unwillingneſs, as that of Prefaces: and as I believe moſt people are not much fonder of reading them, than I am of writing them, I ſhall get over this as faſt as I can; both for the reader's ſake, and my own.

THE following work is the reſult of two very different ſcenes of life, in which I have happened to be engaged. The one, was my having been Profeſſor of Poetry, in the Univerſity of Oxford, for ten years; and the other, my being abroad, for above half that ſpace of time. The former obliged me to deal in Poetical Criticiſm; as the latter, (and particularly the conſiderable ſtay that I made, both at Florence, and at Rome,) led me naturally enough into ſome obſervation and love for the fine remains of the antient artiſts. As theſe two periods of my life happened partly to coincide, this put me on the thoughts of joining theſe ſtudies together: and in doing this indeed I found very little difficulty; for, (as Cicero ſays in the motto to my book,) there is a natural connexion between all the polite arts: and conſequently, they may rather ſeem to meet one another, than to have been brought together by any contrivance.

SEVERAL of the beſt antient and modern writers have ſpoke of this connexion, in general: but I do not know of any one, that has entered into any particular enquiry in relation to it; except Mr. Addiſon, in his Treatiſe on Medals. I wiſh that gentleman had gone much farther, than he has; or indeed that any one, tho' of much leſs taſte than Mr. Addiſon, had made a track before me; for I ſhould then have been enabled to find my way thro' ſo various a ſubject, with much more eaſe; and to have made my obſervations, with much leſs inaccuracy: but I entered upon it, as one does on a country newly diſcovered; without any paths made, and generally much embaraſſed. Had any work of this kind been publiſhed, before I went abroad; I could certainly have made this much more perfect, with extremely leſs pains: whereas all I can beg for it now is, that the difficulty of making one's way almoſt every where, may be duly conſidered; and that the many imperfections and errors which that muſt occaſion, may meet with the indulgence that the caſe deſerves.

I HAVE endeavoured too at another thing, which I believe all good judges will allow to be pretty difficult: and that was to take off ſome of the fullenneſs, and ſeverity, that has generally been thrown over the ſtudies of Criticiſm, and Antiquities. This labour, (for it is a very great labour to make ſome things read eaſy,) I thought partly due to the prevailing taſte of the preſent age; in which, we of this country at leaſt, ſeem to be not near ſo much inclined to profound reading, as we were half a century ago: and partly, to good-nature; any breach of which is certainly one of the moſt unpardonable faults that a writer can commit, in any age and in all countries. I do not know what others may think, but for my own part I have long thought it particularly miſplaced and abſurd, to put on a very grave face, in this kind of ſubjects: which, after all that one can ſay for them, are certainly not of the higheſt importance to mankind; and if they are not entertaining, can have but very little elſe to recommend them. Inſtead of this, I know not how it has happened, that Criticiſm has generally appeared like a meer ſcold, and Antiquity like an old pedant. Socrates gave an agreeable turn to all his leſſons of morality, which till his time had been uſually taught in a dry and diſguſting manner. Horace introduced the ſame pleaſing way of teaching, among the Romans; as the authors of the Spectator, have done among us. Something like this, I doubt not, might be practiſed in treatiſes of Criticiſm and Antiquities: and tho' I may have failed intirely in attempting it, I cannot help thinking, that I have at leaſt given no bad hint for ſome one that may come after me; who I hope may ſucceed much better in it, than I have done.

AND indeed this was one reaſon for my caſting the whole work into the form of Dialogue: for the introducing a ſcene, and characters, helps to give life to a ſubject, that wants enlivening; and can do no harm to one that has no need of any ſuch help. Beſide which, I have ſome other reaſons that make me fond of writing by way of Dialogue, in general; and particularly, in the preſent caſe.---By this means one avoids the frequent uſe of that moſt diſagreeable of all monoſyllables, I.---The aſſertions are put into the mouth of other perſons; and the author, at leaſt ſeems the leſs arrogant and aſſuming.---The want of connexion may be hid, or ſupplied, by a little addreſs in the ſpeakers---and any inaccuracies in the language are leſs apt to be obſerved, (and when obſerved, are perhaps more pardonable,) in ſuch chit-chat as mine is, than in a ſet diſcourſe.

THE Plan, that I at firſt deſigned for this work, lay much wider; but I found myſelf obliged to contract it: and therefore confined myſelf ſolely to the conſideration of the Imaginary, or Allegorical Beings; as received among the Romans, in the better ages of their ſtate. Strictly

ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, I have nothing to do with their Theology: my ſubject, being the Deſcriptions and Repreſentations of their Deities; and not the doctrines they held, in relation to them. However, in ſome more material points, I could not forbear touching now and then on their Theology itſelf: ſuch as their Philoſophical Belief of one true God only; and that peculiar regard that was generally paid by them, to three of their nominal deities, above all the reſt: both of which points, I think I have proved rather more clearly, than has been hitherto done; at leaſt by any author, that I have happened to read.

My confining myſelf to the Roman writers only, or ſuch of the Greeks as were quite Romanized; has been of great uſe to me, toward making the whole work the leſs perplexed. My chief ſtock was laid in from all the Roman poets, quite from Ennius down to Juvenal; and from ſeveral of their proſe-writers, from Varro down to Macrobius. Had I gone lower, the authorities would have grown ſtill weaker and weaker; and my ſubject would have been the more liable to have been confuſed. It would have been ſtill worſe, if I had mixed the deities and the opinions of the people of other nations, with thoſe of the Romans: and worſt of all, if I had conſulted the modern writers on antiquities; and uſed their authorities indifferently with thoſe of the antients. What I endeavoured, was to learn the thoughts and practices of the Romans, from the Romans themſelves: and if I have founded any little aſſertion whatever in relation to them, on a modern authority only; I have generally introduced it in the Dialogue, with "It is ſaid", or "It has been thought", or ſome equivalent expreſſion; on purpoſe to diſtinguiſh it, from what is founded on the authority of the antients.

In the laſt Dialogue, I have laid down the rough draught of a plan, for carrying on this work as far as I at firſt intended to have done: and I ſhall juſt add here, that if any body had leiſure and inclination for ſuch a work, they might double the whole ſcheme; by making the ſame enquiry into the Greek writers, as is there propoſed for the Latin. If ſuch a thing ſhould ever happen to be put in execution; this book, (which is of itſelf but too large,) would then be no more than one quarter of the whole work; tho', was it all properly executed, I think I may venture to ſay, it might make a more uſeful and more compleat body of Antiquities, than any that has been as yet publiſhed; and at the ſame time would be leſs voluminous, than the ſingle collections of either Grævius, or Gronovius, or Montfaucon.

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POLYMETIS:

OR,

An ENQUIRY concerning the AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

The WOKS of the ROMAN POETS,

AND

The REMAINS of the ANTIENT ARTISTS.

BOOK the First:

THE INTRODUCTION.

DIAL. I.

The General Design of the Work.

POLYMĒTIS, who is as well known for his taſte in the polite arts, as for his ſuperiour talents in affairs of ſtate, took two or three of his friends with him the laſt ſummer to his villa near the town; to breathe freſh air, and relax themſelves after the buſineſs of a long ſeſſion. It was cuſtomary with the old Greeks and Romans, to talk over points of philoſophy at their tables. Polymētis kept up this good old cuſtom at his houſe; and the part of the entertainment that was generally the moſt agreeable to his friends, conſiſted in the diſcourſes he gave them on learning, or on the polite arts; of which he was extreamly fond. They came thither always with ſome expectation of it; and ſeldom left his table without being pleaſed, and perhaps improved, by their treat.

AT preſent the party conſiſted only of himſelf, Philander, and Myſagētes; two perſons equally friends to Polymetis; tho' very different in their own tempers: This, of a gayer turn; the other, of a ſerious one. Myſagetes, had a fine taſte and genius; Philander, a good deal of induſtry and obſervation. The former had acquired a great preheminence by the pieces he had given the world; but look'd on fame itſelf as a trifling acquiſition: the other, had got ſome ſhare of reputation; and was labouring on, very ſeriouſly, to get more. Philander was rather apt to obſerve much, than to talk: Myſagetes talked much, but for the moſt part to the purpoſe. Myſagetes would ſometimes laugh at things, that he eſteem'd; and Philander often ſeem'd to eſteem things, that he laughed at.

THEY came early to the villa: and ſat down to their tea, in the library; which looks directly upon the gardens, that were juſt then finiſhed and brought to their preſent per-

fection. You ſee, ſays Polymetis, I have followed the taſte in faſhion (which, as it happens, is certainly the beſt taſte too) of making my gardens rather wild than regular. Their general air, I hope, has nothing ſtiff and unnatural in it; and the lower part, in particular, joins in with the view of the country, as if it made a part of it. Indeed the mode has allowed me to have as many temples as I could wiſh, in ſuch a ſpace of ground: but I would not have you imagine that they are temples only for ſhew; I have found out a uſe for them, which you might not think of. The ſtatues I got formerly from Italy, and which uſed to croud up all my houſe, are placed in them: and what I a little value myſelf upon, is the order in which I have placed them. Indeed, ſays Myſagetes, in coming through your hall, I was ſurpriz'd to ſee it deſerted by all the heathen gods; that uſed to ſeem to be met there, as in council. But what is this order, I beſeech you, that you value yourſelf ſo much upon? That, replied Polymetis, may lead me into a larger account than you may care for. No, interpoſed Myſagetes, as we ſhall go and ſee them I ſuppoſe this afternoon, I beg you would let us into your diſpoſition of them beforehand; that we may be ſufficiently prepared to admire it as we ought.

The deities of the Romans (ſays Polymetis) were ſo numerous, that they might well complain of wanting a Nomenclatour to help them to remember all their names. Their vulgar religion, as indeed that of the heathens in general, was a ſort of Manicheiſm. Whatever was able to do good or to do harm (1) to man, was immediately looked on as a ſuperiour power; which, in their language, was the ſame as a deity. It was hence that they had ſuch a multitude of gods, that their temples were better peopled with ſtatues, than their cities with men. It is a perfect mob of deities, if you look upon them all together: but they are reducible enough to order; and fall into fewer claſſes, than one would at firſt imagine. I have reduced them to ſix; and conſidering their vaſt number, it was no little trouble to bring them into that compaſs.

You ſee that Rotonda, with a Colonnade running round it, on the brow of the hill? Within that, are the great celeſtial deities; as the milder ones relating to the human mind and civil life, (Fidelity, Clemency; Peace, Concord; Plenty, Health; all the Mental or Moral Deities, of the better ſort;) are placed in the Colonnade about it; one in each opening between the pillars. That temple, lower down the hill to the right, contains the beings which preſide over the element of fire: which, according to the antients, had its place next to the ſupream manſion of the gods. You may call this, if you pleaſe, the temple of the Sun and Stars. There I have lodged all my antiques that relate to the Sun, to the Planets, to the Conſtellations; and to the Times and Seaſons, as meaſured by the former. That Octogon, oppoſite to it on the left, is the temple of the Winds, and of the imaginary beings of the air. Thoſe two temples on either hand below them contain, one the deities of the Waters, and the other the deities of the Earth: and

(1) The Greeks had their Bad Gods, as well as their Good ones; Δαιμονες κακοι και αγαθοι: as we ſee by their authors; and in ancient inſcriptions. There is a gem in the cabinet at St. Genevieve at Paris, in particular, which was uſed formerly as an amulet; with this inſcription, Απο παντος κακκ Δαιμονος.

In the ſame manner, the vulgar ſcheme of religion among the Romans admitted as eaſily of bad, as of good deities; as one learns, very plainly, from Pliny. 'Innumeros quidem (deos) credere; atque 'etiam ex virtutibus vitiiſque hominum, ut pudi- 'citiam, concordiam, mentem, ſpem, honorem, cle- 'mentiam, fidem; aut ut Democrito placuit duos 'omnino, pœnam & beneficium; majorem ad ſocor- 'diam accedit. Fragilis & laborioſa mortalitas in 'partes iſta digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor; ut por- 'tionibus quiſque coleret, quo maxime indigeret. 'Itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus & numina in iiſdem 'innumerabilia reperimus: inferis quoque in genera 'deſcriptis; morbiſque, & multis etiam peſtibus; 'dum eſſe placatos trepido metu cupimus. Ideoque 'etiam publicè Febri fanum in Palatio dicatum eſt; 'Orbonæ, ad ædem Larium: ara & Malæ Fortunæ, 'Exquiliis. Quamobrem major cœlitum populus, 'etiam quam hominum intelligi poteſt.' Nat. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 7. p. 82. Ed. Elz.——This laſt ſentiment is more humourouſly expreſt by Petronius: Noſtra regio tam præſentibus plena eſt numinibus, ut facilius poſſis deum quam hominem invenire. Satyricon. p. 35.

The reaſon for their worſhipping bad gods as well as good ones, is given us by Valerius Maximus; where he is ſpeaking of the goddeſs of diſtempers. Cæteros quidem ad benefaciendum venerabantur; Febrem autem, ad minus nocendum, templis colebant: quorum adhuc unum in Palatio, alterum in areâ Marianorum monumentorum, tertium in ſummâ parte Vici Longi extat. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

and if I had a temple for the Infernal beings, with the Vices of men round it, in the ſame manner as their Virtues are placed round the celeſtial one, I queſtion whether you could name any one imaginary being in all the theology of the ancients, that might not properly enough be placed in one or other of theſe ſix repoſitories.

WHAT a pity it is, ſays Myſagetes ſmiling, that you ſhould not get a Hell to adorn your garden with, and make the work compleat? Why ſeriouſly, replied Polymetis, I have thought even of that. One might have contrived a deep wood, toward the bottom of the hill, which ſhould have led you through a narrow walk (growing every ſtep darker and darker, as more thickened with yew and cypreſs) down to a vaſt, rough, horrid cave: in which ſuch a gloomy light let in from above, as falls about the middle of the grotto of Pauſilipo, might have half ſhewn you and half concealed the diſmal deities and inhabitants of the lower world. But had this been proper for a garden that does not belong to Benedictins(2) or Carthuſians, it might however be very well ſpared in my preſent deſign. My collection, you know, conſiſts wholly of antiques: and there are ſo few antient ſtatues that any way relate to the ſubterraneous world, that I ſhould have been at ſome loſs for the moſt proper furniture for ſuch a repoſitory; had I been ever ſo fond of introducing it. As to what other remains there are of this kind, tho' you do not meet with them in my garden, I may perhaps find another place more convenient to ſhew you ſome of them; if you ſhould be fond of ſuch terrible ſights. So that on the whole, I think I have done right in contenting myſelf here with the temples of the heavens, and the four elementary ones, which you ſee under it: in which are all the figures I have of the imaginary beings that belong to either of them; diſpoſed each according to his rank and character.

THE ſtatues are placed in niches made for them; and ornamented with copies of ſuch antient relievo's or pictures as relate to them. In their pedeſtals, I have contrived drawers, to put in the medals, gems, prints and drawings, I have been ſo long getting together: ſuch under each, as have any reference to the deity they are placed under: much in the manner as the books of the Sibyls were kept by Auguſtus in the (3) baſe of the Palatine Apollo. And thus I have diſpoſed of all my collection, with ſomewhat more of regularity and order, than is obſerved generally in much better collections than I am maſter of.

YOU, Philander, know that my principal view in making this collection was to compare the deſcriptions and expreſſions in the Roman poets that any way relate to the imaginary beings, with the works that remain to us of the old artiſts; and to pleaſe myſelf with the mutual lights they might give each to the other. I have often thought when in Italy, and at Rome in particular, that they enjoy there the convenience of a ſort of cotemporary comments on Virgil and Horace, in the nobler remains of the antient ſtatuaries and painters. When you look on the old pictures or ſculptures, you look on the works of men who thought much in the ſame train with the old poets. There was generally the greateſt union in their deſigns: and where they are engaged on the ſame ſubjects, they muſt be the beſt explainers of one another. As we lie ſo far north from this laſt great ſeat of empire, we are placed out of the reach of conſulting theſe finer remains of antiquity ſo much, and ſo frequently, as one could wiſh. The only way of ſupplying this defect to any degree among us, is by copies, prints, and drawings: and as I have long

(2) The Religious of the ſeverer orders abroad, inſtead of ſummer-houſes, and places for pleaſure, have often a ſort of penitential caves in their gardens; contrived ſo as to caſt a gloom over the mind: with a ſingle taper in its inmoſt receſs; that ſhews you the figure of a Magdalen weeping over a death's head, or ſome ſuch melancholy object.

(3) Poſtquam pontificatum maximum ſuſcepit, quicquid fatidicorum librorum, Græci Latinique generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgò ferebatur, ſupra duo millia, contracta undique cremavit; ac ſolos retinuit Sibyllinos; hos quoque delectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis, ſub Palatini Apollinis baſi. Suet. in Aug. c. 31.

long had this thought, my collection is at length grown very numerous; and indeed almoſt as full as I could deſire it, as to the point which has all along been my particular aim.

I HAVE always admired your collection, ſays Philander; but might not one who has no ſuch collection, make a ſhift with father Montfaucon? That father's work, replied Polymetis, is largely ſtockt with figures; and perhaps too largely, to be of ſervice in the deſign we are talking of. We are much obliged to him for his induſtry: but his choice is rather too (4) looſe and unconfined. He has taken in all the different figures he could meet with; of whatever age, or country. You have, even in the better part of his collection, Tuſcan gods mixt with Roman; old Gallick figures, with thoſe of Syria: and the monſters of Egypt, with the deities of Athens. This muſt bring in a great deal of confuſion, and ſtrangely multiply the appearance and (5) attributes of almoſt every deity. As you ſee them there, the deſcriptions of them in the Roman poets do not agree with the

(4) This charge againſt father Montfaucon may perhaps ſeem too ſevere. It is founded on two things: on his deſign itſelf being laid rather too wide; and on that deſign's not being executed ſo regularly, as it ſhould be.

The father gives us the deſign of his work in the following words. 'Il s'agit ici de toute l'antiquité. 'On en rapporte toutes les parties. On donne ſur 'chacune un grand nombre de figures. Ces figures 'ſont expliquées, avec toute l'exactitude, & toute la 'preciſion, dont j'ai été capable. Quand les figures 'manquent ſur certains ſujets, je ne laiſſe pas d'ex'pliquer ces ſujets, pour faire une ſuite complete. 'Voilà le plan de tout l'ouvrage.' His antiques are therefore of all nations; and one may add, of all ages: from the very earlieſt that are found, quite down to the reign of the younger Theodoſius. Montf. Pref. p. xiv, & xv.

In the execution of this deſign the father promiſes to ſet apart the firſt and ſecond volumes of his work, for the gods of the Greeks and Romans: the third, for the temples, vaſes, and inſtruments they made uſe of, in the worſhip of their gods: and the fourth, for the deities and worſhip of other nations. Ib. p. viii, & ix.

Tho' the deſign itſelf is laid too wide for any one man to be able to execute it as it ought to be; father Montfaucon would have done much better had he followed it in the method he propoſes, than in the manner he has done: for he is ſo far from confining the gods of the other nations to his fourth volume, that he has given ſome of all ſorts in his firſt, which was to be ſet apart for Greek and Roman figures only: at leaſt, he has given ſome of all the four ſorts mentioned above; to wit, Tuſcan, Gallick, Syrian and Egyptian.

Whoever would be convinced of this, need only turn to one ſingle article; that of Jupiter; in the beginning of father Montfaucon's firſt volume: where he will meet with figures of each of the other kinds juſt mentioned; and moſt of them acknowledged by the father's own words, not to be Greek or Roman.

And, 1, As to Tuſcan figures. There is a Jupiter, and four other gods with him; Plate 17. N°. 1. All of a bad manner, unlike the Roman; taken from an antient baſs-relief, of which father Montfaucon ſays; 'Ce monument Etruſque eſt tres remarquable.' p. 48.

2. As to Gallick figures. In the next plate, Pl. 18. N°. 2. there is a Jupiter, called Jupiter Dolichenius; who, as the father ſays very truly, 'a plutôt l'air d'un Mars, que d'un Jupiter.' This is what I ſhould call a Gallick figure. It is confeſſedly no Roman Jupiter; it is a Dolichenian Jupiter; and that, probably, ill-formed by ſome old French artiſt. At leaſt, the father ſays it was found in France. 'Elle a été 'trouvée à Marſeilles; d'où elle a été apportée au 'cabinet du Duc de Wirtemberg.' p. 50.

3. As to Syrian figures, the laſt mentioned might ſerve for an inſtance; for Doliché is an inland city of Syria; placed by the beſt antient authorities in the province of Samoſata; now called the kingdom of Comagene. 'Ville de la Comagene,' ſays Montfaucon. ib. But if any body ſhould be for a new inſtance, there are five all together; (Plate 12. N°. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.) four of Jupiter Caſius; and the fifth, of one Agreus, a god unknown to the claſſicks. One at leaſt of theſe Caſian Jupiters, muſt be Syrian. It has the name of Syria upon it; with the figure of a mountain, which the father calls; 'le mont Caſius, dans la Syrie.' p. 44.

4. As to Egyptian figures, we have Serapis, and Iſis; two of the moſt known among the Egyptian deities. Serapis makes his appearance more than once: Pl. 10. N°. 7, 14, &c. 'C'eſt Jupiter Serapis;' ſays the father, in ſpeaking of one of them. p. 36. Iſis is repreſented with Jupiter; Pl. 17. N°. 2. 'Jupiter couronné de laurier, eſt avec Iſis, dans l'image ſuivante;' Id. p. 49.

There are ſeveral other figures under this article of Jupiter, which I ſhould ſuppoſe to be neither Greek nor Roman; ſuch as Pl. 8. Fig. 8, & 9.—Pl. 9. Fig. 9. —Pl. 13. Fig. 1, & 2.—Pl. 14. Fig. 3, 4, & 5.—& Pl. 18. Fig. 1, & 3. But I ſhall omit any particular obſervations on them; becauſe I think what is already ſaid is ſufficient to juſtify, what is aſſerted above.

(5) The figures of the Roman deities have generally ſomething about them, to diſtinguiſh them, and mark out who they are: ſuch as the trident in the hand of Neptune, or the ſpear in that of Mars; the crown of ivy wreath'd round Bacchus's head, or the laurel round Apollo's. Theſe the Romans called, ſigna; as the modern artiſts call them, attributes.

the artiſts; nor the works of the artiſts with the poets. As my view was a more particular one, I found myſelf obliged to confine my collection to the deities as received in Italy; and even in ſuch parts of Italy only, where they were uniformly received. This cuts off any figures that were not of the growth, or at leaſt made free of Rome. The forms uſed in the different parts of Italy, were not indifferently copies to the Roman poets. Hetruria had certainly a manner to itſelf; and the figures uſed in the Ciſalpine Gaul, for example, might have very great variations from the Roman. On the other hand, we are by no means to omit the figures of the true Roman deities, becauſe made by Greek artiſts. Almoſt all (6) their beſt were ſo; for the Romans deſpiſed the practice of the arts themſelves; and a Roman workman in the Æmilian ſquare was probably pretty near on a level with our artiſts by Hyde-park-corner; even at the very time that they were bringing in all the moſt beautiful pieces of antiquity from Greece, and encouraging the beſt living artiſts of that country to come and ſettle at Rome. Hence many of the Grecian deities, together with the modes of dreſſing them, were in a manner naturalized in Rome; and after that, may be looked upon as Roman deities. But there are ſome (7) that never were ſo received there; and ſuch I have endeavoured to exclude too, out of my collection.

I AM very glad, ſays Myſagetes, to hear that you have decimated your gods: for I ſhould have been heartily vext to ſee a deity with a dog's, or a hawk's head, upon its ſhoulders: and could never have been brought to view a Squat-Jug (8) with the reſpect that may, perhaps, be due to whatever was formerly the divinity of a great and learned nation. But as you have thinned your deities ſo conſiderably, may I aſk whether you have ſhewn more indulgence to the poets, or whether you have not made a reform among them too? I have taken a good deal of pains, replied Polymetis, in collecting the moſt conſiderable paſſages from the greater number of them; which I have ranged in order, according to the times in which they wrote: for there is a great deal of difference in the authority of a poet near the ſecond Punic war, and one who lived in Auguſtus's time. This muſt naturally be ſettled according to the growth of poetry, and the improvement of the arts among the Romans; and if you pleaſe to have me anſwer your queſtion fully, I muſt give you a long hiſtory of each. Tho' you do not ſeem to offer this ſeriouſly, interpoſed Philander, I very ſeriouſly beg that you would oblige us with an account of each. They are ſubjects I have often heard you ſpeak of, and which I know

(6) It is remarkable that in the collection of ſuch gems as have the names of the artiſts engraved on them (which was publiſhed by Baron Stoſche, a few years ago, at Florence) they are all Greeks: and among the ſeveral inſcriptions under ſtatues and baſſo relievo's, given by the ſame author in his preface, there is only one artiſt among them that is Roman.

The Romans practiſed painting as little. One perſon of diſtinction indeed, among the Romans themſelves, happened pretty early to fall into it. He was of the great Fabian family; and was hence called Fabius Pictor. After him, ſays Pliny, 'Non eſt ſpectata honeſtis manibus.' Nat. Hiſt. L. 35. c. 4. Fabius himſelf was ſo pleaſed with the art, that he wrote his name under his pictures. This, tho' ſo uſual now, was looked on as very low and ridiculous in him. Gloria interdum etiam à claris viris, ex humilibus rebus petita eſt. Nam quid ſibi voluit C. Fabius, nobiliſſimus civis, qui cum in æde Salutis, quam C. Junius Bubalcus dedicaverat, parietes pinxiſſet, nomen his ſuum inſcripſit? Id enim demum ornamentum familiæ, conſulatibus & ſacerdotiis & triumphis celeberrimæ, deerat? Cæterum ſordido ſtudio deditum ingenium, qualemcunque illum laborem ſuum, ſilentio obliterari noluit. Val. Maximus, Lib. 8. Cap. 14. §. 6.

(7) They were ſometimes quite oppoſite. Thus the Grecian Juno was often repreſented naked; whereas the Roman Juno is always dreſt in all the decency of a Roman matron. The Grecian Idea of Fortitude was expreſt by a perſon finely armed, with a face that has as much of beauty as ſeverity in it; but the Roman Virtus is rougher, and of a lower ſtamp; and is often only dreſt like one of their own common ſoldiers.

(8) It was thus that the wiſe Egyptians figured their deities. To Anubis, they gave the head of a dog; as that of a hawk, to Oſiris. Canopus was uſually repreſented among them under the ſhape of a great earthen pot. Virgil ridicules their Latrator Anubis, and the reſt of them. Æn. 8, 698.

know you have long ſince turned much in your mind. The morning does not look fit for walking: and I intreat you——Nay, no entreaties, I beſeech you, ſays Polymetis. If you are willing to hear it, I am as willing to tell you whatever I can recollect on thoſe heads: and indeed I have been ſo uſed to think on theſe ſubjects, that I could talk them over I believe with ſome ſort of method: however, it will be better, if you will allow me an hour or two to run over the particulars by myſelf; and in the mean time I will leave you to divert yourſelves, either here in my library; or in my gardens; or wherever you pleaſe.

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DIAL. II.

Of the Riſe of Poetry among the Romans.

POLYMETIS made his appearance no more all the morning. He ſeemed a little thoughtful even at dinner; which was no ſooner over, than Philander put him in mind of his promiſe. We long, ſays he, to hear your two hiſtories of the Roman poetry, and of the arts at Rome: or do you intend to weave them together into one? for I have often heard you ſay, that their fate and fortunes were very much alike. No, ſays Polymetis, they are likely to run into ſuch a length, that I ſhall give them to you ſeparately; that you may have the more diſtinct idea of each: and I ſhall begin, with what account I can give you of the progreſs of their poetry.

THE Romans, in the infancy of their ſtate, were intirely rude (1) and unpoliſhed. They came from ſhepherds; they were increaſed from the (2) refuſe of the nations round them: and their manners agreed with their original. As they lived wholly on tilling their ground at home, or on plunder from their neighbours; war was their buſineſs, and agriculture the chief art they followed to any degree. Long after this, when they had ſpread their conqueſts over a great part of Italy, and began to make a conſiderable figure in the world; even their great men retained a roughneſs, which they raiſed into a virtue by calling it Roman ſpirit; and which might often much better have been called Roman barbarity. It ſeems to me, that there was more of (3) auſterity than juſtice, and more of inſolence than courage, in ſome of their moſt celebrated actions. However that be, this is certain, that they were at firſt a nation of ſoldiers and huſbandmen: roughneſs was long an applauded character among them: and a ſort of (4) ruſticity reigned, even in their ſenate-houſe.

IN a nation originally of ſuch a temper as this; taken up almoſt always in extending their territories; very often in ſettling the balance (5) of power among themſelves; and not unfrequently in both theſe at the ſame time; it was long before the politer arts made any appearance: and very (6) long before they took root or flouriſhed to any degree. Poetry was the firſt that did ſo; but ſuch a poetry, as one might expect among a warlike, buſied, unpoliſhed people.

NOT

(1) Rudis fuit priſcorum vita, & ſine literis. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 18. c. 29.

(2) As their firſt increaſe was owing to the place of refuge ſet up by Romulus, to invite all the murderers and fugitives in their neighbourhood to join them.

(3) In Valerius Maximus's inſtances of ſeverity, there are twelve from his own nation, to three from all the kingdoms round about them. He himſelf begins the account of the former, with theſe words: 'Armet ſe duritiâ pectus neceſſe eſt, dum horridæ ac triſtis ſeveritatis acta narrantur; ut humaniore cogitatione ſepoſitâ, rebus auditu aſperis vacet:' and cloſes it with theſe; 'Etſi Romanæ ſeveritatis exemplis totus terrarum orbis inſtrui poteſt; tamen externa,' &c. Lib. 6. cap. 5.

(4) Horace calls Italy, in this period, 'Agreſte Latium;' and ſays, a little after,

——In longum tamen ævum
Manſerunt, hodieque manent veſtigia ruris.
Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 160.

(5) The ſtruggles, between the Patricians and Plebeans for power, take up the greateſt part of this age.

(6) Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et, poſt Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles & Theſpis & Æſchilus utile ferrent.
Hor. Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 163.

——Delicias quoque vitæ funditûs omnes,
Carmina, picturas, & Dædala ſigna polire,
Uſus & impigræ ſimul experientia mentis
Paulatim docuit pedetentim progredientеis.
Lucr. L. 5. ℣. 1452.

Not to enquire about the (7) ſongs of triumph, mentioned even in Romulus's time; there was certainly ſomething of poetry among them in the next reign under Numa: a Prince, who pretended to converſe with the muſes, as well as with Egeria; and who might poſſibly (8) himſelf have made the verſes, which the Salian Prieſts ſung in his time. Pythagoras, either in the ſame reign, or if you pleaſe ſome time after, gave the Romans a tincture of poetry (9) as well as of philoſophy; for Cicero aſſures us that the Pythagoreans made great uſe of poetry and muſic: and probably they, like our old Druids, delivered moſt of their precepts in verſe. Indeed the chief employment of poetry in that and the following ages among the Romans, was of a religious kind. Their very prayers, and perhaps their whole (10) liturgy, was poetical. They had alſo a ſort of prophetic, or ſacred writers, who ſeem to have wrote generally in verſe; and were ſo numerous, that there were above (11) two thouſand of their volumes remaining even to Auguſtus's time. They had a (12) kind of plays too in theſe early times, derived from what they had

(7) Ο δε Ρωμυλος, ως αυ μαλιστα την ευχην τω τε Δι κεχαρισμενην και τοις πολιταις ιδειν επιτερπη παραχοι, σκεψαμενος επι στρατοπεδα δρυν ετεμεν υπερμεγεθη, και διεμορφωσεν ωστερ τροπαιον, και των οπλων τα Ακρωνος εκαστον εν ταξει περιηρμοσε και καθηρτισεν· αυτος δε την μεν εσθητα περιεζωσατο, δαφνη δε εστεψατο την κεφαλην κομωσαν. Υπολαβων δε τω δεξιω το τροπαιον ωμω προσερειδομενον ορθον εβαδιζεν, εξαρχων επινικια παιανος· εν οπλοις επομενη τη στρατια, δεχομενων των πολιτων μετα χαρας και θαυματος. Η μεν ουν πομπη των αυθις θριαμβων αρχην και ζηλον παρεσχεν. Plutarch. in Vitâ Rom. p. 27. Ed. Par. 1624.

What ſort of ſongs theſe were, we may gueſs a little from ſome expreſſions relating to them, in Livy. Ducti ante currum hoſtium duces; militaria ſigna prælata; ſecutus exercitus prædâ onuſtus. Epulæ inſtructæ dicuntur fuiſſe ante omnium domos; epulantesque, cùm carmine triumphali & ſolennibus jocis, comeſſantium modo, curruum ſecuti ſunt. Livy, Lib. 3. §. 29.——Longè maximum triumphi ſpectaculum fuit Coſſus; ſpolia opima regis interfecti gerens: in eum milites carmina incondita, æquantes eum Romulo, canere. Id. Lib. 4. §. 20.——Itaque cùm ex ſenatûs conſulto urbem ovans introiret, alternis inconditi verſus militari licentiâ jactati: quibus conſul increpitus, Menenii celebre nomen laudibus fuit. Ibid. §. 53.

(8) Ovid ſeems to hint that Numa wrote ſome of their old religious forms, in ſome kind of verſe:

Conjuge qui felix nymphâ, ducibuſque Camænis,
Sacrificos docuit ritus; gentemque feroci
Aſſuetam bello pacis traduxit ad artes.
Met. 15, 484.

And Horace calls the old Salian verſes, in particular, Numa's verſes. L. 2. Ep. 1, 86.

(9) Cicero aſſerts this in general, Tuſc. Quæſt. L. 4. and Vitruvius ſays in particular, that Pythagoras and his followers delivered their precepts in a certain number of verſes; or in a cube of 216 Verſes, as he calls it: L. 5. Procem.

(10) Caſtis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Diſceret unde preces, vatem ni muſa dediſſet?
Poſcit opem chorus, & præſentia numina ſentit:
Cœleſtes implorat aquas doctâ prece blandus;
Avertit morbos; metuenda pericula pellit:
Impetrat & pacem, & locupletem frugibus annum:
Carmine Dii ſuperi placantur; carmine manes.
Horace, L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 138.

(11) Theſe are probably what Horace calls;

Pontificum libros, annoſa volumina vatum.
L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 26.

For their number, ſee Dial. I. Note 3. I do not imagine that theſe were all written in verſe: for tho' the authors are called Vates, and their works Carmina, thoſe words do not neceſſarily imply that they were all poetry.

The name of carmen is uſed often for a charm: as particularly in Pliny, L. 28. C. 2. Perhaps too it was uſed for any thing that was worded in an high poetical ſtyle: for the ſame author calls the form of words by which the Decii devoted themſelves to death, carmen. Ibid. That form, he ſays, was extant in his time: and was probably the ſame with that we have in Livy, L. 8. §. 9.——Jane, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares! Divi Novenſiles, Dii Indigetes! Divi quorum eſt poteſtas noſtrorum hoſtiumque, Diique Manes! Vos precor, veneror; veniam peto, feroque; uti Populi Romani Quiritium vim victoriamque proſperetis; hoſteſque Populi Romani Quiritium, terrore, formidine, morteque, afficiatis: ſicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro republicâ Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis Populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hoſtium mecum Diis Manibus Tellurique devoveo.

Perhaps the ſolemn forms, prophecies, and charms, in uſe among the old Romans, were all originally, and moſt of them afterwards, written in verſe; and thence the terms of Carmen, Cantare, Incantare, & Decantare, might come to be uſed of them even when they were in proſe.

Some of theſe terms are made uſe of in ſpeaking of charms, ſo early as in the laws of the twelve tables. Quei malom carmen incantaſſit, malomque venenum facſit duitve, paraccidad eſtod.

As to the uſe of the word Vates for proſe writers; ſee Note 17, poſth.

(12) Ludi Scenici inter alia cœleſtis iræ placamina inſtituti dicuntur: cæterum parva quoque, ut fermè principia omnia, & ea ipſa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, ſine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Hetruriâ acciti ad tibicinis modos ſaltantes haud indecoros motus more Thuſco dabant. Imitari deinde eos juventus ſimul inconditis inter ſe jocularia fundentes verſibus cœpere; nec abſoni à voce motus erant. Acceptâ igitur re, ſæpiuſque uſurpando excitatâ; vernaculis artificibus, quia Hiſter Thuſco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen hiſtrionibus inditum:

qui

had ſeen of the Tuſcan actors, when ſent for to Rome to expiate a plague that raged in the city. Theſe ſeem to have been, either like our dumb-ſhews; or elſe, a kind of extempore farces: a thing to this day a good deal in uſe, all over Italy; and in Tuſcany, in a more particular manner. Add to theſe (13), that extempore kind of jeſting dialogues, begun at their harveſt and vintage-feaſts; and carried on ſo rudely and ſo abuſively afterwards, as to occaſion a very ſevere law to reſtrain their licentiouſneſs: and thoſe lovers of poetry and good eating, who ſeem to have attended the tables of the richer ſort much like the old Provincial poets, or our own Britiſh bards; and ſang there, to ſome inſtrument of muſic (14), the atchievements of their anceſtors, and the noble deeds of thoſe who had gone before them, to inflame others to follow their great examples.

THE names of almoſt all theſe poets ſleep in peace, with all their works: and if we may take the word of the other Roman writers of a better age, it is no great loſs to us. One of their beſt poets repreſents them as (15) very obſcure and very (16) contemptible; one of their beſt hiſtorians (17) avoids quoting them, as too barbarous for politer ears: and

qui non ſicut ante Feſcennino verſu ſimilem incompoſitum temerè ac rudem alternis jaciebant; ſed impletas modis ſatiras, deſcripto jam ad tibicinem cantu, motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius poſt aliquot annos, qui ab ſatiris auſus eſt primus argumento fabulam ſerere, idem ſcilicet id quod omnes tum erant ſuorum carminum actor, dicitur (cum ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet) veniâ petitâ puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem ſtatuiſſe, canticumque egiſſe aliquanto magis vigente motu quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari hiſtrionibus cœptum: diverbiaque tantum ipſorum voci relicta. Poſtquam lege hac fabularum ab riſu ac ſoluto joco res avocabatur; & ludus in artem paulatim verterat: juventus, hiſtrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipſa inter ſe more antiquo ridicula intexta verſibus jactitare cœpit; quæ inde Exodia poſtea appellata, conſertaque fabellis potiſſimum Atellanis ſunt: quod genus ludorum ab Oſcis acceptum tenuit juventus, nec ab hiſtrionibus pollui paſſa eſt. Eo inſtitutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur, & ſtipendia tanquam expertes artis ludicræ faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum, ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda viſa eſt; ut appareret quam ab ſano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem inſaniam venerit. Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis religionibus datum, aut religione animos aut corpora morbis levavit, &c. Livy, L. 7. §. 3.——Valerius Maximus ſpeaks, much in the ſame manner, both of the origin, and the abuſe of the ſtage, at Rome. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. §. 1, 4, & 6.

(13) Agricolæ priſci, fortes parvoque beati,
Condita poſt frumenta, levantes tempore feſto
Corpus & ipſum animum ſpe finis dura ferentem,
Cum ſociis operum pueris & conjuge fidâ,
Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte piabant;
Floribus & vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.
Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit:
Libertaſque recurrentes accepta per annos
Luſit amabiliter; donec jam ſævus apertam
In rabiem cœpit verti jocus, & per honeſtas
Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
Dente laceſſiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione ſuper communi: quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
Deſcribi.————
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 154.

I ſuppoſe this Feſcennine poetry was a ſort of dialogues, from Horace's expreſſion of, Verſibus alternis; like ſome of Virgil's eclogues; particularly the beginning of the third: and not unlike thoſe, ſo much uſed at preſent among the extempore poets in Italy.

Alternis dicetis: amant alterna Camœnæ.
Virg. Ecl. 3. ℣. 59.

(14) Eſt in Originibus, ſolitos eſſe in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem, de clarorum hominum virtutibus. Cicero. Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1. p. 289. Ed. Elz. ——Majores natu in conviviis ad tibias egregia ſuperiorum opera, carmine comprehenſa, pangebant; quo ad ea imitanda juventutem alacriorem redderent. Valerius Max. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. §. 10.

(15) ——Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat; & illud
Quod mecum ignoret, ſolus vult ſcire videri.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 87.

(16) Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes
Quas bis quinque viri ſanxerunt; fœdera regum
Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annoſa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano muſas in monte locutas.
Ibid. ℣. 27.
————Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius; & grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere.————
Ibid. ℣. 159.

(17) Tum ſeptem & viginti virgines, longam indutæ veſtem, carmen in Junonem Reginam canentes ibant; illa tempeſtate forſitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis; nunc abhorrens & inconditum, ſi referatur. Livy, L. 27. §. 38.

Martius was one of the moſt famous among theſe old Vates; and Livy therefore ſometimes does him the honour to quote ſome things from his Carmina—Religio deinde nova objecta eſt ex carminibus Martianis. Vates hic Martius illuſtris fuerat; & cum inquiſitio priore anno ex ſenatûs-conſulto talium librorum fierat, in M. Æmilii prætoris Urbani qui eam rem agebat manus venerant.——Ex hujus Martii duobus carminibus, alterius poſtea aucta declarato auctoritas eventu, alteri quoque cujus nondum tempus venerat afferebat fidem. Priore carmine Cannenſis prædicta clades in hæc fermè verba erat: "Amnem "Trojugena Cannam, Romane, fuge; ne te alieni-

and one of their moſt judicious emperors (18) ordered the greateſt part of their writings to be burnt, that the world might be troubled with them no longer.

All theſe poets therefore may very well be dropt in the account; there being nothing remaining of their works, and probably no merit to be found in them if they had remained: and ſo we may date the beginning of the Roman poetry from Livius Andronicus, the firſt of their poets of whom any thing does remain to us; and from whom the Romans themſelves ſeem to have (19) dated the beginning of their poetry, even in the Auguſtan age.

The firſt kind of poetry, that was followed with any ſucceſs among the Romans, was that for the ſtage. They were a very religious people; and ſtage-plays, in thoſe times, made no inconſiderable part in their public (20) devotions. It is hence perhaps that the greateſt number of their oldeſt poets of whom we have any remains, and indeed almoſt all of them, are dramatic poets.

The foremoſt in this liſt were Livius, Nævius, and Ennius. Livius's firſt play (and it was the (21) firſt written play that ever appeared at Rome, whence perhaps Horace (22) calls him Livius Scriptor) was acted (23) in the 514th year from the building of the city. He ſeems to have got whatever reputation he had, rather as their firſt, than as a good writer; for Cicero, who admired theſe old poets more than they were afterwards admired, is forced to give up Livius; and ſays that his pieces did not deſerve (24) a ſecond reading. He was for ſome time the ſole writer for the ſtage; till Nævius roſe to rival him; and probably far exceeded his maſter. Nævius ventured too on an epic, or rather an hiſtorical poem, on the firſt Carthaginian war. Ennius followed his ſteps in this, as well as in the dramatic way: and ſeems to have excelled him as much, as he had excelled Livius: ſo much at leaſt, that Lucretius ſays of him, "That he was the firſt of their poets who deſerved a (25) laſting crown from the Muſes." Theſe three poets, were (26) actors as well as poets; and ſeem, all of them, to have wrote whatever was wanted for the ſtage, rather than to have conſulted their own turn or genius. Each of them publiſhed ſometimes tragedies, ſometimes comedies, and ſometimes a kind of dramatic ſatires: ſuch ſatires, I ſuppoſe, as had been occaſioned (27) by the extempore poetry that had been in faſhion the century before them. All the moſt celebrated dramatic writers, of antiquity, excel only in one kind. There is no tragedy of Terence, or Menander; and no comedy of Actius, or Euripides. But theſe firſt dramatic poets among the Romans attempted every thing indifferently; juſt as the preſent fancy, or the demand of the people, led them.

The

genæ cogant in campo Diomedis conſerere manus: ſed neque credes tu mihi, donec compleris ſanguine campum; multaque millia occiſa tua deferat amnis, in pontum magnum ex terrâ frugiferâ. Piſcibus atque avibus, feriſque quæ incolunt terras, iis fiet eſca caro tua; nam mihi ita Jupiter fatus eſt." L. 25. §. 12.

(18) Auguſtus. Dialogue 1. Note 3.

(19) ——Habet hos numeratque poetas,
Ad noſtrum tempus Livi ſcriptoris ab ævo.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 62.

(20) See Note 12, anteh.

(21) The plays in the age before Livius were extempore; (ſee Note 12, anteh.) He was the firſt who compoſed one in form, and wrote it down for the actors to learn by heart. Livius qui primus fabulam, C. Clodio Cæci filio & Tuditano conſulibus, docuit; anno ipſo antequam natus eſt Ennius, V. C. 514. Cicero, de claris Orat. §. 72. Ed. Oxon. 1716. In giving the date, he follows the authority of his friend Atticus: there was a diſpute about it. Id. ibid.

(22) See Note 19, anteh.

(23) See Note 21, anteh.

(24) Livianæ fabulæ, non ſatis dignæ quæ iterum legantur. Cicero. de claris Orat. §. 71. Ed. Oxon, 1716.

(25) Ennius ut noſter cecinit; qui primus amœno
Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam.
Lucretius, L. 1. 119.

(26) See Note 12, anteh.

(27) See Note 13, anteh.

THE quiet the Romans enjoyed after (28) the ſecond Punic war, when they had humbled their great rival Carthage; and their carrying on their conqueſts afterwards, without any great difficulties, into Greece; gave them leiſure and opportunities for making very great improvements in their poetry. Their dramatic writers began to act with more ſteddineſs and judgment; they followed one point of view: they had the benefit of the excellent patterns the Greek writers had ſet them, and formed themſelves on thoſe models.

PLAUTUS was the firſt that conſulted his own genius, and confined himſelf to that ſpecies of dramatic writing for which he was the beſt fitted by nature. Indeed his comedy (like the old comedy at Athens) is of a (29) ruder kind; and far enough from the poliſh that was afterwards given it, among the Romans. His jeſts are often rough; and his wit, coarſe: but there is a ſtrength and ſpirit in him, that makes one read him with pleaſure. At leaſt, he is much to be commended for being the firſt that conſidered what he was moſt capable of excelling in, and not endeavouring to ſhine in too many different ways at once. Cæcilius followed his example in this particular; but improved their comedy ſo much beyond him, that he is named by Cicero (30) as perhaps the beſt of all the comic writers they ever had. This high character of him was not for his language, which (31) is given up by Cicero himſelf as faulty and incorrect; but (32) either for the dignity of his characters, or the ſtrength and weight of his ſentiments.

TERENCE made his firſt appearance, when Cæcilius was in high reputation. It is ſaid (33) that when he offered his firſt play to the Ediles, they ſent him with it to Cæcilius for his judgment of the piece. Cæcilius was at ſupper when he came to him; and as Terence was dreſt very meanly, he was placed on a little ſtool, and deſired to read away; but upon his having read a very few lines only, Cæcilius altered his behaviour, and placed him next himſelf at the table. They all admired him as a riſing genius; and the applauſe he received from the public, anſwered the compliments they had made him in private. His Eunuchus in particular was acted twice in (34) one day; and he was paid more for that piece, than ever had been given before for a comedy: and yet, by the way, it was not much above thirty pound. We may ſee by that and the reſt of his plays which remain to us, to what a degree of exactneſs and elegance the Roman comedy was arrived in his time. There is a beautiful ſimplicity, which reigns thro' all his works. There is

(28) See the firſt quotation in Note 6, anteh.

(29) At noſtri proavi Plautinos & numeros, &
Laudavere ſales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam ſtultè, mirati: ſi modò ego & vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido ſeponere dicto;
Legitimumque ſonum digitis callemus & aure.
Horat. ad Piſones, ℣. 274.

Perhaps Horace ſpeaks with the more reſerve in this caſe, becauſe Cicero had cried up Plautus's wit as elegant and fine. Duplex eſt jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, flagitioſum, obſcœnum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingenioſum, facetum: quo genere non modò Plautus noſter & Atticorum antiqua comœdia, ſed etiam philoſophorum Socraticorum libri referti ſunt. De Officiis, L. 1. §. 29.

Horace had ſcarce ſo good an opinion of the old comedy at Athens neither; (ſee Note 47. poſth.) and has a ſeverer ſtroke at Plautus, in another of his poems, for his negligence in writing:

——Aſpice Plautus
Quàm non adſtricto percurrat pulpita ſocco;
Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi;
Ut patris attenti, lenonis ut inſidioſi;
Quantus ſit Dorſennus edacibus in paraſitis;
Geſtit enim nummum in loculos demittere; poſt hoc
Securus, cadat an recto ſtet fabula talo.
Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 176.

(30) Itaque licet dicere et Ennium ſummum epicum poetam, ſicui ita videtur; & Pacuvium, tragicum; & Cæcilium fortaſſe, comicum. Cicero. de opt. gen. Orat. ſub initio.

(31) Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Ætatis illius iſta fuit laus, tanquam innocentiæ, ſic Latinè loquendi. Nec omnium tamen; nam illorum æquales Cæcilium & Pacuvium malè locutos videmus; ſed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant, nec eos aliqua barbaries domeſtica infuſcaverat, rectè loquebantur. Cicero. Brutus, §. 74.

(32) Ambigitur quoties uter utro ſit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam ſenis, Actius alti;
Dicitur Afrani toga conveniſſe Menandro;
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;
Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 59.

(33) In Dacier's Life of Terence.

(34) Ibid.

is no ſearching after wit, and no oſtentation of ornament in him. All his ſpeakers ſeem to ſay juſt what they ſhould ſay, and no more. The ſtory is always going on; and goes on juſt as it ought. This whole age, long before Terence and long after, is rather remarkable for ſtrength than beauty in writing. Were we to compare it with the following age, the compoſitions of this would appear to thoſe of the Auguſtan, as the Doric order in building if compared with the Corinthian; but Terence's work is to thoſe of the Auguſtan age, as the Ionic is to the Corinthian order: it is not ſo ornamented, or ſo rich; but nothing can be more exact and pleaſing. The Roman language itſelf in his hands ſeems to be improved beyond what one could ever expect; and to be advanced almoſt a hundred years forwarder than the times he lived in. There are ſome (and I think you, Philander, was formerly of that number) who look upon this as one of the ſtrangeſt phænomena in the learned world: but it is a phænomenon which may be well enough explained from Cicero. He ſays, that in ſeveral families the Roman language was ſpoken (35) in perfection even in thoſe times: and inſtances particularly in the families of the Lælii and the Scipio's. Every one knows that Terence was extremely intimate in both theſe families: and as the language of his pieces is that of familiar converſation, he had indeed little more to do, than to write as they talked at their tables. Perhaps too, interpoſed Myſagetes, he was obliged to Scipio and Lælius, for more than their bare converſations. That is not at all improbable, replied Polymetis; and indeed the Romans themſelves ſeem generally to have imagined, that he was (36) aſſiſted by them in the writing part too. If it was really ſo, that will account ſtill better for the elegance of the language in his plays: becauſe Terence himſelf was born out of Italy; and tho' he was brought thither very young, he received the firſt part of his education in a family, where they might not ſpeak with ſo much correctneſs, as Lælius and Scipio had been uſed to from their very infancy. Thus much for the language of Terence's plays: as for the reſt, it ſeems from what he ſays (37) himſelf, that his moſt uſual method was to take his plans chiefly, and his characters wholly, from the Greek comic

(35) See Note 31, anteh.

(36) Licet Terentii ſcripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur. Quintilian. Inſtit. L. 10. C. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665.——Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur a C. Lælio ſcribi. Cicero. ad Attic. L. 7. Ep. 3.

Donatus (in his life of this poet) quotes Memmius to ſhew that Terence was aſſiſted by Scipio, and Nepos to ſhew that he was aſſiſted by Lælius: in the following words. Q. Memmius in oratione pro ſe ait; 'P. Africanus, qui à Terentio perſonam mutua-
'tus, quæ domi luſerat ipſe, nomine illius in ſcenam
'detulit.' Nepos authore certo comperiſſe ſe ait: C. Lælium quondam in Puteolano, calendis Martiis, admonitum ab uxore temporiùs ut diſcumberet, petiiſſe ab eâ ne interpellaretur; ſeriùs tandem ingreſſum triclinium dixiſſe, non ſæpe in ſcribendo magis ſucceſſiſſe ſibi: deinde rogatum ut ſcripta illa proferret, pronuntiâſſe verſus qui ſunt in Heautontimorumeno:

Satis pol protervè me Syri promiſſa huc induxerunt.

Terence himſelf ſeems rather to be pleaſed with this opinion, than to diſown it:

Nam quod iſti dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles
Eum adjutare; aſſiduéque unà ſcribere:
Quod illi maledictum vehemens eſſe exiſtumant,
Eam laudem hic ducit maxumam; 'cum illis placet
'Qui vobis univerſis et populo placent:
'Quorum operâ in bello, in otio, in negotio,
'Suo quiſque tempore uſu' eſt ſine ſuperbiâ.

Prol. to the Adelphi.

I take what he ſays before another of his plays, to be juſt the ſame ſentiment:

Tum quod malevolus vetus poeta dictitat,
Repente ad ſtudium hunc ſe applicâſſe muſicum,
Amicûm ingenio fretum, haud naturâ ſuâ;
'Arbitrium voſtrum, voſtra exiſtimatio
Valebit.'——

Prol. to the Heautontimorumenos.

(37) Of the ſix plays we have of Terence's, he himſelf tells us that five are from the Greek: he does not ſay any thing of his copying his Hecyra from them. He mentions this of the Phormio and Heautontimorumenos, only in general: part of the Adelphi, he ſays, he tranſlated literally from Diphilus; that he took the Eunuchus, and the Andria, from two plays of the ſame names, by Menander; and that in each he inſerted a character or two from other plays of the ſame author.

Menander fecit Andriam & Perinthiam:
Qui utramvis rectè norit, ambas noverit.
Quæ convenere, in Andriam ex Perinthiâ
Fatetur tranſtuliſſe, atque uſum pro ſuis.

Prol. to Andria, ℣. 14.

——Nunc quam acturi ſumus
Menandri Eunuchum, poſtquam Ædiles emerunt,
Perfecit; ſibi ut inſpiciundi eſſet copia.

Prol. to Eunuchus, ℣. 21.

Colax Menandri eſt; in eâ eſt paraſitus Colax,
Et miles glorioſus: eas ſe non negat
Perſonas tranſtuliſſe in Eunuchum ſuam.

Ibid. ℣. 32.

Synapothneſcontes Diphili comœdia eſt;
Eam Commorientes Plautus fecit fabulam.
In Græcâ, adoleſcens eſt qui lenoni eripit
Meretricem; in primâ fabulâ. Eum Plautus locum

Reliquit

comic poets. Thoſe (38) who ſay that he tranſlated all the comedies of Menander, certainly carry the matter too far. They were probably more than Terence ever wrote. Indeed this would be more likely to be true of Afranius than Terence; tho', I ſuppoſe, it would ſcarce hold, were we to take both of them together.

WE have a very great loſs in the works of Afranius: for he was regarded, even in the (39) Auguſtan age, as the moſt exact imitator of Menander. He owns himſelf, that he had no reſtraint in copying him; or any other of the Greek comic writers; wherever they ſet him a good example. Afranius's ſtories and perſons were Roman, as Terence's were Grecian. This was looked on as ſo material a point in thoſe days, that it made two different ſpecies of comedy. Thoſe on a Greek ſtory were called, Palliatæ; and thoſe on a Roman, Togatæ. Terence (40) excelled all the Roman poets in the former, and Afranius in the latter.

ABOUT the ſame time that comedy was improved ſo conſiderably, Pacuvius and Actius (one a contemporary of Terence, and the other of Afranius) carried tragedy as far towards perfection, as it ever arrived in Roman hands. The ſtep from Ennius to Pacuvius, was a very great one; ſo great, that he was reckoned in Cicero's time, the (41) beſt of all their tragic poets. Pacuvius, as well as Terence, enjoyed the acquaintance and friendſhip of Lælius and Scipio; but he did not profit ſo much by it, as to the improvement of his language. Indeed his ſtyle was not to be the common converſation ſtyle, as Terence's was: and all the ſtiffnings given to it might take juſt as much from its elegance, as they added to its dignity. What is remarkable in him is, that he was almoſt as eminent for painting, as he was for poetry. He made the decorations for his own plays; and Pliny (42) ſpeaks of ſome paintings by him in a temple of Hercules, as the moſt celebrated work of their kind, done by any Roman of condition, after Fabius Pictor. Actius (43) began to publiſh, when Pacuvius was leaving off: his language was not ſo fine, nor his verſes ſo well turned even as thoſe of his predeceſſor. There is a remarkable ſtory of him in an old critic (44), which as it may give ſome light into their different manners of writing, may be worth telling you. Pacuvius, in his old age, retired to Tarentum, to enjoy the ſoft air and mild winters of that place. As Actius was obliged on ſome affairs to make a journey into Aſia, he took Tarentum in his way, and ſtaid there ſome days with Pacuvius. It was in this viſit that he read his tragedy of Atreus to him, and deſired his opinion of it. Old Pacuvius after hearing it out, told him very honeſtly, that the poetry was ſonorous and majeſtic, but that it ſeemed to him too ſtiff and harſh. Actius replied, that he was himſelf very ſenſible of that fault in his writings: but that he was

Reliquit integrum. Eum hic locum ſumſit ſibi
In Adelphos: verbum de verbo expreſſum extulit.
Prol. to Adelphi, ŷ. 11.

Ex integrâ Græcâ integram comœdiam
Hodie ſum acturus Heautontimorumenon:
Duplex quæ ex argumento facta eſt ſimplici.
Novam eſſe oſtendi, & quæ eſſet. Nunc qui ſcripſerit
Et cuja Græca ſit, ni partem maxumam
Exiſtimarem ſcire voſtrum id dicerem.
Prol. to Heautontimorumenos, ŷ. 9.

Epidicazomenon quam vocant comœdiam
Græci, Latini Phormionem nominant.
Prol. to Phormio, ŷ. 26.

He ſeems to have followed Menander more than any other of the Greek comic writers; both by what he ſays himſelf, and by what Julius Cæſar ſays of him:

Tu quoque, tu in ſummis, O dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, & merito; puri ſermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam ſcriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis; neque in hac deſpectus parte jaceres:
Hoc unum doleo & maceror tibi dêſſe, Terenti.
Old Life of Terence, by Suetonius.

(38) See Dacier's Life of Terence.

(39) See Note 32, anteh.

(40) See Note 58, poſth.

(41) See Note 30, anteh.

(42) Proximè celebrata eſt, in foro Boario, æde Herculis, Pacuvii poetæ pictura. Ennii ſorore genitus hic fuit; clarioremque eam artem Romæ fecit, gloriâ ſcenæ. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 35. c. 4.

(43) Actius iiſdem Ædilibus ait ſe et Pacuvium docuiſſe fabulam; cum ille octoginta, ipſe triginta annos natus eſſet. Cicero, Brutus, §. 64.

(44) Aul. Gellius, L. 13. c. 2.

was not at all ſorry for it: "for, ſays he, I have always been of opinion, that it is the ſame with writers, as with fruits; among which, thoſe that are moſt ſoft and palatable, decay the ſooneſt; whereas thoſe of a rough taſte, laſt the longer; and have the finer reliſh, when once they come to be mellowed by time." Whether his ſtyle ever came to be thus mellowed, I very much doubt; however that was, it is a point that ſeems generally allowed, that (45) he and Pacuvius were the two beſt tragic poets the Romans ever had.

All this while, that is, for above an hundred years, the ſtage as you ſee was almoſt ſolely in poſſeſſion of the Roman poets. It was now time for the other kinds of poetry to have their turn; however the firſt that ſprung up and flouriſhed to any degree, was ſtill a cyon from the ſame root. What I mean, is, ſatire; the produce of the old comedy. This kind of poetry had been attempted in a different manner by ſome of the former writers, and in particular by Ennius: but it was ſo altered and ſo improved (46) by Lucilius, that he was called the inventor of it. This was a kind of poetry wholly of the Roman growth; and the only one they had that was ſo: and even as to this, Lucilius improved it a good deal by the ſide lights he borrowed from the (47) old comedy at Athens. Not long after, Lucretius brought their poetry acquainted with philoſophy; and Catullus began to ſhew the Romans ſomething of the excellence of the Greek lyric poets. Lucretius diſcovers a great deal of ſpirit, wherever his ſubject will give him leave; and the firſt moment he ſteps a little aſide from it, in all his digreſſions, he is fuller of life and fire, and appears to have been of a more poetical turn, than Virgil himſelf: which is partly acknowledged in the fine compliment the latter ſeems (48) to pay him in his Georgicks. His ſubject often obliges him to go on heavily for a hundred lines together: but wherever he breaks out, he breaks out like lightning from a dark cloud; all at once, with force, and brightneſs. His character in this agrees with what is

(45) Tragœdiæ ſcriptores Actius atque Pacuvius clariſſimi gravitate ſententiarum, verborum pondere, & auctoritate perſonarum; cæterum nitor & ſumma in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri poteſt temporibus quam ipſis defuiſſe. Virium tamen Actio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui eſſe docti affectant, volunt. Quintilian. Inſtit. L. 10. c. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665.

Paterculus places the greateſt excellence of the Roman tragedy in the ſame perſons. In Actio (ſays he) circaque eum Romana erat tragœdia, (L. 1. c. 17.) This general expreſſion of Actius, and ſome about the ſame time, is fixt by himſelf to Actius and Pacuvius; in another place, where he is ſpeaking again of the ſame ſubject. Clara etiam per idem ævi ſpatium fuere ingenia, in togatis, Afranii; in tragœdiis, Pacuvii, atque Actii; uſque in Græcorum ingeniorum comparationem evecti, magnumque inter hos ipſos facientis operi ſuo locum: adeò ut in illis limæ, in hoc pænè plus videatur fuiſſe ſanguinis. Paterc. L. 2. c. 9. See Note 32, anteh. & 52, poſth.

(46) ——Quid cum eſt Lucilius auſus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem?
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 1. ỳ. 63.
——Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis & urbanus; fuerit limatior idem,
Quam rudis; & Græcis intacti carminis autor; &c.
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. ỳ. 66.

Satira quidem tota noſtra eſt: in quâ primus inſignem laudem adeptus eſt Lucilius. Quintilian. Inſtit. L. 10. c. 1. p. 748. Ed. Hack. 1665.

(47) Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Ariſtophaneſque poetæ,
Atque alii quorum comœdia priſca virorum eſt;
Si quis erat dignus deſcribi, quod malus aut fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut ſicarius, aut alioqui
Famoſus, multâ cum libertate notabant:
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hoſce ſecutus,
Mutatis tantum pedibus numeriſque facetus.
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 4. ỳ. 7.

(48) The paſſage here alluded to, is this:
Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas!
Atque metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, ſtrepitumque Acherontis avari.
Virgil. Georg. 2. ỳ. 492.

Virgil had been ſaying that his greateſt delight was in the Muſes: that he could wiſh to treat of natural philoſophy in verſe; but that if he had not ſpirit enough for ſo great an undertaking, he would however pleaſe himſelf in rural ſubjects. "Happy (ſays he) is the perſon that has done the former with ſo good an effect; and not unhappy are thoſe, that are engaged, and can divert themſelves at leaſt in the latter."

Lucretius was the only one of the Romans who had wrote any philoſophical poem, when Virgil ſaid this: ——all the points he mentions here, are treated of in that poem:——the effects of it ſpoken of by Virgil, are the very things which Lucretius aimed at:—— and Virgil in ſpeaking of the author of it, uſes ſome words and expreſſions taken directly from this poem of Lucretius. All which (conſidered together with Virgil's general manner of rather hinting at things, than ſpeaking them quite out) make it quite clear to me, that it was Lucretius whom he means, in this paſſage.

is (49) ſaid of him: that a philtre he took had given him a frenzy; and that he wrote in his lucid intervals. He, and Catullus, wrote when letters in general began to flouriſh at Rome much more than ever they had done. Catullus was too wiſe to rival him; and was the moſt admired of all his other cotemporaries, in all the different ways of writing he attempted. His odes perhaps are the leaſt valuable part of his works. The ſtrokes of ſatire in his epigrams are very ſevere: and the deſcriptions in his idylliums, very full and pictureſque. He paints ſtrongly; but all his paintings have more of force than elegance; and put one more in mind of Homer, than Virgil.

WITH theſe I ſhould chuſe to cloſe the firſt age of the Roman poetry: an age, more remarkable for ſtrength, than for refinement in writing. I have dwelt longer on it perhaps than I ought; but the order and ſucceſſion of theſe poets wanted much to be ſettled; and I was obliged to ſay ſomething of each of them, becauſe I may have recourſe to each, on ſome occaſion or another, in ſhewing you my collection. All that remains to us of the poetical works of this age, are the miſcellaneous poems of Catullus; the philoſophical poem of Lucretius; ſix comedies by Terence, and twenty by Plautus. Of all the reſt, there is nothing left us, except ſuch paſſages from their works as happened to be quoted by the antient writers; and particularly by Cicero and the old critics.

YOU need not make any apologies, ſays Philander, for having dwelt ſo long on this ſubject. It lies ſo far back and ſo much in the dark, that I ſhould have been better pleaſed, if you had enlarged more upon it. I could have wiſhed, in particular, to have heard your ſentiments a little more fully, as to the characters and merit of theſe poets of the firſt age. The beſt way to ſettle that, replied Polymetis, where ſo little of their own works remain, is by conſidering what is ſaid of them by the other Roman writers, who were well acquainted with their works. The beſt of the Roman critics we can conſult now, and perhaps the beſt they ever had, are Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian. If we compare their ſentiments of theſe poets together, we ſhall find a diſagreement in them, but a diſagreement which I think may be accounted for without any great difficulty. Cicero (as he lived before the Roman poetry was brought to perfection, and poſſibly (50) as no very good judge of poetry himſelf,) ſeems to think more highly of them than the others. He gives (51) up Livius indeed; but then he makes it up in commending Nævius. All the other comic poets he quotes often with reſpect; and as to the tragic, he carries it ſo far (52) as to ſeem ſtrongly inclined to oppoſe old Ennius to Eſchilus, Pacuvius to Sophocles, and Actius to Euripides.—This high notion of the old poets was probably the general faſhion in his time; and it continued afterwards (eſpecially among the more elderly ſort of people) in the Auguſtan age: and indeed much longer. Horace in his epiſtle to Auguſtus (53) combats it as a vulgar error in his time; and perhaps it was an error from which that prince himſelf was not wholly free. However that be, Horace on this

(49) By Creech; in his Life of Lucretius.

(50) Whatever diſputes there may be among the moderns on that head, it ſeems to have been the moſt common notion among the antients, that Cicero was no good poet himſelf: and Juvenal calls his poems, by no better a name than that of, Ridiculous.

O fortunatam natam, me conſule, Romam!
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, ſi ſic
Omnia dixiſſet. Ridenda poemata malo,
Quam te conſpicuæ, divina Phillippica, famæ.
Juvenal. Sat. 10. ℣. 125.

This affectation of writing in a ſort of monkiſh rhime, (O fortunatam natam, &c.) which Juvenal chuſes to inſtance in, was probably common in Cicero's poetical writings. There are ſeveral inſtances of it, in thoſe verſes that remain to us of his hand.

(51) See Note 24, anteh.

(52) Quid cauſæ eſt cur poetas Latinos Græcis literis eruditi legant, philoſophos non legant? An quia delectat Ennius, Pacuvius, Actius, multi alii, qui non verba ſed vim Græcorum expreſſerunt poëtarum? Quanto magis philoſophi delectabunt, ſi ut illi Æſchylum, Sophoclem, Euripidem; ſic hi Platonem imitentur, Ariſtotelem, Theophraſtum? Cicero. Acad. Quæſt. L. 1. §. 3.——Id primum in poetis cerni licet, quibus eſt proxima cognatio cum oratoribus, quam ſint inter ſeſe Ennius, Pacuvius, Actiuſque diſſimiles; quàm apud Græcos, Æſchylus, Sophocles, Euripides; quanquam omnibus par pænè laus in diſſimili ſcribendi genere tribuatur. Id. de Orat. L. 3. §. 7.

(53) L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 18, to ℣. 89.

this occaſion enters into the queſtion, very fully, and with a good deal of warmth. The character he gives of the old dramatic poets, (which indeed includes all the poets I have been ſpeaking of, except Lucilius, Lucretius, and Catullus;) is perhaps rather too ſevere. He ſays (54), "That their language was in a great degree ſuperannuated, even in his time; that they are often negligent, and incorrect: and that there is generally a ſtiffneſs in their compoſitions: that people indeed might pardon theſe things in them, as the fault of the times they lived in; but that it was provoking, they ſhould think of commending them for thoſe very faults." In another piece of his which turns pretty much on the ſame ſubject, he gives Lucilius's character, much in the ſame manner. He (55) owns "that he had a good deal of wit; but then it is rather of the farce-kind, than true genteel wit. He is a rapid writer, and has a great many good things in him; but is often very ſuperfluous and incorrect: his language is daſh'd affectedly with Greek: and his verſes are hard and unharmonious."—Quintilian ſteers the middle way between both. Cicero perhaps was a little miſled by his nearneſs to their times; and Horace by his ſubject, which was profeſſedly to ſpeak againſt the old writers: Quintilian therefore does not commend them ſo generally as Cicero, nor ſpeak againſt them ſo ſtrongly as Horace; and is perhaps more to be depended upon in this caſe, than either of them. He compares the works of Ennius (56) to ſome ſacred grove, in which the old oaks look rather venerable than pleaſing. He commends (57) Pacuvius and Actius for the ſtrength of their language, and the force of their ſentiments; but ſays, they wanted that poliſh which was ſet on the Roman poetry afterwards. He ſpeaks (58) of Plautus and Cæcilius, as applauded writers; of Terence, as a moſt elegant, and of Afranius as an excellent one; but they all, ſays he, fall (59) infinitely ſhort of the grace and beauty which is to be found in the Attic writers of comedy, and which is perhaps peculiar to the dialect they wrote in. To conclude, according to him Lucilius is too (60) much cried up by many, and too much run down by Horace: Lucretius is more (61) to be read for his matter, than for his ſtyle: and Catullus is remarkable in the (62) ſatirical part of his works; but ſcarce ſo in the reſt of his lyric poetry.

As Polymetis was ſaying this, a ſervant came in to let him know that there was company deſired to ſee him. It was a viſit of meer civility; and, luckily, a very ſhort one. As ſoon as they were gone, he went on as follows.

(54) Si quædam nimis antiquè, ſi pleraque durè
Dicere credit eos, ignavè multa fatetur;
Et ſapit, & mecum facit; & Jove judicat æquo.
Horat. L. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 68.
Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia craſsè
Compoſitum illepideve putetur; ſed quia nuper:
Nec veniam antiquis, ſed honorem & præmia poſci.
ibid. ℣. 78.

(55) See Horace, L. 1. Sat. 10. ℣. 1, to 11; 20, to 30; and 50, to 71.

(56) Ennium ſicut ſacros vetuſtate lucos, adoremus; in quibus grandia & antiqua robora, jam non tantam habent ſpeciem, quantam religionem. Quintilian. Inſtit. L. 10. c. 1. p. 746. Ed. 1665.

(57) See the beginning of Note 45, anteh.

(58) In comœdiâ maximè claudicamus: licet Varro dicat Muſas, Ælii Stolonis ſententiâ, Plautino ſermone locuturas fuiſſe, ſi Latinè loqui vellent; licet Terentii ſcripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur; quæ tamen ſunt in hoc genere elegantiſſima. ibid.——Togatis excellit Afranius. ib. p. 750.

(59) Vix levem conſequimur umbram: adeo ut mihi ſermo ipſe Romanus non recipere videatur illam ſolis conceſſam Atticis Venerem; quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint. ib.

(60) Quoſdam ita deditos ſibi habet amatores (Lucilius) ut eum non ejuſdem modo operis auctoribus, ſed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab Horatio diſſentio. ib. p. 748.

(61) Macer & Lucretius legendi quidem (by young orators) ſed non ut phraſin, id eſt corpus eloquentiæ, faciant: elegantes in ſuâ quiſque materiâ; ſed alter humilis, alter difficilis. ib. p. 746.

(62) Speaking of Iambic verſe, he ſays; Cujus acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio:——at Lyricorum, idem Horatius ferè ſolus legi dignus. ib. p. 749.

DIAL. III.

Of the Flouriſhing State of Poetry among the Romans.

THE firſt age was only as the dawning of the Roman poetry, in compariſon of the clear full light that opened all at once afterwards, under Auguſtus Cæſar. The ſtate, which had been ſo long tending towards a monarchy, was quite ſettled down to that form by this prince. When he had no longer any dangerous opponents, he grew mild; or, at leaſt, concealed the cruelty of his temper. He gave peace and quiet to the people that were fallen into his hands; and looked kindly on the improvement of all the arts and elegancies of life among them. He had a miniſter too under him, who (tho' a (1) very bad writer himſelf) knew how to encourage the beſt: and who admitted the beſt poets, in particular, into a very great ſhare of friendſhip and intimacy with him. Virgil was one of the foremoſt in this liſt: who at his firſt ſetting out grew (2) ſoon their moſt applauded writer for genteel paſtorals; then gave them the moſt beautiful

(1) Cæterum ſi, omiſſo optimo illo & perfectiſſimo genere eloquentiæ, eligenda ſit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Craſſi maturitatem, quam calamiſtros Mæcenatis, aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo malim oratorem vel hirtâ togâ induere, quam fucatis & meretriciis veſtibus inſignire. Quintilian de Cauſis corruptæ Eloquent. T. 2. p. 737. Ed. 1665.

Auguſtus uſed to divert himſelf often in ridiculing this affectation of Mæcenas's ſtyle. Cacozelos & antiquarios, ut diverſo genere vitioſos, pari faſtidio ſprevit. Exagitabat nonnunquam in primis Mæcenatem ſuum; cujus μυροθρεχεις (ut ait) cincinnos uſquequaque perſequitur, & imitando per jocum irridet. Suetonius in Aug. §. 86.

Macrobius has preſerved part of one of Auguſtus's Letters to Mæcenas; in which that prince does the very thing, that Suetonius here ſpeaks of.—Auguſtus, quia Mæcenatem ſuum noverat eſſe ſtylo remiſſo, molli & delicato, talem ſe in epiſtolis quas ad eum ſcribebat ſæpius exhibebat; et contra caſtigationem loquendi, quam aliàs ille ſcribendo ſervabat, in epiſtolâ ad Mæcenatem familiari, plura in jocos effuſa ſubtexuit. "Vale, mel gentium, melcule! Ebur ex Hetruria, lacunar Aretinum, adamas ſupernas! Tiberinum margaritum, Cilniorum ſmaragde, jaſpis figulorum, berylle Porſennæ! Carbunculum habeas (ινα συντειναω παντα μαλαγματα) mœcharum!" Which piece of burleſque might, perhaps, run thus in Engliſh: "Farewell, my dear honey, and the honey of all nations! Thou piece of ivory from Tuſcany, thou fretwork-ceiling of Arezzo, thou diamond over our heads! The pearl of Tiber, emerald of the Cilnian family, jaſper of the land of earthen-ware, and beril for the finger of king Porſenna! Among all theſe jewels, mayeſt thou not fail of having the carbuncle of the debauchees!"

Mæcenas's ſtyle muſt have been exceſſively affected to have deſerved ſuch an imitation as this: and as it happens, Seneca has given us two or three inſtances from ſome work of Mæcenas himſelf, which ſhew that it could not well be ſet in too ridiculous a light. It is where that author is ſaying, that people's manner of writing is apt to take its caſt from their manner of living. To prove this, he mentions Mæcenas in particular; and gives us ſome quotations, from different parts of a work of his, as I ſhould imagine. Quomodo vixerit (ſays he) notius eſt, quàm ut narrari nunc debeat; quomodo ambulaverit; quàm delicatus fuerit, quàm cupierit videri; quàm vitia ſua latere noluerit. Quid ergo? Non oratio ejus æque ſoluta eſt, quàm ipſe diſcinctus? Non tam inſignita illius verba ſunt, quàm cultus, quàm comitatus, quàm domus, quàm uxor? Magni ingenii vir fuerat, ſi illud egiſſet viâ rectiore; ſi non vitaſſet intelligi; ſi non etiam in oratione diffluëret. Videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis, involutam, & errantem, & licentiæ plenam. Mæcenatis in cultu, quid turpius——. "Amne, ſylviſque ripâ comantibus? Vide ut alveum lintribus arent; verſoque vado remittant hortos."—Quid? "Si quis fœminæ cirro criſpatæ, & labris columbatur; incipitque ſuſpirans, ut cervice laxâ feratur."——"Tyranni irremediabilis factio rimantur epulis; lagenâque tentant domos; & ſæpe mortem exigunt."——"Genium feſto vix ſuo teſtem, tenuis Cereris fila, & crepacem molam."—"Focum mater & uxor inveſtiunt." Non ſtatim hæc cum legeris hoc tibi occurrit, hunc eſſe qui ſolutis tunicis in urbe ſemper inceſſerit? Seneca, Ep. 114.

(2) Phyllidis hic idem teneroſque Amaryllidis ignes
Bucolicis juvenis luſerat ante modis.
Ovid. Triſt. L. 2. ℣. 538.

——Forte epos acer
Ut nemo Varius ducit: molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. ℣. 45.

I ſhould take molle here, to be meant of the ſweetneſs of Virgil's verſification in his paſtorals: and facetum, of the elegance of his ſtyle and manner of writing. All writers of paſtorals may be divided into two claſſes; the rural, and the ruſtic; or if you will, the genteel and the homely. This character of facetus, marks out Virgil's excelling in the genteel paſtoral.

beautiful and moſt correct poem that ever was wrote in the Roman language, in his rules of agriculture: (ſo beautiful, that (3) ſome of the ancients ſeem to accuſe Virgil of having ſtudied beauty too much in that piece:) and laſt of all, undertook a political poem, in ſupport of the new eſtabliſhment. I have thought this to be the intent of the Æneid, ever ſince I firſt read Boſſu: and the more one conſiders it, the more I think one is confirmed in that opinion. Virgil is (4) ſaid to have begun this poem the very year that Auguſtus was freed from his great rival, Antony: the government of the Roman empire was to be wholly in him: and tho' he choſe to be called their father (5); he was, in every thing but the name, their king. This monarchical form of government muſt naturally be apt to diſpleaſe the people. Virgil ſeems to have laid the plan of his poem to reconcile them to it. He takes advantage of their religious turn, and of ſome old (6) prophecies that muſt have been very flattering to the Roman people, as promiſing them the empire of the whole world. He weaves this in with the moſt (7) probable account of their origin; that of their being deſcended from the Trojans. To be a little more particular; Virgil in his Æneid ſhews that Æneas was called into their country by the (8) expreſs order of the

(3) As Pliny and Seneca in particular. Sed nos obliterata quoque ſcrutabimur; nec deterrebit quarundam rerum humilitas.——Quanquam videmus Virgilium, præcellentiſſimum vatem, eâ de causâ hortorum dotes fugiſſe; tantiſque quæ retulit, flores modò rerum decerpiſſe. Pliny, l. 14. Procem.—Virgilius noſter, qui non quid veriſſimè, ſed quid decentiſſimè diceretur, aſpexit; nec agricolas docere voluit, ſed legentes delectare. Seneca, L. 13. Epiſt. 87.

(4) By De la Rue; in his Life of Virgil.

(5) Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile ſaxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 449.

Non aliud diſcordantis patriæ remedium fuiſſe, quin ut ab uno regeretur: non regno tamen, neque dictaturâ, ſed principis nomine conſtitutam rempublicam. Tacit. Annal. L. 1. where he is ſpeaking for Auguſtus.—Princeps here ſignifies much the ſame with princeps ſenatûs; and ſo falls in with the title of pater: the ſenator by way of eminence, or the ruling ſenator; which was a title as modeſt, as his power was exorbitant.

He had the title of pater patriæ too, given him by all the three orders of the ſtate; in the ſtrongeſt manner that could be:

Sancte pater patriæ, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eques.
Ovid. Triſt. 2. ℣. 126.

Patris patriæ cognomen univerſi repentino maximoque conſenſu detulerunt ei. Prima plebs, legatione Antium miſsâ; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romæ ſpectacula, frequens & laureata: mox in curiâ ſenatus. Neque decreto, neque acclamatione, ſed per Valerium Meſſallam, id mandantibus cunctis. "Quod bonum, inquit, fauſtumque ſit tibi domuique tuæ, Cæſar Auguſte; ſic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem reipublicæ & læta huic precari exiſtimamus; ſenatus te, conſentiens cum populo Romano, conſalutat patriæ patrem." Cui lacrimans reſpondit Auguſtus, his verbis; (ipſa enim, ſicut Meſſallæ, poſui.) "Compos factus votorum meorum, Patres Conſcripti, quid habeo aliud Deos immortales precari, quam ut hunc conſenſum veſtrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferre liceat?" Suetonius, in Aug. c. 58.

(6) Plutarch, in his life of Julius Cæſar; and Notes 8, & 11, poſth.

(7) As being that of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, and ſome of the beſt Roman hiſtorians.

(8) This is marked very ſtrongly throughout all the firſt part of the Æneid. The very night Troy is burnt, Æneas is ordered to go and build a city in Italy, and to carry his Gods to it; by the ſpirits of Hector and Creüſa. Caſſandra had foretold the ſame frequently to his father before:

Nunc repeto hæc generi portendere debita noſtro:
Et ſæpe Heſperiam, ſæpe Itala regna vocare.
Æn. 3. ℣. 185.

Apollo orders the ſame;

——Antiquam exquirite matrem.
Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris:
Et nati natorum, & qui naſcentur ab illis.
Æn. 3. ℣. 98.

And his domeſtic gods; more expreſly:

——Venturos tollemus in aſtra nepotes,
Imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tu mœnia magnis
Magna para.——
Mutandæ ſedes. Non hæc tibi litora ſuaſit
Delius, aut Cretæ juſſit conſidere Apollo.
Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,—
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes: hinc Dardanus autor, &c.
Æn. 3. ℣. 167.

The ſame orders are given to Æneas whilſt at Carthage, by the ſpirit of his departed father; Æn. 4. ℣. 351. And laſtly, by the great meſſenger, of the chief of all their gods:

Ipſe deûm tibi me claro demittit Olympo
Regnator, cœlum & terras qui numine torquet:
Ipſe hæc ferre jubet celeres mandata per auras.
Quid ſtruis, aut quâ ſpe Lybicis teris otia terris?
Aſcanium ſurgentem & ſpes hæredis Iüli
Reſpice: cui regnum Italiæ Romanaque tellus
Debentur.——
Æn. 4. ℣. 275.

——Tot reſponſa ſecuti,
Quæ Superi Maneſque dabant,——
Italiam petiere.——
Æn. 10. ℣. 32—34.

the gods. That he was made king of it by the (9) will of heaven; and by all the human rights that could be. That there was (10) an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of kings from him, to Romulus. That his heirs were to reign there for ever; and that the Romans under them (11) were to obtain the monarchy of the world. It appears from (12) Virgil, and the other Roman writers, that Julius Cæſar was of this royal race; and that Auguſtus (13) was his ſole heir. The natural reſult of all this is, that the promiſes made to the Roman people, in and through this race, terminating in Auguſtus; the Romans, if they would obey the gods and be maſters of the world, were to yield obedience to the new eſtabliſhment under that prince. As odd a ſcheme as this may ſeem now, it is ſcarce ſo odd as that of ſome people among us, who perſuaded themſelves that an abſolute obedience was owing to our kings, on their (14) ſuppoſed deſcent from ſome unknown patriarch. And yet that had its effect with many about a century ago; and ſeems not to have quite loſt all its influence, even in our remembrance. However that be, I think it

(9) The divine right appears from what is ſaid in the note before: Virgil takes care to join all the civil rights to it that can be.

He has an hereditary claim from Dardanus and Jaſius. Æn. 3. ỳ. 168.——He has a right by conqueſt. Æn. 12. ỳ. 1.———He has a right by compact. Æn. 12. ỳ. 175, to 225.——And he has a right, by marrying the only daughter of the then king. Æn. 12. ỳ. 937; and 7. ỳ. 50,—52.

(10) Æneas ſucceeds Latinus, Æn. 1. ỳ. 265. Iülus ſucceeds Æneas, Æn. 1. ỳ. 269. his race (which is therefore called the Trojan line by Virgil, Æn. 1. ỳ. 273.) reign for the next three hundred years; then follows Romulus, Æn. 1. ỳ. 276, ſtill of the Trojan line, as grandſon of Æneas Sylvius. Æn. 6. ỳ. 778.

Romulus Aſſaraci quem ſanguinis Ilia mater
Educet.——

Æn. 6. ỳ. 780.

Æneas, Latinus, and the kings before him, reſided in old Latium, Æn. 7. 38, to 49; and 1. ỳ. 265. Iülus removed the royal ſeat to Alba, Æn. 1. ỳ. 271, &c. where it continued till Romulus transferred it to Rome. So that this continued ſucceſſion of their kings is intimated too by Virgil even in the propoſition of his poem: where every thing that is ſaid ought to be of the greateſt weight.

What he propoſes is to "ſing the great hero who "came from Troy, by the order of heaven, to ſettle "in Italy; the difficulties he underwent in his voy-"age, and the wars he ſuſtained; before he could "found a city, and introduce his religion into Latium. "Whence ſprung, firſt the Latian line of kings; then, "their chiefs at Alba: and laſtly, the powers of Rome, "that raiſed herſelf ſo high among the nations."

(11) Homer had ſaid, that Æneas and his deſcendants ſhould be princes for ever; or, in the eaſtern ſtyle, from generation to generation.

Οφρα μη ασπερμος γενεη και αφαυλος ολησι
Δαρδανε, ον Κρονιδης περι παντων φιλατο παιδων,
Οι εθεν εξεγενοντο γυναικωντε θνητων·
Ηδη γαρ Πριαμω γενεη ηχθηρε Κρονιων.
Νυν δε δη Αινειαο βιη Τρωεσσιν αναξει·
Και παιδες παιδων, τοι κεν μετοπισθε γενωνται.

Homeri Il. Υ. ỳ. 308.

That this prophecy was much inſiſted on by Auguſtus and his favourers, appears probable from the early care that was taken to alter the reading from Τρωεσσιν to Παντεσσιν. See Ruæus in Æn. 3. ỳ. 97. Pope, on Il. 20. ỳ. 355, and Bochart's letter to Segrais. Agreeably to which, Virgil in inſerting this prophecy in his Æneid, ſays the Trojan race, or family of Æneas ſhould reign in Italy, and obtain the univerſal empire.

Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris;
Et nati natorum, & qui naſcentur ab illis.

Æn. 3. ỳ. 97.

He uſes the ſame, even proverbially:

Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile ſaxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

Æn. 9. ỳ. 449.

There are ſeveral other paſſages to the ſame purpoſe.

——Aſpera Juno——
Conſilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Veniet luſtris labentibus ætas
Cum domus Aſſaraci Phthiam claraſque Mycenas
Servitio premet.——

Says Jupiter, Æn. 1. ỳ. 285.

Externi veniunt generi, qui ſanguine noſtrum
Nomen in aſtra ferent; quorumque ab ſtirpe nepotes
Omnia ſub pedibus, quâ ſol utrumque recurrens
Aſpicit oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.

Faunus' Oracle to Latinus. Æn. 7. ỳ. 101.

(12) Naſcetur pulchrâ Trojanus origine Cæſar,
Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet aſtris;
Julius, à magno demiſſum nomen Iülo.

Æn. 1. ỳ. 288.

———Genus qui ducis Olympo,
Projice tela prior, ſanguis meus——

Anchiſes, of Julius Cæſar. Æn. 6. ỳ. 836.

Several of the Roman writers ſpeak of this high deſcent of Julius Cæſar; and Suetonius in particular, who mentions a funeral oration made by Julius Cæſar, over one of his relations, in which he ſays were theſe words; "Amitæ meæ, Juliæ, maternum genus ab regibus ortum; paternum, cum diis immortalibus conjunctum eſt. Nam ab Anco Marcio ſunt reges, quo nomine fuit mater: à Venere, Julii; cujus gentis familia eſt noſtra." Suet. in Julio. §. 6.

(13) His uncle Julius adopted him for his ſon; and made him his heir. Utque primum occiſum eum, hæredemque ſe comperit; urbe repetitâ, hæreditatem adiit: atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio, per duodecim ferè annos; noviſſimè, per quatuor & quadraginta, ſolus rempublicam tenuit. Suetonius in Aug. §. 8.

(14) See Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarchal Scheme; with Mr. Locke's confutation of it.

it appears plain enough that the two great points aimed at by Virgil in his Æneid, were to maintain their old religious tenets; and to ſupport the new form of government, in the family of the Cæſars. That poem therefore may very well be conſidered as a religious and political work: or rather (as the vulgar religion with them was ſcarce any thing more than an engine of ſtate) it may fairly enough be conſidered as a work merely political. If this was the caſe, Virgil was not ſo highly encouraged by Auguſtus and Mæcenas for nothing. To ſpeak a little more plainly; he wrote in the ſervice of the new uſurpation on the ſtate; and all that can be offered in vindication of him in this light is, that the uſurper he wrote for was grown a tame one; and that the temper and bent of their conſtitution at that time was ſuch, that the reins of government muſt have fallen into the hands of ſome one perſon or another; and might probably, on any new revolution, have fallen into the hands of ſome one leſs mild and indulgent than Auguſtus was at the time when Virgil wrote this poem in his ſervice. But whatever may be ſaid of his reaſons for writing it, the poem itſelf has been highly applauded in all ages, from its firſt appearance to this day: and tho' left (15) unfiniſhed by its author, has been always reckoned as much ſuperior to all the other epic poems among the Romans, as Homer's is among the Greeks. It preſerves more to us of the religion of the Romans, than all the other Latin poets (excepting only Ovid) put together: and gives us the forms and appearances of their deities as ſtrongly, as if we had ſo many pictures of them preſerved to us, done by ſome of the beſt hands in the Auguſtan age. It is remarkable that he is commended by ſome of the antients themſelves, for the ſtrength of his imagination (16), as to this particular; tho' in general that is not his character, ſo much as exactneſs. He was certainly the moſt correct poet, even of his time; in which all falſe thoughts and idle ornaments in writing were diſcouraged: and it is as certain, that there is but little of invention in his Æneid; much leſs, I believe, than is generally imagined. Almoſt all the little facts in it are (17) built on hiſtory; and even as to the particular lines, no one perhaps ever (18) borrowed more from the poets that preceded him, than he did. He goes ſo far back as to old Ennius; and often inſerts whole verſes, from him, and ſome other

(15) Tho' this is mentioned by ſeveral antient writers; I think the plaineſt proof of it is the many breaks, or hemiſtics, in the poem itſelf; a thing never done in any finiſhed poem by any other Roman poet of his time; nor by Virgil himſelf, in any of his other poems which were finiſhed.

(16) Magnæ mentis opus———
——Currus & equos, facieſque deorum,
Concipere; & qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys.
Nam ſi Virgilio puer & tolerabile deſit
Hoſpitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri:
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.——
Juvenal. Sat. 7. ℣. 71.

Juvenal on this occaſion points to the very nobleſt efforts of imagination that Virgil has ſhewn in his whole poem; and it is remarkable that they all relate to their deities. Currus & equos, may refer to that terrible deſcription of Mars in his chariot, Æn. 12. ℣. 332, or that mild one of Neptune, Æn. 1. ℣. 127, 146, and 155. as facies deorum, to that noble paſſage, in the deſcription of Troy ſinking in its flames:

Aſpice (namque omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
Mortales hebetat viſus tibi, & humida circum
Caligat, nubem eripiam)———
Hic, ubi dejectas moles avulſaque ſaxis
Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit; totumque ab ſedibus urbem
Eruit. Hic Juno Scæas ſæviſſima portas
Prima tenet, ſociumque furens à navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat.———
Jam ſummas arces Tritonia, reſpice, Pallas
Inſedit; nimbo effulgens, & Gorgone ſævâ.——
Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque Trojæ
Numina magna deum.———
Æn. 2. ℣. 623.

The next words are, evidently, ſpoken of this paſſage in the 7th Æneid:

Talibus Alecto dictis exarſit in iras.
At juveni oranti ſubitus tremor occupat artus:
Diriguere oculi. Tot Erinnys ſibilat hydris!
Tantaque ſe facies aperit! Tum flammea torquens
Lumina, cunctantem & quærentem dicere plura
Reppulit; et geminos erexit crinibus angues;
Verberaque inſonuit.——
Æn. 7. ℣. 451.

And the laſt, as evidently, of this:

At ſæva, è ſpeculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
Ardua tecta petit ſtabuli; & de culmine ſummo
Paſtorale canit ſignum, cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem: quâ protinus omne
Contremuit nemus, & ſylvæ intonuere profundæ.
Audiit & Triviæ longè lacus; audiit amnis
Sulfureâ Nar albus aqua, fonteſque Velini:
Et trepidæ matres preſſere ad pectora natos.
Æn. 7. ℣. 518.

(17) There are ſeveral even of the minuteſt paſſages in the Æneid, (ſuch as Aſcanius's jeſt; and the like) which appear to have been traditional and hiſtorical, to any one that has read Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus.

(18) This appears from Macrobius, and the other collectors of Virgil's imitations of Homer, &c.

other of their earlieſt writers. The obſoleteneſs of their ſtyle did not hinder him much in this: for he (19) was a particular lover of their old language; and no doubt inſerted many more antiquated words in his poem, than we can diſcover at preſent. Judgment is his diſtinguiſhing character: and his great excellence conſiſted in chuſing and ranging things aright. Whatever he borrowed, he had the ſkill of making his own; by weaving it ſo well into his work, that it looks all of a piece: even thoſe parts of his poem, where this may be moſt practiſed, reſembling a fine piece of Moſaic; in which all the parts, tho' of ſuch different marbles, unite together; and the various ſhades and colours are ſo artfully diſpoſed, as to melt off inſenſibly into one another.

ONE of the greateſt beauties in Virgil's private character was his modeſty and (20) good-nature. He was apt to think humbly of himſelf, and handſomely of others: and was ready to ſhew his love of merit, even where it might ſeem to claſh with his own. He (21) was the firſt who recommended Horace to Mæcenas. Horace was the fitteſt man in the world for a court, where wit was ſo particularly encouraged. No man ſeems to have had more; and all of the genteeleſt ſort: or to have been better acquainted with mankind. His gayety, and even his debauchery, made him ſtill the more agreeable to Mæcenas. So that it is no wonder that his acquaintance with that miniſter grew up to ſo high a degree of friendſhip, as is very uncommon between a firſt miniſter and a poet; and which had poſſibly ſuch an effect on the latter, as one ſhall ſcarce ever hear of between any two friends, the moſt on a level: for there is ſome room to (22) conjecture, that he haſtened himſelf out of this world, to accompany his great friend in the next. Horace has been generally (23) moſt celebrated for his lyric poems: in which he far excelled

(19) Unde pictaï veſtis, & aquaï, Virgilius amantiſſimus vetuſtatis carminibus inſeruit. Quintilian. Inſtit. Or. L. 1. c. 7. p. 70. Ed. Hack. 1665.——A great many of theſe old words in Virgil have probably been altered by the tranſcribers. Quid quod Ciceronis temporibus, paulumque infra, fere quoties ſ litera media vocalium longarum, vel ſubjecta longis eſſet, geminabatur? ut cauſſa, caſſus, diviſſiones. Quo modo et ipſum, et Virgilium quoque ſcripſiſſe, manus eorum docent. ib. p. 71.—And others have been miſtaken by the critics. Thus for inſtance, they ſay Virgil uſes fervēre ſhort, Æn. 8. ℣. 677. that the ſound may agree more with the ſenſe of the word; whereas the true reaſon was his imitating the practice of the antients; who, as we learn from the ſame author, uſed fervo and ferveo indifferently. ib. L. 1. c. 6. p. 57.

(20) Plotius, & Varius Sinueſſæ, Virgiliuſque
Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit.——
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 5. ℣. 41.

Refert Pedianus benignum cultoremque omnium bonorum atque eruditorum fuiſſe; & uſque adeo invidiæ expertem fuiſſe, ut ſi quid eruditè dictum inſpiceret alterius, non minus gaudere ac ſi ſuum fuiſſet. Neminem vituperare, laudare bonos. Eâ humanitate eſſe, ut niſi perverſus maximè quiſque illum non diligeret modò, ſed amaret. Nihil proprii habere videbatur. Ejus bibliotheca non minus aliis doctis patebat, quam ſibi.——Coævos omnes poetas ita adjunctos habuit, ut cum inter ſe plurimum invidiâ arderent, illum unâ omnes colerent. Donatus's Life of Virgil.

(21) ——————Optimus olim
Virgilius; poſt hunc Varius dixere quid eſſem.
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 6. ℣. 55.

(22) Conſidering the manner in which Horace lived with Mæcenas, and the freedom with which he writes, even when he is complimenting him; what he ſays to him in an ode, written when that miniſter was extremely ill, looks I think a little too ſerious to be nothing but a poetical rhodomontade.

Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?
Nec Dîs amicum eſt nec mihi, te prius
Obire, Mæcenas: mearum
Grande decus columenque rerum.
Ah, te meæ ſi partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera?
Nec carus æque, nec ſuperſtes
Integer. Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi ſacramentum. Ibimus, ibimus
Utcunque præcedes, ſupremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Horat. L. 2. Ode 17. ℣. 12.

After ſo ſolemn a profeſſion of Horace, that he would follow Mæcenas ſoon, if he ſhould die firſt; it ſeems at leaſt a little odd, that Horace's death ſhould follow his ſo ſoon, as it is ſaid to have done.—They both died in the end of the year 746 V. C. according to Pere Sanadon: and according to the old life of Horace, attributed to Suetonius, Mæcenas ſpeaks moſt affectionately of him in his laſt will; Horace dies about three weeks after him; and orders that his remains ſhould be buried cloſe by Mæcenas's.

(23) Multò eſt terſior, (he was ſpeaking of Lucilius) & purus magis Horatius; & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus.——Lyricorum idem Horatius fere ſolus legi dignus: nam & inſurgit aliquando; & plenus eſt jucunditatis, et gratiæ; & variis figuris, & verbis, feliciſſimè audax. Quintilian. Inſtit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665.

His lyric poetry is the thing Ovid chuſes to commend him for too, in his catalogue of the Auguſtan poets;

Et tenuit noſtras numeroſus Horatius aures,
Dum ferit Auſoniâ carmina culta lyrâ.
Triſt. L. 4. El. 10. ℣. 50.

celled all the Roman poets, and perhaps was no unworthy rival of ſeveral of the Greek; which ſeems to have been (24) the heighth of his ambition. His next point of merit, as it has been uſually reckoned, was his refining ſatire; and bringing it from the coarſeneſs and harſhneſs of Lucilius, to that genteel eaſy manner; which he, and perhaps no body but he, and one perſon more in all the ages ſince, has ever poſſeſſed. I do not remember that any one of the antients ſays any thing of his epiſtles: and this has made me ſometimes imagine, that his epiſtles and ſatires might originally have paſſed under one and the ſame name; perhaps that of Sermones. They are generally written in a ſtyle approaching to that of converſation; and are ſo much alike, that ſeveral of the ſatires might juſt as well be called epiſtles, as ſeveral of his epiſtles have the ſpirit of ſatire in them. This latter part of his works, by whatever name you pleaſe to call them (whether ſatires and epiſtles, or diſcourſes in verſe on moral and familiar ſubjects,) is what I muſt own, I love much better even than the lyric part of his works. It is in theſe that he ſhews that talent for criticiſm, in which he ſo very much excelled: eſpecially, in his long epiſtle to Auguſtus; and that other to the Piſo's, commonly called his art of poetry. They abound in ſtrokes which ſhew his great knowledge of mankind; and in that pleaſing way he had of teaching philoſophy, of laughing (25) away vice, and inſinuating virtue into the minds of his readers. They may ſerve, as much as almoſt any writings can, to make men wiſer and better: for he has the moſt agreeable way of preaching that ever was. He was, in general, an honeſt, good man himſelf; at leaſt, he does not ſeem to have had any one ill-natured vice about him. Other poets we admire: but there is not any of the antient poets that I ſhould wiſh to have been acquainted with, ſo much as Horace. One cannot be very converſant with his writings, without having a friendſhip for the man; and longing to have juſt ſuch another as he was, for one's friend.

In that happy age, and in the ſame court, flouriſhed Tibullus. He enjoyed the acquaintance of Horace; who mentions him in a kind and friendly manner, both in his (26) odes and in his epiſtles. Tibullus is evidently the moſt exact and moſt beautiful writer of love-verſes among the Romans: and was (27) eſteemed ſo by their beſt judges; tho' there were ſome, it ſeems, even in their better ages of writing and judging, who preferred Propertius to him. Tibullus's talent ſeems to have been only for elegiac verſe: at leaſt his compliment on Meſſalla, (which is his only poem out of it,) ſhews I think too plainly, that he was neither deſigned for heroic verſe, nor panegyric. Elegance is as much his diſtinguiſhing character among the elegiac writers of this age, as it is Terence's among the comic writers of the former: and if his ſubject will never let him be ſublime, his judgment at leaſt always keeps him from being faulty. His rival and cotemporary Propertius, ſeems to have ſet himſelf too many different models, to copy either of them ſo well as he might otherwiſe have done. In one (28) place, he calls himſelf, the Roman Callimachus; in another

(24) Te greges centum Siculæque circum
Mugiunt vaccæ: tibi tollit hinnitum
Apta quadrigis equa: te bis Afro
Murice tinctæ
Veſtiunt lanæ. Mihi parva rura, &
Spiritum Graiæ tenuem Camœnæ,
Parca non mendax dedit; & malignum
Spernere vulgus.
L. 2. Od. 16. ℣. 40.

He has the ſame turn of expreſſion (according to Mr. Markland's reading) in his firſt ode, to Mæcenas.—

Te doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
Dis miſcent ſuperis. Me gelidum nemus, &c.

And when he adds:

Quod ſi me Lyricis vatibus inſeres,
Sublimi feriam ſidera vertice;

He muſt be underſtood to ſpeak of the Greek lyric poets; becauſe even the learned among the Romans, ſtudied no language but their own, and the Greek: and they had no famous lyric poets of their own, before Horace.

(25) Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit; & admiſſus circum præcordia ludit.
Perſius, Sat. 1. ℣. 117.

(26) Horace, L. 1. Od. 33. & L. 1. Ep. 4.

(27) Elegiâ Græcos quoque provocamus: cujus mihi terſus atque elegans maximè videtur auctor Tibullus. Sunt qui Propertium malunt. Ovidius utroque laſcivior, ſicut durior Gallus. Quintilian. Inſtit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 748. Ed. Hack. 1665.

(28) Propertius. L. 4. El. 1. ℣. 64.

another (29) he talks of rivaling Philetas: and he is ſaid (30) to have ſtudied Mimnermus, and ſome other of the Greek lyric writers, with the ſame view. You may ſee by this, and the practice of all their poets in general, that it was the conſtant method of the Romans (whenever they endeavoured to excel) to ſet ſome Greek pattern or other before them. Propertius perhaps might have ſucceeded better, had he fixed on any one of theſe; and not endeavoured to improve by all of them indifferently. Ovid makes up the triumvirate of the elegiac writers of this age; and is more looſe and incorrect than either of the other. As Propertius followed too many maſters, Ovid endeavoured to ſhine in too many different kinds of writing at the ſame time. Beſides, he had a redundant (31) genius; and almoſt always choſe rather to indulge, than to give any reſtraint to it. If one was to give any opinion of the different merit of his ſeveral works, one ſhould not perhaps be much beſide the truth in ſaying, that he excels moſt in his Faſti; then perhaps in his love-verſes: next, in his heroic epiſtles; and laſtly, in his Metamorphoſis. As for the verſes he wrote after his misfortunes, he has quite loſt his ſpirit in them: and tho' you may diſcover ſome difference in his manner, after his baniſhment (32) came to ſet a little lighter on him; his genius never ſhines out fairly, after that fatal ſtroke. His very love of being witty had forſaken him; tho' before it ſeems to have grown upon him, when it was leaſt becoming, toward his old age: for his Metamorphoſis (which was the laſt poem he wrote at Rome, and which indeed was not quite (33) finiſhed when he was ſent into baniſhment,) has more inſtances of falſe wit in it, than perhaps all his former writings put together. One of the things I have heard him moſt cried up for in that piece, is his tranſitions from one ſtory to another. The antients thought differently of this point; and Quintilian, where he is ſpeaking of them, endeavours rather (34) to excuſe than to commend him on that head. We have a conſiderable loſs in the latter half of his Faſti; and in his Medea, which is much commended. Dramatic poetry ſeems not to have flouriſhed in proportion to the other ſorts of poetry, in the Auguſtan age. We ſcarce hear any thing of the comic poets of that time; and if tragedy had been much cultivated then, the Roman writers would certainly produce ſome names from it to (35) oppoſe to the Greeks, without going ſo far back as to thoſe of Actius and Pacuvius. Indeed their own critics in ſpeaking of the dramatic writings of this age, boaſt rather of ſingle pieces, than of authors: and the (36) two particular tragedies which they talk of in the higheſt ſtrain, are this Medea of Ovid and Varius's Thyeſtes. However, if it was not the age for plays; it was certainly the age, in which almoſt all the other kinds of poetry were in their greateſt excellence at Rome.

UNDER

(29) Id. ib. El. 6. ℣. 3.

(30) By P. Crinitus; in his life of Propertius.

(31) Ovidii Medea videtur mihi oſtendere quantum vir ille præſtare potuerit; ſi ingenio ſuo temperare, quam indulgere maluiſſet. Quintilian. Inſtit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 749. Ed. Hack. 1665. Quintilian almoſt always uſes the word, Laſcivus, to expreſs this character of Ovid's writings. Laſcivus quidem in heroicis quoque Ovidius; & nimium amator ingenii ſui: laudandus tamen in partibus. ib. p. 746.——Ovidius utroque laſcivior (of his elegies) ib. p. 748.——Ut Ovidius laſcivire in Metamorphoſi ſolet. Ib. p. 286.

(32) He does not mention any thing of his ſtanding up againſt his misfortunes till the fifth book of his Triſtium: and the 2d and 3d epiſtles of his third book ex Ponto, are the firſt in which he begins to tell any ſtory in his Faſti-ſtyle.

(33) Dictaque ſunt nobis, quamvis manus ultima cœpto
Defuit, in facies corpora verſa novas.
Ovid. Triſt. L. 2. ℣. 556.

(34) Illa frigida & puerilis eſt in ſcholis affectatio, ut ipſe tranſitus efficiat aliquam utique ſententiam, & hujus velut præſtigiæ plauſum petat; ut Ovidius laſcivire in Metamorphoſi ſolet. Quem tamen excuſare neceſſitas poteſt; res diverſiſſimas in ſpeciem unius corporis colligentem. Oratori vero, &c. Inſtitut. Orat. L. 4. c. 1. p. 286. Ed. Hack. 1665.

(35) See Dial. 2. Note 45.

(36) Plures hodie reperies, qui Ciceronis gloriam quam Virgilii detractent: nec ullus Aſinii aut Meſſallæ liber tam illuſtris eſt, quam Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyeſtes. Quintilian. de Cauſis Cor. Eloq. T. 2. p. 718. Ed. Hack. 1665.——He mentions both the ſame tragedies, in the ſame manner, in his Inſtit. Or. T. 1. p. 749.

UNDER this period of the beſt writing, I ſhould be inclined to inſert Phædrus. For tho' he publiſhed after the good manner of writing was in general on the decline, he (37) flouriſhed and formed his ſtyle under Auguſtus: and his book, tho' it did not appear till the reign (38) of Tiberius, deſerves on all accounts to be reckoned among the works of the Auguſtan age. Fabulæ Æſopeæ was probably the title (39) which he gave his fables. He profeſſedly follows Æſop in them: and declares that he keeps to his (40) manner, even where the ſubject is of his own invention. By this it appears that Æſop's way of telling ſtories was very ſhort, and plain; for the diſtinguiſhing beauty of Phædrus's fables is, their conciſeneſs and ſimplicity. The taſte was ſo much fallen at the time when he publiſhed them, that both theſe were objected to him as faults. He uſed thoſe critics as they deſerved. He tells a (41) long tedious ſtory, to thoſe who objected againſt the conciſeneſs of his ſtyle; and anſwers ſome others who condemned the plainneſs of it, with a run of (42) bombaſt verſes, that have a great many noiſy elevated words in them without any ſenſe at the bottom.

WILL you, Myſagetes, give me leave to add Manilius to this liſt of the Auguſtan poets? I know you can ſcarce allow him a place among them; and own, you have reaſon enough not to admire him. Place him where you pleaſe, anſwered Myſagetes, you will never reconcile me to his poetry; in which I ſhall always think him inferiour to a great many of the Latin poets, who have wrote in theſe lower ages; ſo long ſince Latin has ceaſed to be a living language. There is at leaſt I believe no inſtance, in any one poet of the flouriſhing ages, of ſuch (43) language, or ſuch (44) verſification, as we meet with in Manilius; and there is not any one antient writer that ſpeaks one word of any ſuch poet about thoſe times. I doubt not, there were bad poets enough in the Auguſtan age; but I queſtion whether Manilius may deſerve the honour of being reckoned even among the bad poets of that time. What will you ſay then, replied Polymetis, to the many paſſages in the poem which relate to the times in which the author lived; and which all have

(37) See Phædrus, L. 3. Fab. 10. ℣. 8, & 39.

(38) See Phædrus, L. 2. Fab. 5.

(39) ——Quoniam caperis fabulis
Quas Æſopeas, non Æſopi, nomino.
Lib. 5. Prol.

(40) By what Phædrus ſays in his prologue to his firſt book, one would think that he ſet out with the deſign of tranſlating Æſop:

Æſopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polivi verſibus ſenariis.
℣. 2.

In the next, he ſeems to have enlarged his deſign; but ſtill ſays, that he will ſtick cloſe to the manner of Æſop:

Quicumque fuerit ergo narrandi locus,
Dum capiat aurem & ſervet propoſitum ſuum,
Re commendatur, non auctoris nomine.
Equidem omni curâ morem ſervabo ſenis:
Sed ſi libuerit aliquid interponere,
Dictorum ſenſus ut delectet varietas;
Bonas in partes, lector, accipias velim.
L. 2. Prol. ℣. 11.

(41) L. 3. Fab. 10. ℣. 59, 60.

(42) Lib. 4. Fab. 6.

(43) Some inſtances of ſuch language in Manilius, as is not perhaps to be met with in any other poet of the Auguſtan age:

Et lenocinium vitæ, præſenſque voluptas.
Manilius, 5. 268.
Nec tyrocinio peccet; circumque feratur.
1. 189.
Ore, magiſterio, nodoque coercita virgo.
4. 190.
Et cum luce refert operum vadimonia terris.
1. 244.
Solis erit, numero niſi deeſſet Olympias una.
3. 596.
Fecit & ignotis itiner commercia terris.
1. 88.
Corda micant, & lingua rabit, latratque loquendo.
5. 224.
Et ter vicenas partes patet atque trecentas
In longum, bis ſex lateſcit faſcia partes.
1. 680.
Biſque novem, Nemeæe, dabis beſſemque ſub illis.
3. 571.
Clepſiſſet furto mundum, quo cuncta reguntur.
1. 27.
Engonaſi, ingenielâ juvenis ſub imagine conſtans.
5. 646.
Augebuntque novo vicinas momine ſummas.
3. 459.
Crimen ubique frequens; & laudi noxia juncta eſt.
4. 417.

(44) Some inſtances of ſuch verſification in Manilius, as is not to be met with in any other of the Roman poets in the Auguſtan age:

Nec trahit in ſe tum, quo fulget Delia, lumen.
4. 844.
Tuncque in deſertis habitabat montibus aurum.
1. 75.
Idcircoque manet ſtabilis, quia totus ab illâ.
1. 168.
Atque eget alterius mundus; natura ſuiſmet.
5. 214.

Vel

have (45) a regard to the Auguſtan age? If the whole be not a modern forgery, I do not ſee how one can deny his being of that age: and if it be a modern forgery, it is very lucky that it ſhould agree ſo exactly, in ſo many little particulars, with the antient globe of the heavens in the Farneſe palace. As to the badneſs of his ſtyle, there is an argument to be drawn from Vitruvius and other writers of the ſame time.—Nay, ſays Myſagetes, if you begin to draw up your arguments in form againſt me; and from ſo many different quarters; it is high time for me to quit the field. I beg I may not interrupt you. If Manilius's work will be of any uſe to you, let him be one of the moſt ſhining lights in the Auguſtan age, with all my heart. I will very readily give up all my objections, or prejudices, againſt him; for your ſervice.

I THANK you, ſays Polymetis; and indeed as he is at preſent generally reckoned of that age, we had as good keep him where we found him. Allowing then Manilius's poem to paſs for what it pretends to be; there is nothing remains to us, of the poetical works of this Auguſtan age beſide what I have mentioned: except, the garden-poem of Columella; the little hunting-piece of Gratius; and, perhaps, an elegy or two of Gallus.

THESE are but ſmall remains for an age, in which poetry was ſo well cultivated, and followed by very great numbers; taking the good and the bad together. It is probable, moſt of the beſt have come down to us. As for the others, we only hear of the elegies (46) of Capella and Montanus; that Proculus (47), imitated Callimachus; and (48) Rufus, Pindar: that Fontanus wrote a ſort of piſcatory eclogues; and Macer (49), a poem on the nature of birds, beaſts, and plants. That the ſame Macer; and Rabirius; and Marſus, and Ponticus (50), and Pedo Albinovanus, and ſeveral others, were epic writers in that time; (which

Vel ſine luxuriâ; tantum eſt opus! Ipſa ſuimet. 4. 134.

Oſtendiſſe deum nimis eſt; dabit ipſe ſibimet. 4. 439.

His adice obliquos diverſaque fila legentes. 1. 664.

Fœmineæ veſtes; nec inſunt tegmina plantis. 5. 152.

Hoc genitum credas de genere Bellerophontem. 5. 97.

Sic etiam magno quædam reſpondere mundo. 5. 735.

Singulaque propriis parentia membra figuris. 2. 452.

(45) Theſe paſſages are very numerous; and very expreſs. Beſide ſeveral things of leſs note, he ſpeaks of Julius Cæſar's death. L. 4. ℣. 60.—of the battles at Philippi, and Actium. L. 1. ℣. 905, to 920——of Agrippa. ib. ℣. 795——and of Varus's defeat in Germany. ib. ℣. 896.

(46) Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Sufficis; & gemino carmine nomen habes.
Ovid. de Ponto. L. 4. El. 16. ℣. 12.

Naiadas a Satyris caneret Fontanus amatas;
Clauderet imparibus verba Capella modis.
Ibid. ℣. 36.

(47) Callimachi Proculus molle teneret iter.
Ib. ℣. 32.

(48) Pindaricæ fidicen tu quoque, Rufe, lyræ.
Ib. ℣. 28.

(49) Sæpe ſuas volucres legit mihi grandior ævo;
Quæque necet ſerpens, quæ juvet herba, Macer.
Triſt. L. 4. El. 10. ℣. 44.

Quintilian places this poet always in very good company. Macer & Lucretius legendi quidem, ſed non ut phraſin, id eſt corpus eloquentiæ, faciant. Elegantes in ſuâ quiſque materiâ; ſed alter humilis, alter difficilis. Inſtit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 746. Ed. 1665.——Quid? Nicandrum fruſtra ſecuti Macer atque Virgilius? Ib. p. 739.

Paterculus pays the ſame compliment, (or rather a higher,) to Rabirius. Pene ſtulta eſt inhærentium oculis ingeniorum enumeratio: inter quæ maximè noſtri ævi eminent, princeps carminum Virgilius, Rabiriuſque. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 36.

(50) Ponticus Heroo, Baſſus quoque clarus Iambo.
Triſt. L. 4. El. 10. ℣. 47.

Cum foret & Marſus, magnique Rabirius oris,
Iliacuſque Macer, fidereuſque Pedo:
Et qui Junonem læſiſſet in Hercule Carus,
Junonis ſi non jam gener ille foret:
Quique dedit Latio carmen regale Severus;
Et cum ſubtili Priſcus uterque Numâ.
Ex Pont. L. 4. El. 16. ℣. 10.

This Pedo Albinovanus was acquainted with Ovid; who writes one of his Epiſtles from Pontus to him: by which we find the ſubject of his poem was the actions of Theſeus.

At tu, non dubito, cum carmine Theſea laudes,
Materiæ titulos quin tueare tuæ;
Quemque refers, imitere virum.——
L. 4. Ep. 10. ℣. 73.

Quintilian ſpeaks but ſlightly both of him and Rabirius; (at leaſt, as helps to his young orator.) Rabirius ac Pedo, non indigni cognitione, ſi vacet. Inſtit. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 747. Ed. 1665.

(which by the way (51) ſeems to have ſignified little more, than that they wrote in hexameter verſe:) that Fundanius (52) was their beſt comic poet then, and Meliſſus no bad one; that Varius (53) was the moſt eſteemed for epic poetry, before the Æneid appeared; and one of the moſt eſteemed for tragedy always: that Pollio (beſides his other excellencies at the bar, in the camp, and in affairs of ſtate) is (54) much commended for tragedy; and Varus (55) either for tragedy, or epic poetry; for it does not quite appear which of the two he wrote. Theſe laſt are great names; but there remain ſome of ſtill higher dignity, who were, or at leaſt deſired to be thought, poets in that time. In the former part of Auguſtus's reign, his firſt miniſter for home affairs (56), Mæcenas; and in the latter part, his grandſon Germanicus, were of this number. Germanicus in particular (57) tranſlated Aratus; and there are ſome (I do not well know, on what grounds) who pretend to have met with a conſiderable part of his tranſlation. The emperor himſelf ſeems to have been both a good critic, and a good author (58). He wrote chiefly in proſe; but ſome things in verſe too; and particularly good part of a tragedy, called Ajax.

IT is no wonder, under ſuch encouragements, and ſo great examples, that poetry ſhould ariſe to a higher pitch than it had ever done among the Romans. They had been gradually improving it for above two centuries: and in Auguſtus found a prince, whoſe own inclinations, the temper of whoſe reign, and whoſe very politics, led him to nurſe all the arts; and poetry, in a more particular manner. The wonder is, when they had got ſo far toward perfection, that they ſhould fall as it were all at once; and from their greateſt purity and ſimplicity, ſhould degenerate ſo immediately into a lower and more affected manner of writing than had been ever known among them. But before

(51) Quintilian in ſpeaking of their epic poets reckons in Ovid for his Metamorphoſis, and Lucretius for his philoſophical poem. See his Inſtit. Or. L. 10. c. 1.

(52) Argutâ meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
Eludente ſenem comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani.——
L. 1. Sat. 10. ℣. 42.
Muſaque Turrani tragicis innixa cothurnis;
Et tua cum ſocco muſa, Meliſſe, levis.
Ovid. ex Ponto, L. 4. Ep. 16. ℣. 30.

(53) ——Forte epos acer,
Ut nemo, Varius ducit.——
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. ℣. 44.

His Thyeſtes, and Ovid's Medea, were generally reckoned the two beſt tragedies of the Auguſtan age. See Note 36, anteh.

(54) ——Pollio regum
Facta canit pede ter percuſſo.——
Horat. L. 1. Sat. 10. ℣. 43.
Motum ex Metello conſule civicum,
Bellique cauſas, & vitia, & modos;
Ludumque fortunæ; graveſque
Principum amicitias, & arma
Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ,
Tractas: & incedis per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.
Paulum ſeveræ muſa tragœdiæ
Deſit theatris: mox ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno.
Horat. L. 2. Od. 1. ad Aſinium Pollionem.

(55) ——Nec Phœbo gratior ulla eſt
Quam ſibi quæ Vari præſcripſit pagina nomen.
Virgil. Ecl. 6. ℣. 12.
——Et me fecere poetam
Pierides; ſunt & mihi carmina: me quoque dicunt
Vatem paſtores. Sed non ego credulus illis:
Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinnâ
Digna; ſed argutos interſtrepere anſer olores.
Id. Ecl. 9. ℣. 36.
Cum Varus Gracchuſque darent fera dicta tyranni.
Ovid. ex Pont. L. 4. Ep. 16. ℣. 31.

(56) See Note 1, anteh.

(57) Ovid addreſſes his Faſti to him; and ſpeaks of him as a poet in that addreſs:
Quæ ſit enim culti facundia ſenſimus oris
Civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis;
Scimus & ad noſtras cum ſe tulit impetus artes,
Ingenii currant flumina quanta tui:
Si licet & fas eſt, vates rege vatis habenas.
Faſt. 1. ℣. 25.

What is received as his tranſlation of Aratus, has been publiſhed ſeveral times; and is inſerted in the Corpus Poetarum Lat. p. 1563, to 1566.

(58) Multa varii generis proſâ oratione compoſuit; ex quibus nonnulla in cœtu familiarium, velut in auditorio, recitavit. Poeticam ſummatim attigit: unus liber extat ſcriptus ab eo hexametris verſibus; cujus & argumentum & titulus eſt Sicilia. Extat alter, æque modicus, epigrammatum; quæ fere tempore balnei meditabatur. Tragœdiam magno impetu exorſus, non ſuccedente ſtylo abolevit: quærentibuſque amicis, quidnam Ajax ageret? reſpondit; Ajacem ſuum in ſpongiam incubuiſſe.——Genus eloquendi ſecutus eſt elegans & temperatum; vitatis ſententiarum ineptiis atque inconcinnitate, & reconditorum verborum (ut ipſe dicit) fœtoribus; præcipuamque curam duxit, ſenſum animi quam apertiſſimè exprimere. Suetonius in Aug. §. 85, & 86.—To this, the quotation from Macrobius; Note 1, anteh.

fore I enter on this third age, it might refreſh you a little to take a turn in the garden: where, if you are not yet tired, I can go on with my ſtory as well while we are walking. On condition that you will proceed with that, ſays Myſagetes, I am for a walk. At the ſame time Philander roſe from his ſeat; and they went all together for the garden. When they came thither, they found the rain which had threatened all the morning, was actually falling; and ſo they were forced to content themſelves with the portico which runs all along the garden front of the houſe: where, as they were taking their turns backward and forward, Polymetis finiſhed his account of the Roman poets in the following manner.

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DIAL. IV.

Of the Fall of Poetry among the Romans.

THERE are ſome who aſſert that the great age of the Roman eloquence I have been ſpeaking of, began (1) to decline a little even in the latter part of Auguſtus's reign. It certainly fell very much under Tiberius; and grew every day weaker and weaker, till it was wholly changed under Caligula. Hence therefore we may date the third age, or the fall of the Roman poetry. Auguſtus, whatever his natural temper was, put on at leaſt a mildneſs, that gave a calm to the ſtate during his time: the ſucceeding emperors flung off the maſk: and not only were, but openly appeared to be rather monſters than men. We need not go to their hiſtorians for proofs of their prodigious vileneſs: it is enough to mention the bare names of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero. Under ſuch heads every thing that was good run to ruin. All diſcipline in war, all domeſtic virtues, the very love of liberty, and all the taſte for ſound eloquence and good poetry, ſunk gradually; and faded away, as they had flouriſhed, together. Inſtead of the ſenſible, chaſte, and manly way of writing that had been in uſe in the former age, there now roſe up a deſire of writing ſmartly, and an affectation of ſhining in every thing they ſaid. A certain (2) prettineſs, and glitter, and luxuriance of ornaments, was what diſtinguiſhed their moſt applauded writers in proſe; and their poetry was quite loſt in high flights and obſcurity. Seneca, the (3) favourite proſe-writer of thoſe times; and Petronius Arbiter, ſo great a favourite with many of our own; afford too many proofs of this, as to the proſe in Nero's time: and as to the poets, it is enough to ſay, that they had then Lucan and Perſius, inſtead of Virgil and Horace.

PERSIUS and Lucan, who were the moſt celebrated poets under the reign of Nero, may very well ſerve for examples of the faults I juſt mentioned; one of the ſwelling, and the other of the obſcure ſtyle, then in faſhion. Lucan's manner in general runs too much into fuſtian and bombaſt. His muſe has a kind of dropſy; and looks like the ſoldier deſcribed in his own Pharſalia, who in paſſing the deſart ſands of Africa was bit by a ſerpent, and ſwelled to ſuch an immoderate ſize "that (4) he was loſt (as he expreſſes it) in the tumours of his own body." Some critics have been in too great haſte to make Quintilian ſay ſome good things of Lucan, which he never (5) meant to do. What

(1) Mediis Divi Auguſti temporibus,——poſtquam longa temporum quies, & continuum populi otium, & aſſidua ſenatûs tranquillitas, & maximi principis diſciplina, ipſam quoque eloquentiam (ſicut omnia alia) pacaverat. Quintilian. de Cauſis cor. Eloq. T. 2. p. 754. Ed. 1665. He was ſaying juſt before (p. 753.) Quo plures & intulerit ictus & exceperit, eo acrior, tanto altior & excelſior (erit orator:) and he ſays a little after (p. 755.) Non de otioſâ & quietâ re loquimur, & quæ probitate & modeſtiâ gaudeat; ſed eſt magna iſta & notabilis eloquentia, alumna licentiæ, (quam ſtulti libertatem vocabant,) comes ſeditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum; ſine obſequio, ſine ſervitute; contumax, temeraria, arrogans; quæ in bene conſtitutis civitatibus non oritur.——(It grows at laſt into a compliment to Veſpaſian. p. 757, & ult.)

(2) Amœnitates, nitor, and lætitia ſtyli, are the terms that Quintilian uſes perpetually in ſpeaking of this age; in his treatiſe on the fall of eloquence.

(3) Poſtquam ad providentiam ſapientiamque flexit (Nero, in his funeral panegyric on Claudius) nemo riſui temperare; quanquam oratio à Senecâ compoſita multum cultûs præferret. Fuit illi viro ingenium amœnum, & temporis ejus auribus accommodatum.—Tacit. Annal. L. 13, initio.——Senecam, tum maxime placentem. Suetonius, in Caligulâ, c. 53.

(4) ——Tendit cutem, pereunte figurâ,
Miſcens cuncta tumor; toto jam corpore major,
Humanumque egreſſa modum, ſuper omnia membra
Efflatur ſanies: late pollente veneno,
Ipſe latet penitus congeſto corpore merſus.
Lucan. Pharſ. L. 9. ℣. 796.

(5) Several critics have quoted the following paſſage as an high commendation given by Quintilian, to Lucan:——Exigitur jam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor; non Actii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus; ſed ex Horatii, & Virgilii, & Lucani ſacrario prolatus——But they have ſcarce conſidered who it is that

What this poet has been always admired for, and what he will ever deſerve to be admired for, are the ſeveral philoſophical paſſages that abound in his works; and his generous ſentiments, particularly on the love of liberty, and the contempt of death. In his calm hours he is very wiſe; but he is often in his rants, and never more ſo than when he is got into a battle, or a ſtorm at ſea: but it is remarkable that, even on thoſe occaſions, it is not ſo much a violence of rage, as a madneſs of affectation that appears moſt ſtrongly in him. I am no great admirer of Lucan, ſays Philander, for any thing except his fine ſentiments on liberty and virtue; but is not what you ſay of him a little too ſevere? No, interpoſed Myſagetes, I muſt do Polymetis the juſtice to ſide with him on this occaſion. I have been a great reader of Lucan formerly; and I believe every thing Polymetis has ſaid of him, might be very fully proved from his own words. To give you a few inſtances of it out of many, in the very beginning of Lucan's ſtorm, when Cæſar ventured to croſs the ſea in ſo ſmall a veſſel; "the (6) fixt ſtars themſelves ſeem to be put in motion." Then the "waves riſe over the mountains; and (7) carry away the tops of them." Their next ſtep is to heaven; where they catch (8) the rain "in the clouds:" I ſuppoſe, to increaſe their forces. The ſea opens in ſeveral places; and leaves its bottom (9) dry land. All the foundations of the univerſe are ſhaken; and (10) nature is afraid of a ſecond chaos. His little ſkiff, in the mean time, ſometimes (11) cuts along the clouds with her ſails; and ſometimes ſeems in danger of being ſtranded, on the ſands at the bottom of the ſea: and muſt inevitably have been loſt, had not the ſtorm (by good fortune) been ſo ſtrong (12) from every quarter, that ſhe did not know on which ſide to bulge firſt.

WHEN the two armies are going to join battle in the plains of Pharſalia, we are told that all the ſoldiers were (13) incapable of any fear for themſelves; becauſe they were wholly taken up with their concern for the danger which threatened Pompey and the commorwealth. On this great occaſion the hills about them, according to his account, ſeem to be more afraid, than the men: for ſome of the mountains looked as if they would

that ſays ſo. It is true, it is in a dialogue, which (for my own part) I doubt not was written by Quintilian: but then Quintilian's two chief ſpeakers in that dialogue, are of very oppoſite characters. Aper is a very great advocate for the affected taſte grown ſo much in faſhion in ſome of the bad reigns before, and continued even under Veſpaſian's: Meſſalla is as ſtrongly for the old eloquence of Cicero's days. The author of the dialogue appears very plainly, (from his other works, and this very piece itſelf) to have been of Meſſalla's opinion; and conſequently, to hold juſt the contrary of what Aper ſays. Now this ſeverity againſt the old poets, and this high compliment to Lucan, make part of a warm ſpeech of Aper's: after which too are theſe words. Agnoſcitiſne—vim & ardorem Apri noſtri? Quo torrente, quo impetu ſeculum noſtrum defendit? Quam copioſè ac variè vexavit antiquos? Lib. de Cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ, annexed to Quintilian's works. p. 734.

(6) ——Non ſolum lapſa per altum
Aëra diſperſos traxere cadentia ſulcos
Sidera; ſed ſummis etiam quæ fixa tenentur
Aſtra polis, ſunt viſa quati.
Lucan's Pharſ. Lib. 5. ℣. 564.

(7) Ah, quoties fruſtra pulſatos æquore, montes
Obruit illa dies! quàm celſa cacumina peſſum
Tellus victa dedit.——
Ibid. ℣. 617.

(8) ——Fluctuſque in nubibus accipit imbrem.
Ib. ℣. 629.

(9) ——Scythici vicit rabies Aquilonis; & undas
Torſit: & abſtruſas penitus vada fecit arenas.
Pharſ. Lib. 5. ℣. 604.

(10) Tunc ſuperum convexa tremunt; atque arduus axis
Inſonuit; motâque poli compage laborant:
Extimuit natura chaos.——
Ib. ℣. 634.

(11) Nubila tanguntur velis, & terra carinâ.
Ib. ℣. 642.

(12) Artis opem vicere metus; neſcitque magiſter
Quam frangat, cui cedat aquæ. Diſcordia ponti
Succurrit miſeris; fluctuſque evertere puppim
Non valet in fluctus: victum latus unda repellens
Erigit; atque omni ſurgit ratis ardua vento.
Ib. ℣. 649.

This is of the ſame kind with a monſtrous thought of Pacuvius; ridiculed by Lucan's cotemporary, Perſius. That old poet, in ſpeaking of Antiope, ſeems to have imagined that ſhe had ſo many griefs all round her heart, that it could not break; as it would certainly have done, if ſhe had had fewer. See Perſius, Sat. 1. ℣. 78.

(13) ——Sua quiſque pericula neſcit,
Attonitus majore metu. Quis litora ponto
Obruta, quis ſummis cernens in montibus æquor,
Ætheraque in terras dejecto ſole cadentem,
Tot rerum finem, timeat ſibi? Non vacat ullos
Pro ſe ferre metus; urbi, Magnoque timetur.
Pharſ. Lib. 7. ℣. 138.

would (14) thruſt their heads into the clouds; and others, as if they wanted to hide themſelves under the valleys at their feet. And theſe diſturbances in nature were univerſal: for that day, every ſingle Roman (15), in whatever part of the world he was, felt a ſtrange gloom ſpread all over his mind, on a ſudden; and was ready to cry, tho' he did not know why or wherefore.

The ſea-fight off Marſeilles, is a thing that might divert one, full as well as Eraſmus's Naufragium Joculare: and what is ſtill ſtranger, the poet chuſes to be moſt diverting in the wounds he gives the poor ſoldiers. The firſt perſon killed in it, is pierced (16) at the ſame inſtant by two ſpears; one in his back, and the other in his breaſt; ſo nicely, that both their points meet together in the middle of his body. They each, I ſuppoſe, had a right to kill him; and his ſoul was for ſome time doubtful which it ſhould obey. At laſt, it compounds the matter; drives out each of the ſpears before it, at the ſame inſtant; and whips out of his body, half at one wound, and half at the other.—A little after this, there is an honeſt Greek, who has his right hand cut off; and fights on with his left, till he can leap into the ſea (17) to recover the former; but there (as misfortunes ſeldom come ſingle) he has his left arm chopt off too: after which, like the hero in one of our antient ballads, he fights on with the trunk of his body; and performs actions, greater than any Withrington's that ever was.—When the battle grows warmer, there are many who have the ſame misfortune with this Greek. In endeavouring to clamber up the enemies ſhips, ſeveral have their arms ſtruck off; fall into the ſea (18); and leave their hands behind them! Some of theſe ſwimming (19) combatants encounter their enemies in the water; ſome ſupply their friends ſhips with arms; ſome, that had no arms, entangle themſelves with their enemies; cling to them, and ſink together to the bottom of the ſea: others ſtick their bodies againſt the beaks of their enemies ſhips; and ſcarce a man of them flung away the uſe of his carcaſe, even when he ſhould be dead.

But among all the contrivances of theſe poſthumous warriors, the thing moſt to be admired is the ſagacity of the great Tyrrhenus. (20) Tyrrhenus was ſtanding at the head of one of the veſſels, when a ball of lead, flung by an artful ſlinger, ſtruck out both his eyes. The violent daſh of the blow, and the deep darkneſs that was ſpread over him all at once, made him at firſt conclude that he was dead: but when he had recovered his ſenſes a little, and found he could advance one foot before the other, he deſired his fellow-ſoldiers to plant him juſt as they did their Balliſtæ: he hopes, he can ſtill fight as well

(14) ——Multis concurrere viſus Olympo
Pindus; & abruptis mergi convallibus Hæmus.
Pharſ. Lib. 7. ℣. 174.

(15) ——Tyriis qui Gadibus hoſpes
Adjacet, Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxem,
Sub quocunque die, quocunque eſt ſidere mundi,
Mœret; & ignorat cauſas: animumque dolentem
Corripit.——
Ib. ℣. 191.

(16) Terga ſimul pariter miſſis & pectora telis
Tranſigitur; medio concurrit pectore ferrum:
Et ſtetit incertus fluerit quo vulnere ſanguis.
Donec utraſque ſimul largus cruor expulit haſtas;
Diviſitque animam, ſparſitque in vulnera lethum.
Ib. Lib. 3. ℣. 591.

(17) Crevit in adverſis virtus. Plus nobilis iræ
Truncus habet; fortique inſtaurat prælia lævâ:
Rapturuſque ſuam procurrit in æquora dextram, &c.
Ibid. ℣. 616.

(18) A manibus cecidere ſuis.——
Ib. ℣. 668.

(19) ——Nec ceſſat naufraga virtus.
Tela legunt dejecta mari, ratibuſque miniſtrant;
Incertaſque manus, ictu languente, per undas
Exercent. Nunc rara datur ſi copia ferri,
Utuntur pelago: ſævus complectitur hoſtem
Hoſtis; & implicitis gaudent ſubſidere membris,
Mergenteſque mori.——Non perdere letum
Maxima cura fuit: multus ſua vulnera puppi
Affixit moriens; & roſtris abſtulit ictus.
Ib. ℣. 708.

(20) Stantem ſublimi Tyrrhenum culmine proræ,
Lygdamus excuſsâ Baleāris tortor habenæ
Glande petens; ſolido fregit cava tempora plumbo:
Sedibus expulſi, poſtquam cruor omnia rupit
Vincula, procumbunt oculi. Stat lumine rapto
Attonitus; mortiſque illas putat eſſe tenebras.
At poſtquam membris ſenſit conſtare vigorem;
Vos ait, O ſocii, ſicut tormenta ſoletis,
Me quoque mittendis rectum componite telis:
Egere quod ſupereſt animæ, Tyrrhene, per omnes
Bellorum caſus! Ingentem militis uſum
Hoc habet ex magnâ defunctum parte cadaver,
Viventis feriere loco.——
Ib. ℣. 721.

well as a machine; and ſeems mightily pleaſed, to think how he ſhall cheat the enemy, who will fling away darts at him, that might have killed people who were alive.

SUCH ſtrange things as theſe, ſays Polymetis, make me always wonder the more, how Lucan can be ſo wiſe as he is in ſome parts of his poem. Indeed his ſentences are more ſolid than one could otherwiſe expect from ſo young a writer, had he wanted ſuch an uncle as Seneca, and ſuch a maſter as Cornutus. The ſwellings in the other parts of his poem may be partly accounted for, perhaps, from his being born in Spain, and in that part of it which was the fartheſt removed from Greece and Rome; nay of that very city, which is marked by Cicero (21) as particularly over-run with a bad taſte. After all, what I moſt diſlike him for, is a blot in his moral character. He was at firſt pretty (22) high in the favour of Nero. On the diſcovery of his being concerned in a plot againſt him, this philoſopher (who had written ſo much, and ſo gallantly, about the pleaſure of dying) behaved himſelf in the moſt deſpicable manner. He named (23) his own mother as guilty of the conſpiracy, in hopes of ſaving himſelf. After this, he added ſeveral of his friends to his former confeſſion; and thus continued labouring for a pardon, by making ſacrifices to the tyrant of ſuch lives, as any one much leſs of a philoſopher than he ſeems to have been, ought to think dearer than their own. All this baſeneſs was of no uſe to him: for in the end Nero ordered him to execution too. His veins were opened; and the laſt (24) words he ſpoke, were ſome verſes of his own.

PERSIUS is ſaid to have been Lucan's ſchool-fellow (25) under Cornutus; and like him was bred up more a philoſopher than a poet. He has the character of a good man; but ſcarce deſerves that of a good writer, in any other than the moral ſenſe of the word: for his writings are very virtuous, but not very poetical. His great fault is obſcurity. Several

(21) Corduba; in Hiſpania Bœtica.——Qui (Metellus Pius) uſque eo de ſuis rebus ſcribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubæ natis poetis, pingue quiddam ſonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aureis ſuas dederit. (Cicero, pro Archia.)

(22) Provocatus Athenis à Nerone, cohortique amicorum additus; atque etiam quæſturâ donatus. Tract. de claris Poetis, attributed to Suetonius.

(23) This was in (what was called) Piſo's conſpiracy; it was diſcovered by one Milichus. The firſt he named, were Sævinus and Natalis, who were ordered to be put to the queſtion. Tormentorum aſpectum ac minas non tulere: prior tamen Natalis, totius conjurationis magis gnarus; ſimul arguendi peritior. De Piſone primum fatetur: deinde adjicit Annæum Senecam: ſive internuntius inter eum Piſonemque fuit; ſive ut Neronis gratiam pararet; qui infenſus Senecæ omnes ad eum opprimendum artes conquirebat. Tum cognito Natalis indicio Sævinus quoque pari imbecillitate, an cuncta jam patefacta credens, nec ullum ſilentii emolumentum, edidit cæteros. Ex quibus, Lucanus, Quinctianuſque, & Senicio, diu abnuêre: poſt, promiſsâ impunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excuſarent, Lucanus Atillam matrem ſuam, Quinctianus Glicium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem, amicorum præcipuos nominavere. Atque interim Nero, recordatus Voluſii Proculi indicio Epicharim attineri; ratuſque muliebre corpus impar dolori, tormentis dilacerari jubet. At illam non verbera, non ignes, non ira eo acriùs torquentium ne a fæminâ ſpernerentur, pervicere, quin objecta denegaret. Sic primus quæſtionis dies contemptus: poſtero cum ad eoſdem cruciatus retraheretur, geſtamine ſellæ, (nam diſſolutis membris inſiſtere nequibat) vincto faſciæ quam pectori detraxerat, in modum laquei ad arcum ſellæ reſtricto indidit cervicem, & corporis pondere conniſa tenuem jam ſpiritum expreſſit. Clariore exemplo libertina mulier, in tantâ neceſſitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo; cum ingenui, & viri, & equites Romani ſenatoreſque, intacti tormentis cariſſima ſuorum quiſque pignorum proderent; non enim omittebant Lucanus quoque, & Senicio, & Quinctianus, paſſim conſcios edere. Tacitus, Annal. L. 15. §. 56 & 57.

(24) Exin M. Annæi Lucani cædem imperat. Is profluente ſanguine, ubi frigeſcere pedes manuſque, & paulatim ab extremis cedere ſpiritum, fervido adhuc & compote mentis pectore, intelligit; recordatus carmen à ſe compoſitum, quo vulneratum militem per ejuſmodi mortis imaginem obiiſſe tradiderat, verſus ipſos retulit: eaque illi ſuprema vox fuit. Ibid. §. 70.

The verſes, here intended by Tacitus, are thought by ſome to be thoſe in the third book of the Pharſalia; on the death of one of the Roman ſoldiers in the ſea-fight off Marſeilles.

Ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inſerit uncos,
Affixit Lycidam; merſus foret ille profundo;
Sed prohibent ſocii, ſuſpenſaque crura retentant.
Scinditur avulſus. "Nec, ſicut vulnere, ſanguis
Emicuit lentus; ruptis cadit undique venis:
Diſcurſuſque animæ, diverſa in membra meantis,
Interceptus aquis."——

Pharſ. Lib. 3. ℣. 641.

(25) Cum primum pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis Laribus donata pependit,
Me tibi ſuppoſui Teneros tu ſuſcipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, ſinu.——

Perſius, Sat. 5. ℣. 37.

ral have endeavoured to excuſe, or palliate this fault in him, from the danger of the times he lived in; and the neceſſity a ſatiriſt then lay under of writing ſo, for his own ſecurity. This may hold as to ſome paſſages in him: but to ſay the truth, he ſeems to have a tendency and love to obſcurity in himſelf: for it is not only to be found where he may ſpeak of the emperor, or the ſtate; but in the general courſe of his ſatires. So that, in my conſcience, I muſt give him up for an obſcure writer; as I ſhould Lucan for a tumid and ſwelling one.

Such was the Roman poetry under Nero. The three emperors after him, were made in an hurry (26), and had ſhort tumultuous reigns. Then the Flavian family came in. Veſpaſian, the firſt emperor of that line (27) endeavoured to recover ſomething of the good taſte that had formerly flouriſhed in Rome; his ſon Titus, the delight of mankind, in his ſhort reign encouraged poetry, by his example (28), as well as by his liberalities: and even Domitian loved (29) to be thought a patron of the muſes. After him there was a ſucceſſion of good emperors, from Nerva to the Antonines. And this extraordinary good fortune (for indeed, if one conſiders the general run of the Roman emperors, it would have been ſuch to have had any two good ones only together) gave a new ſpirit to the arts that had long been in ſo languiſhing a condition; and made poetry revive, and raiſe up its head again, once more among them. Not that there were very good poets even now; but they were better at leaſt, than they had been under the reign of Nero.

This period produced three epic poets, whoſe works remain to us; Silius (30), Statius, and Valerius Flaccus. Silius, as if he had been frightened at the high flight of Lucan, keeps almoſt always on the ground; and ſcarce once attempts to ſoar, throughout his whole work. It is plain however, tho' it is low: and if he has but little of the ſpirit of poetry, he is free at leaſt from the affectation, and obſcurity, and bombaſt, which prevailed ſo much among his immediate predeceſſors. Silius was honoured with the conſulate; and lived to ſee his ſon in the ſame high office. He was a great lover and collector of pictures and ſtatues (31); ſome of which he worſhipped; eſpecially one he had of Virgil. He uſed to offer ſacrifices too at his tomb, near Naples. It is a pity that he could not get more of his ſpirit in his writings: for he had ſcarce enough to make his offerings acceptable to the genius of that great poet. Statius had more of ſpirit, with a leſs ſhare of prudence: for his Thebaid is certainly ill conducted, and ſcarcely well written. By the little we have of his Achilleid, that would probably have been a much better poem, at leaſt as to the writing part, had he lived to finiſh it. As it is, his deſcription (32) of Achilles's behaviour at the feaſt which Lycomedes makes for the Grecian embaſſadors, and ſome other parts of it, read more pleaſingly to me than any part of the Thebaid.

(26) Ex conditione tumultuque temporum: Suetonius in Veſp. §. 10. (ſpeaking of the reigns before Veſpaſian.) The three reigns before his, all together do not take up two years and a half.

(27) Per totum imperii tempus, nihil habuit antiquius, quam prope afflictam nutantemque rempublicam ſtabilire primò, deinde & ornare. Suetonius, in Veſpaſ. §. 8.—Ingenia & artes vel maximè fovit. Primus e fiſco Latinis Græciſque rhetoribus annua centena conſtituit. Præſtantes poetas, nec non & artifices, coemit. Ibid. §. 18.

(28) Peritiſſimus Latinæ Græcæque linguæ: vel in orando, vel in fingendis poematibus, promtus & facilis, ad extemporalitatem uſque. Id. in Tito, §. 3.

(29) Simulavit & ipſe mirè modeſtiam; inprimiſque poeticæ ſtudium. Id. in Domit. §. 2.

(30) It is ſaid, that Silius did not write till he was very old: and indeed his ſtyle is as like that of an elderly man, as it is unlike the ſtyle in faſhion under Nero. I have therefore not reckoned him as a poet under Nero; tho' he was conſul the laſt year of that reign. He lived long after; and probably wrote his poem after Nero's death.

(31) Erat Φιλοκαλος, uſque ad emacitatis reprehenſionem. Plures iiſdem in locis, (in the Campania felice) villas poſſidebat; adamatiſque novis, priores negligebat. Multum ubique librorum; multum ſtatuarum; multum imaginum: quas non habebat modò, verum etiam venerabatur. Virgilii ante omnes; cujus natalem religioſiùs quàm ſuum celebrabat: Neapoli maximè; ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum ſolebat. Plin. Lib. 3. Ep. 7.

(32) Statius, Achil. L. 2. ℣. 67, to 131.

Thebaid. I cannot help thinking, that the paſſage quoted ſo often from Juvenal as an (33) encomium on Statius, was meant as a ſatire on him. Martial ſeems (34) to ſtrike at him too, under the borrowed name of Sabellus. As he did not finiſh his Achilleid, he may deſerve more reputation perhaps as a miſcellaneous than as an epic writer; for tho' the odes and other copies of verſes in his Sylvæ are not without their faults, they are not ſo faulty as his Thebaid. The chief faults of Statius, in his Sylvæ and Thebaid, are ſaid (35) to have proceeded from very different cauſes: the former, from their having been written incorrectly and in a great deal of haſte; and the other from its being over corrected and hard. Perhaps his greateſt fault of all, or rather the greateſt ſign of his bad judgment, is his admiring Lucan ſo (36) extravagantly as he does. It is remarkable, that poetry run more lineally in Statius's family than perhaps in any other. He received it (37) from his father; who had been an eminent poet in his time; and lived to ſee his ſon obtain the laurel-crown, at the Alban games; as he had formerly done himſelf. Valerius Flaccus wrote a little (38) before Statius. He died young; and left his poem unfiniſhed. We have but ſeven books of his Argonautics, and part of the eighth; in which, the Argonauts are left on the ſea, in their return homewards. Several of the (39) modern criticks, who have been ſome way or other concerned in publiſhing Flaccus's works, make no ſcruple of placing him next to Virgil, of all the Roman epic poets; and I own I am a good deal inclined to be ſeriouſly of their opinion: for he ſeems to me to have more fire than Silius; and to be more correct than Statius; and as for Lucan, I cannot help looking upon him as quite out of the queſtion. He imitates (40) Virgil's language much better than Silius,

(33) There ſeems to me to be an alluſion run quite throughout it; as if Juvenal had been ſpeaking all the while of a common proſtitute.

Curritur ad vocem jucundam & carmen amicæ
Thebaïdos; lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promiſitque diem. Tanta dulcedine captos
Affixit ille animos; tantâque libidine vulgi
Auditur.———

Juvenal. Sat. 7. ℣. 86.

However that be, I ſhould think that the ſingle expreſſion of, libidine vulgi, would quite ſpoil it for a panegyric.

An extreme good judge looked upon it as a ſatire rather than a panegyric, long ago. Non multum adeo Statium à ſuorum temporum ſcriptoribus amatum eâ ratione colligo, (ſays he) quod ab iis ejus nullam fere mentionem factam vides, præterquam ab Juvenale; qui & illum perſtringere potius ſatiricè videtur, quàm laudare: ita enim canit in ſeptimâ, Curritur ad vocem jucundam, &c. Gyraldus, Dial. 4.

(34) Gevartius, in his notes on the Sylvæ, conjectures that Martial and Statius were not very good friends: they had common acquaintance, as Stella and others; and yet neither of them ever mentions the other's name.——Raderus carries it farther. He imagines that Statius had the advantage over Martial in ſome extempore verſes. They both wrote on the ſame ſubject, Hetruſcus's baths. Statius's copy of verſes on them run to a great length; and Martial ſeems to ridicule him for it, under the name of Sabellus, in an epigram that begins thus; Laudas balnea verſibus trecentis.——He is ſuppoſed too to have aimed at him in ſome other of his epigrams.

(35) Thebais, ut ipſemet cecinit, "Multâ cruciata limâ," atque idcirco durior, & inconcinnior alicubi, quibuſdam videtur: extant & quinque Sylvarum libri, ex quibus & vehemens in eo poematis genere illius & penè extemporale ingenium, & ſubitum calorem, ut ipſe ait, percipere poſſitis. Gyraldus, de Poet. Lat. Dial. 4.

(36) In a copy of verſes of his on Lucan, (after that poet's death) the chief point he ſeems to drive at is to prefer Lucan to Homer, and Virgil, and all the Roman epic poets together.

Graio nobilior Melete Bœtis:
Bœtin Mantua provocare noli!

Statius, Lib. 2. Sylv. 7. ℣. 35.

Nocturnas alii Phrygum ruinas,
Et tardas reducis vias Ulyſſei,
Et puppim temerarium Minervæ,
Tritâ vatibus orbitâ ſequantur.

Ibid. ℣. 51.

Hæc primo juvenis canes ſub ævo
Ante annos culicis Maroniani.

Ib. ℣. 74.

Cedet muſa rudis ferocis Ennî;
Et docti furor arduus Lucretî;
Et qui per freta duxit Argonautas;
Et qui corpora prima transfigurat.

Ib. ℣. 78.

(37) Gyraldus, de Lat. Poet. D. 4.

(38) Flaccus, addreſſes his poem to Veſpaſian; and Statius his Sylvæ, to Domitian.

(39) Inter ſcriptores Romanos qui poeſin epicam lucubrationibus ſuis inſignitam jam olim reddiderunt, —haud quiſquam nobis occurrit, quem C. Valerio Flacco jure præferamus, poſt verè divinum & majorem comparatione omni Maronem Virgilium. Nic. Heinſius's Pref. to the Elz. Ed. of Flaccus.——Quod ſi Lucano & Papinio componere tantum ſcriptorem volueris, facile videbis quid illis ſuperſit, quid huic non deſit, ut conſtituatur ex tribus illis princeps poſt Maronem. Gaſpar Barthius Adverſ. l. 56. c. 11.

(40) For an inſtance of Flaccus imitating Virgil's ſtyle better than Statius, ſee the deſcriptions of the furious Venus, from each of them. Dial. 7. poſth.

Silius, or even Statius; and his plan, or rather his ſtory, is certainly leſs embaraſſed and confuſed than the Thebaid. Some of the antients themſelves ſpeak of Flaccus with a great deal of reſpect; and particularly (41) Quintilian: who ſays nothing at all of Silius, or Statius; unleſs the latter is to be included in that (42) general expreſſion of, ſeveral others whom he leaves to be celebrated by poſterity.

As to the dramatic writers of this time, we have not any one comedy; and only ten tragedies, all publiſhed under the name of Lucius Annæus Seneca. They are probably the work of (43) different hands; and might be a collection of favourite plays, put together by ſome bad grammarian: for either the Roman tragedies of this age were very indifferent, or theſe are not their beſt. They have been attributed to authors as far diſtant as the reigns of Auguſtus and Trajan. It is true, the perſon who is ſo poſitive that one of them in particular muſt be of the Auguſtan age, ſays this of a piece that he ſeems reſolved to cry up at all rates; and I believe one ſhould do no injury to any one of them, in ſuppoſing them all to have been written in this third age; under the decline of the Roman poetry.

Of all the other poets under this period, there are none whoſe works remain to us, except Martial and Juvenal. The former flouriſhed under (44) Domitian and Nerva: the latter under (45) Nerva, Trajan, and Adrian.

Martial is a dealer only in a little kind of writing; for Epigram is certainly (what it is called by Dryden) the loweſt ſtep of poetry. He is at the very bottom of the hill; but he diverts himſelf there in gathering flowers and playing with inſects, prettily enough. If Martial made a new-year's gift, he was ſure to ſend a diſtich with it: if a friend died, he made a few verſes to be put on his tomb-ſtone: if a ſtatue was ſet up, they came to him for an inſcription. Theſe were the common offices of his muſe. If he ſtruck a fault in life, he marked it down in a few lines; and if he had a mind to pleaſe a friend, or to get the favour of the great, his ſtyle was turned to panegyric; and theſe were her higheſt employments. He was however a good writer in his way; and there are inſtances even of his writing with ſome dignity, on higher occaſions.

Juvenal began to write after all I have mentioned; and, I do not know by what good fortune, writes with a greater ſpirit of poetry than any of them. He has ſcarce any thing of the gentility of Horace: yet he is not without humour; and exceeds all the ſatiriſts in ſeverity. To ſay the truth, he ſlaſhes too much like an angry executioner: but the depravity of the times, and the vices then in faſhion, may often excuſe ſome degree of rage in him. It is (46) ſaid he did not write till he was elderly; and after he had been

(41) After ſaying that Cornelius Severus would have been their next poet to Virgil, had he lived to finiſh his work on the Sicilian war: but that he died young; and that what he had wrote ſhewed a great deal of genius, and a greater bent for writing juſtly, than could be expected in ſo young a man: he adds immediately. Multum & in Valerio Flacco nuper amiſimus. Quintilian. Inſt. Or. L. 10. c. 1. p. 747. Ed. 1665.

(42) Sunt clari hodieque, & qui olim nominabuntur. Quintilian. Ibid. p. 748.

(43) Juſtus Lipſius attributes Medea to the true Seneca under Claudius: Hercules Furens, and ſeveral of the others, to another Seneca under Trajan: and as the Thebais is his great favourite, he will have that piece to have been written in the Auguſtan age.

Heinſius thinks the Thebais quite unworthy of the praiſes given it by Lipſius: and attributes the ten Latin tragedies to no leſs than five ſeveral authors. The 1ſt, 2d, 5th, and 8th, to Marcus Annæus Seneca, ſurnamed Tragicus: the 4th, 6th, and 7th, to L. Annæus Seneca the philoſopher: and the 3d, 9th, and 10th, to three different declaimers. See Brumoy's Theatre Gr. T. 2. P. 442.

(44) He has ſeveral epigrams addreſſed to thoſe two emperors.

(45) This is, I think, very well proved by Dodwell, in a treatiſe on this ſubject; and might be ſtill farther confirmed, from ſeveral other paſſages in Juvenal himſelf.

(46) Declamavit ad mediam fere ætatem: poſtea ad ſatiras componendas animum appulit. Prateus Life of Juvenal before the Delphin Ed.

been too much uſed to declaiming. However his ſatires have a great deal of ſpirit in them: and ſhew a ſtrong hatred of vice, with ſome very fine and high ſentiments of virtue. They are indeed ſo animated, that I do not know any poem of this age, which one can read with near ſo much pleaſure as his ſatires.

JUVENAL may very well be called the laſt of the Roman poets. After his time poetry continued decaying more and more, quite down to the time of Conſtantine: when all the arts were ſo far loſt and extinguiſhed among the Romans, that from that time they themſelves may very well be called by the name they (47) uſed to give to all the world, except the Greeks: for the Romans then had ſcarce any thing to diſtinguiſh them from the Barbarians.

THERE are therefore but three ages of the Roman poetry, that can carry any weight with them in an enquiry of this nature. The firſt age, from the firſt Punic war to the time of Auguſtus, is more remarkable for ſtrength, than any great degree of beauty in writing. The ſecond age, or the Auguſtan, is the time when they wrote with a due mixture of beauty and ſtrength. And the third, from the beginning of Nero's reign to the end of Adrian's, when they endeavoured after beauty more than ſtrength: when they loſt much of their vigour; and run too much into affectation. Their poetry, in its youth, was ſtrong and nervous; in its middle age, it was manly and polite; in its latter days, it grew tawdry and feeble: and endeavoured to hide the decays of its former beauty and ſtrength, in falſe ornaments of dreſs, and a borrowed fluſh on the face; which did not ſo much render it pleaſing, as it ſhewed that its natural complexion was faded and loſt.

THUS, ſays Polymetis, I have at laſt got through the whole progreſs of poetry at Rome. You ſee I have found out ſo much to ſay upon it, that I am ſure you will eaſily excuſe my entering on the ſecond part of the ſubject you have given me, till a farther occaſion.

(47) Nam et gentibus proprii mores ſunt: nec idem in Barbaro, Romano, Græco, probabile eſt. Quintilian. Inſt. Or. L. 5. c. 10. p. 363. Ed. 1665.

DIAL. V.

Of the Introduction, Improvement, and Fall of the Arts at Rome.

AFTER ſupper, as they were talking over the different riſes and falls of poetry among the Romans; Myſagetes was ſaying, that what had been obſerved by Polymetis on the three characters of the Roman poetry, in its riſe, its flouriſhing, and its decline, ſeemed to him to proceed from the natural temper and conſtitution of poetry in general. At leaſt, ſays he, I believe it would be found in fact to have made the ſame ſort of progreſs, and to have taken the ſame ſteps in moſt other nations. What has been ſaid of the Roman, would hold equally of the Grecian poetry: but without going ſo far back as to the times of Alexander the great; in the modern world, which we are a little better acquainted with, has not the courſe of poetry, in Italy, in France, and here at home, been much the ſame with what has been mentioned of the Roman? In each, the beginnings of their poetry have been rude, but ſtrong: in their beſt ages, they have had the trueſt taſte of ſimplicity; not ſo rude and naked, but modeſtly adorned and well dreſt: and when they come to fall, they have always run into affectation; by endeavouring to make an appearance above their ſtrength. I ſhould perhaps have eaſily been brought over, by your joint authorities, ſays Philander, had I differed from you before; but to ſay the truth, I have long ſince thought that the weakneſs and decline of poetry, in any country, appears firſt in flutter and finery. I ſuppoſe we ſhall find the caſe is pretty much the ſame too, with its ſiſter arts of ſtatuary and painting, when Polymetis has been ſo good as to give us an account of their progreſs and decline at Rome. I underſtand you, ſays Polymetis; and am ready to give the account I promiſed, as well as I can. It will be, I believe, ſtill more imperfect than the former: but I can promiſe you at leaſt that it ſhall not be near ſo long; and conſequently, I hope, not near ſo tedious.

THE city of Rome, as well as its inhabitants, was in the beginning rude and unadorned. Thoſe old rough ſoldiers looked on the effects of the politer arts, as things fit only for an effeminate people: as too apt to ſoften and unnerve men; and to take from that martial temper and ferocity, which they encouraged ſo much and ſo univerſally in the infancy of their ſtate. Their houſes were (what the name they gave them ſignified) only a (1) covering for them, and a defence againſt bad weather. Theſe ſheds of theirs were more like the caves of wild beaſts, than the habitations of men: and were rather flung together as chance led them (2), than formed into regular ſtreets and openings. Their walls were (3) half mud; and their roofs (4), pieces of boards ſtuck together: nay even this was an after-improvement; for in Romulus's time, their houſes were (5) only covered with

(1) Tecta. In the ſame manner perhaps the word culmina, for the roofs of their houſes, ſhews their old method of covering them with ſtraw.

(2) Ουκ εκ διανομης τινος η ταξεως, αλλ' ως εκαστος ετοιμοτηλος η εκλησεως εχε, των χωριων καταλαμβανομενων· διο και τεταραγμενην τοις σενωποις, και συμπεφυρμενην ταις οικησεσιν ανηγαγον την πολιν, υπο σπευδης και ταχους. Plutarch. in Camillo, p. 145. Ed. Steph.

(3) Cæmenta non calce durata, ſed interlita luto; ſtructuræ antiquæ genere. Livy, L. 21. §. 11.

(4) Scandulâ contectam fuiſſe Romam, ad Pyrrhi uſque bellum, annis 470, Cornelius Nepos autor eſt. Pliny, L. 16. c. 4. p. 142. Elz.

(5) One may gueſs a little at their other buildings, from the palace of their kings. It was a little thatched houſe; and very ill furniſhed.

Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 654.

Parva fuit, ſi prima velis elementa referre,
Roma: ſed in parvâ ſpes tamen hujus erat.
Mœnia jam ſtabant populis anguſta futuris;
Credita ſed turbæ tunc nimis ampla ſuæ.
Quæ fuerit noſtri ſi quæris regia nati,
Aſpice de cannâ ſtraminibuſque domum:
In ſtipulâ placidi carpebat munera ſomni.
Ovid. Faſt. L. 3. ℣. 185.

Dum caſa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum;
Et dabat exiguum fluminis alva torum.
Ib. L. 1. ℣. 200.

Ovid

with ſtraw. If they had any thing that was finer than ordinary, that was chiefly taken up in ſetting off the (6) temples of their gods: and when theſe began to be furniſhed with ſtatues (for they had none (7) till long after Numa's time) they were probably more fit to give terror than delight; and ſeemed rather formed ſo as to be horrible enough to ſtrike an awe into thoſe who worſhipped them, than handſome enough to invite any one to look upon them for pleaſure. Their deſign, I ſuppoſe, was anſwerable to the materials they were made of; and if their gods were of (8) earthen-ware, they were reckoned better than ordinary; for many of them were chopt out of wood. One of the chief ornaments in thoſe times, both of the temples and of private houſes (9), conſiſted in their antient trophies: which were (10) trunks of trees cleared of their branches, and ſo formed into a rough kind of poſts. Theſe were loaded with the arms they had taken in war: and you may eaſily conceive what ſort of ornaments theſe poſts muſt make, when half decayed by time, and hung about with old ruſty arms, beſmeared with the blood of their enemies. Rome was not then that beautiful Rome, whoſe very ruins at this day are ſought after with ſo much pleaſure: it was a town (11), which carried an air of terror in its appearance; and which made people ſhudder, whenever they firſt entered within its gates.

SUCH was the ſtate of this imperial city, when its citizens had made ſo great a progreſs in arms as to have conquered the better part of Italy, and to be able to engage in a war with the Carthaginians; the ſtrongeſt power then by land, and the abſolute maſters by ſea. The Romans

Ovid is not the only one that calls it, a cottage.—Si totâ urbe nullum melius ampliuſve tectum fieri poſſit, quàm caſa illa conditoris eſt noſtri; ſays Camillus, Livy, L. 5. §. 53.—Ortum è parvulâ Romuli casâ, totius terrarum orbis fecit columen. Val. Max. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.——Per Romuli caſam, perque veteris Capitolii humilia tecta, & æternos Veſtæ focos fictilibus etiamnum vaſis contentis juro, nullas divitias talium virorum paupertati poſſe præferri! Id. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(6) Vetera hoſtium ſpolia, detrahunt templis porticibuſque. Livy, L. 22. §. 57. (See L. 10. §. 46, &c. &c.)

(7) Διεκωλυσεν ανθρωποειδη και ζωομορφον εικονα θεν Ρωμαιοις νομιζειν· ουδ' ην παρ' αυτοις ουτε γραπτον ουτε πλαστον ειδος θεν προτερον. Αλλ' εκατον εβδομηκοντα τοις πρωτοις ετεσι, ναους μεν οικοδομημενοι διετελουν, και καλιαδας ιερας ιστωντες· αγαλμα δε ουδεν εμμορφον ποιημενοι διετελουν. Plutarch. in Numa. p. 65. Ed. Steph. Par. 1624.

(8) Fictilibus crevere deis hæc aurea templa;
Nec fuit opprobrio facta ſine arte caſa.
Propert. L. 4. El. 1. ℣. 6.

Jupiter antiquâ vix totus ſtabat in æde;
Inque Jovis dextrâ fictile fulmen erat.
Ovid. Faſt. L. 1. ℣. 202.

Hanc rebus Latris curam præſtare ſolebat,
Fictilis & nullo violatus Jupiter auro.
Juvenal. Sat. 11. ℣. 116.

Lignea aut fictilia deorum ſimulacra in delubris dicata uſque ad devictam Aſiam. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 34. C. 7.

(9) This was a privilege at firſt allowed only to the Patricians; and carried ſome rights along with it.—Quorum domos ſpoliis hoſtium affixis inſignes inter alias feceritis; is mentioned as one of the honours, which the Patricians had ſuffered the Plebeans to ſhare with them; by Livy, L. 10. §. 7.——In making up the defect of the ſenators, after the defeat at Cannæ, they choſe firſt out of ſuch as had borne any of the great offices in the ſtate; then of ſuch as had borne the inferior: and thirdly from thoſe, qui ſpolia ex hoſte fixa domi haberent, aut civicam coronam accepiſſent. Id. L. 23. §. 23.

It was unlawful to remove theſe trophies;——aliæ foris & circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant; affixis hoſtium ſpoliis, quæ nec emptori refringere liceret: triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis ipſæ domus. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 35. C. 2. p. 415. Elz.——And they never did remove them, but on very extraordinary occaſions; as after the defeat at Cannæ, &c. See Note 6.

(10) ——Indutos truncos hoſtilibus armis.
Virg. Æn. 11. ℣. 83.

His deſcription of the trophy of Æneas over Mezentius is more particular; and juſt like the trophies we ſee on medals, and the triumphal columns and arches of the better ages of Rome.

Ingentem quercum, deciſis undique ramis,
Conſtituit tumulo; fulgentiaque induit arma:
Mezenti ducis exuvias; tibi magne tropæum
Bellipotens! Aptat rorantes ſanguine criſtas,
Telaque trunca viri; & bis ſex thoraca petitum
Perfoſſumque locis: clypeumque ex ære ſiniſtræ
Subligat; atque enſem collo ſuſpendit eburnum.
Æn. 11. ℣. 11.

(11) Ουδεν γαρ ειχεν (the city of Rome) ουδ' εγινωσκε προτερον των κομψων και περιττων· ουδε ην εν αυλη το χαριεν τουτο, και γλαφυρον, και αγαπωμενον. Οπλων δε βαρβαρικων και λαφυρων εναιμων αναπλεως ουσα, και περιστεφανωμενη θριαμβων υπομνημασι και τροπαιοις, ουχ' ιλαρον, ουδ' αφοβον, ουδε δειλων ην θεαμα και τρυφωντων θεατων. Plutarch. in Marcello. p. 310. Ed. Steph. Par. 1624.

Romans, in the firſt Punic war, added Sicily to their dominions. In the ſecond, they greatly increaſed their ſtrength, both by ſea and land; and acquired a taſte of the arts and elegancies of life, with which till then they had been totally unacquainted. For tho' before this they were maſters of Sicily, (which in the old Roman geography made a part of (12) Greece) and of ſeveral cities in the eaſtern part of Italy, which were inhabited by colonies from Greece; and were adorned with the pictures, and ſtatues and other works, in which that nation delighted and excelled the reſt of the world ſo much; they had hitherto looked upon them with ſo careleſs an eye, that they had felt little or nothing of their beauty. This inſenſibility they preſerved ſo long, either from the groſſneſs of their minds; or perhaps from their ſuperſtition, and a dread of reverencing foreign deities as much as their own; or (which is the moſt likely of all) out of mere politics, and the deſire of keeping up their martial ſpirit and natural roughneſs, which they thought the arts and elegancies of the Grecians would be but too apt to deſtroy. However that was, they generally preſerved themſelves from even the leaſt ſuſpicion of taſte for the polite arts pretty far into the ſecond Punic war: as appears by the behaviour of Fabius Maximus in that war, even after the ſcales were turned on their ſide. When that general took Tarentum, he found it full of riches, and (13) extremely adorned with pictures and ſtatues. Among others, there were ſome very fine (14) coloſſeal figures of the gods, repreſented as fighting againſt the rebel giants. Theſe were made by ſome of the moſt eminent maſters in Greece; and the Jupiter, not improbably, by (15) Lyſippus. When Fabius was diſpoſing of the ſpoil, he ordered the money and plate to be ſent to the treaſury at Rome, but the ſtatues and pictures to be left behind. The ſecretary, who attended him in his ſurvey, was ſomewhat ſtruck with the largeneſs and noble air of the figures juſt mentioned; and aſked whether they too muſt be left with the reſt? "Yes, replied Fabius, leave their angry gods to the Tarentines; we will have nothing to do with them."

Marcellus had indeed behaved himſelf very differently, in Sicily; a year or two before this happened. As he was to carry on the war in that province, he bent the whole force of it againſt Syracuſe. There was at that time no one city which belonged to the Greeks, more elegant, or better adorned, than the city of Syracuſe: it abounded in the works of the beſt maſters. Marcellus, when he took the city, cleared it entirely; and ſent all their ſtatues and pictures to Rome. When I ſay all, I uſe the language of the people of Syracuſe; who ſoon after laid a complaint againſt Marcellus before the Roman ſenate, in which they charged him with ſtripping all their houſes and temples, and (16) leaving nothing but bare walls throughout the city. Marcellus himſelf, did not at all diſown it; but fairly confeſſed what he had done: and uſed to declare that he had done ſo,

(12) Cum Græcis à Camillo nulla memorabilis geſta res. Cujus populi ea, cujus gentis claſſis fuerit, nihil certi eſt. Maximè Siciliæ fuiſſe tyrannos crediderim: nam ulterior Græcia eâ tempeſtate, inteſtino feſſa bello, jam Macedonum opes horrebat. Livy, L. 7. §. 26.——Et multa nobilia ſigna, quibus inter primas Græciæ urbes Syracuſæ ornatæ fuerant. Id. L. 26. §. 21.—Urbem, omnium fermè Græcarum illâ tempeſtate pulcherrimam. Id. L. 25. §. 24. of Syracuſe.—Gloriam captæ nobiliſſimæ pulcherrimæque urbis Græcarum dii tibi dederunt, Marcelle. Ib. §. 29.——Cicero in the ſame manner calls Syracuſe, nobiliſſima Græciæ civitas. Tuſc. Quæſt. L. 5.

(13) Ingens argenti vis facti ſignatique: auri octuaginta ſeptem millia pondo: ſigna tabulæque, prope ut Syracuſarum ornamenta æquarent. Livy, Lib. 27. §. 17.

(14) Majore animo generis ejus prædâ abſtinuit Fabius quam Marcellus; qui interroganti ſcribæ quid fieri de ſignis vellet, (ingentis magnitudinis dii ſunt, ſuo quiſque habitu in modum pugnantium formati;) deos iratos Tarentinis relinqui, juſſit. Id. ibid.

(15) If theſe coloſſeal figures mentioned by Livy repreſented the gods fighting againſt the giants, that of Jupiter could not be omitted. Lucilius ſpeaks of a remarkable vaſt figure of Jupiter at Tarentum, and ſays it was made by Lyſippus. We learn from him that the height of it was 60 foot.

——— Lyſippi Jupiter iſta
Tranſivit quadraginta cubita altu' Tarento.
Sat. Lib. 16.

(16) Certè præter mœnia & tecta exhauſtæ urbis, ac refracta ac ſpoliata deorum delubra (diis ipſis, ornamentiſque eorum ablatis) nihil relictum Syracuſis eſſe. Livy 26. §. 30.

ſo, in order to adorn Rome; and to introduce (17) a taſte for the fine arts among his countrymen.

SUCH a difference of behaviour in their two greateſt leaders, ſoon occaſioned two different parties in Rome (18). The old people in general joined in crying up Fabius. Fabius was not rapacious, as ſome others were; but temperate in his conqueſts. In what he had done, he had acted not only with that moderation which becomes a Roman general, but with much prudence and foreſight. "Theſe fineries, they cried, are "a pretty diverſion for an idle effeminate people: let us leave them to the Greeks. The "Romans deſire no other ornaments of life, than a ſimplicity of manners at home, and "fortitude againſt our enemies abroad. It is by theſe arts that we have raiſed our name "ſo high, and ſpread our dominion ſo far: and ſhall we ſuffer them now to be ex-"changed for a fine taſte, and what they call elegance of living? No, great Jupiter, "who preſideſt over the Capitol! let the Greeks keep their arts to themſelves; and let "the Romans learn only how to conquer and to govern mankind." Another ſett, and particularly the younger people, who were extremely delighted with the noble works of the Grecian artiſts that had been ſet up for ſome time in the temples, and portico's, and all the moſt public places of the city; and who uſed frequently to ſpend the greateſt part of the day in contemplating the beauties of them; extolled Marcellus as much for the pleaſure he had given them. "We ſhall now, ſaid they, no longer be reckoned a-"mong the Barbarians. That ruſt, which we have been ſo long contracting, will ſoon "be worn off. Other generals have conquered our enemies; but Marcellus has con-"quered our ignorance. We begin to ſee with new eyes, and have a new world of "beauties opening before us. Let the Romans be polite, as well as victorious: and let "us learn to excel the nations in taſte, as well as to conquer them with our arms."

WHICH-EVER ſide was in the right, the party for Marcellus was the ſucceſsful one: for from this point of time we may date (19) the introduction of the arts into Rome. The Romans by his means began to be fond of them: and the love of the arts is a paſſion, which grows very faſt in any breaſt, wherever it is once entertained.

WE may ſee how faſt and how greatly it prevailed at Rome, by a ſpeech which old Cato the cenſor made in the ſenate, not above ſeventeen years after the taking of Syracuſe. He complains in it (20), that their people began to run into Greece and Aſia; and to be infected with a deſire of playing with their fine things: that as to ſuch ſpoils, there was leſs honour in taking them, than there was danger of their being taken by them: that the gods brought from Syracuſe, had revenged the cauſe of its citizens, in ſpreading this taſte among the Romans: that he heard but too many daily crying up the ornaments of Corinth and Athens; and ridiculing the poor old Roman gods: who had hitherto been propitious to them; and who he hoped would ſtill continue ſo, if they would but let their ſtatues remain in peace upon their pedeſtals.

IT

(17) Ου μην αλλα τοις εσεμνυνετο, και προς τους Ελληνας, ως τα καλα και τα θαυμασ-α της Ελλαδος εκ επισ-αμενος τιμαν και θαυμαζειν Ρωμαιους διδαξας. Plutarch. in Marcel. p. 310. Ed. Steph. Par. 1624.

(18) This is chiefly founded on what Plutarch ſays of this affair; in his life of Marcellus.

(19) Marcellus—ornamenta urbis, ſigna tabulaſque quibus abundabant Syracuſæ, Romam devexit. Hoſtium quidem illa ſpolia; & parta belli jure: cæterum inde primum initium mirandi Græcarum artium opera, licentiæque hinc ſacra profanaque omnia vulgo ſpoliandi, factum eſt. Livy, L. 25. §. 40.

(20) "Jam in Græciam Aſiamque tranſcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas; & regias etiam attrectamus gazas. Eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos ceperint, quàm nos illas. Infeſta, mihi credite, ſigna ab Syracuſis illata ſunt huic urbi. Jam nimis multos audio Corinthi & Athenarum ornamenta laudantes miranteſque; & antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes. Ego hos malo propitios deos: & ita ſpero futuros, ſi in ſuis manere ſedibus patiemur." Livy, L. 34. §. 4.

It appears that this grave old cenſor was no enemy to a pun; from his ſigna infeſta, & ceperint, &c. above. Horace may poſſibly allude to the latter where he ſays;

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agreſti Latio. ———

Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 157.

IT was in vain too that Cato ſpoke againſt it; for the love of the arts prevailed every day more and more: and from hence forward the Roman generals, in their ſeveral conqueſts, ſeem to have ſtrove who ſhould bring away the greateſt number of ſtatues and pictures, to ſet off their triumphs, and to adorn the city of Rome. It is ſurpriſing what acceſſions of this kind were made in the compaſs of a little more than half a century after Marcellus had ſet the example. The elder Scipio Africanus brought in a (21) great number of wrought vaſes from Spain and Afric, toward the end of the ſecond Punic war: and the very year after that was finiſhed, the Romans entered into a war with Greece; the great ſchool of all the arts, and the chief repoſitory of moſt of the fineſt works that ever were produced by them. It would be endleſs to mention all their acquiſitions from hence; I ſhall only put you in mind of ſome of the moſt conſiderable. Flaminius made a great ſhew both of (22) ſtatues and vaſes in his triumph over Philip king of Macedon; but he was much exceeded by Æmilius, who reduced that kingdom into a province. Æmilius's triumph (23) laſted three days; the firſt of which was wholly taken up in bringing in the fine ſtatues he had ſelected in his expedition; as the chief ornament of the ſecond conſiſted in vaſes and ſculptured veſſels of all ſorts, by the moſt eminent hands. Theſe (24) were all the moſt choſen things, culled from the collection of that ſucceſſor of Alexander the great; for as to the inferior ſpoils of no leſs than ſeventy Grecian cities, Æmilius had left them all to his ſoldiery, as not worthy to appear among the ornaments of his triumph. Not many years after this, the younger Scipio Africanus (the perſon who is moſt celebrated (25) for his polite taſte of all the Romans hitherto, and who was ſcarce exceeded by any one of them in all the ſucceeding ages) deſtroyed Carthage; and transferred many of the chief ornaments of that city, which had ſo long bid fair for being the ſeat of empire, to Rome, which ſoon became undoubtedly ſo. This muſt have been a vaſt acceſſion: tho' that great man, who was as juſt in his actions as he was elegant in his taſte, did not bring all the fineſt of his ſpoils to Rome, but left a great part (26) of them in Sicily, from whence they had formerly been taken by the Carthaginians. The very ſame year that Scipio freed Rome from its moſt dangerous rival Carthage, Mummius (who was (27) as remarkable for his ruſticity, as Scipio was for elegance and taſte) added Achaia to the Roman ſtate; and ſacked, among ſeveral others, the famous city of Corinth, which had been long looked upon as one of the principal reſervoirs of the fineſt works of art. He cleared it of all its beauties, without knowing any thing of them: even without knowing, that an old Grecian ſtatue was better than a new Roman one. He uſed however the ſureſt method of not being miſtaken: for he took all indifferently as they came in his way;

(21) Livy, L. 26. §. 47.

(22) Id. L. 34. §. 52.

(23) Plutarch. in vitâ Æm. p. 272. Ed. Francf.

(24) Livy, L. 45. §. 33 & 34.

(25) Tu videlicet ſolus vaſis Corinthiis delectaris? Tu illius æris temperationem, tu operum lineamenta ſolertiſſimè perſpicis? Hæc Scipio ille non intelligebat, homo doctiſſimus atque humaniſſimus?——Vide ne ille non ſolum temperantiâ, ſed etiam intelligentiâ te, atque iſtos, qui ſe elegantes dici volunt, vicerit. Cicero. 4 in Verrem.

(26) Id. Ibid.

(27) Diverſi imperatoribus mores; diverſa fuere ſtudia. Quippe Scipio tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum, omniſque doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſecum habuerit; neque enim quiſquam hoc Scipione elegantiùs intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit:——Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut captâ Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac ſtatuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus; ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eos reddituros. Paterc. L. 1. §. 13.

There is a yet ſtronger inſtance of the ignorance of this Mummius. In the ſale of the plunder of Corinth, there was a picture of Bacchus, by Ariſtides, for which king Attalus gave near 5000 pound. It had been ſo little regarded by the Roman ſoldiers, that ſome of them had uſed it for a table to play at dice upon. (See Strabo, Lib. 8. p. 381.) Their general, who probably thought as contemptibly of it as they could do, was aſtoniſhed at the vaſt price given for it; concluded there muſt be ſome ſort of (magic) virtue concealed under it: and actually went ſo far, as to take away the picture again from Attalus, on that account; and to carry it with him to Rome. Pretium miratus, ſuſpicatuſque aliquid in eâ virtutis quod ipſe neſciret; revocavit tabulam, Attalo multum querente, & in Cereris delubro poſuit. Pliny, Lib. 35. Cap. 4. p. 419. Elz.

way; and brought them off in ſuch quantities, that he alone is ſaid (28) to have filled Rome with ſtatues and pictures. Thus, partly from the taſte, and partly from the vanity of their generals, in leſs than ſeventy years time, (reckoning from Marcellus taking of Syracuſe, to the year in which Carthage was deſtroyed) Italy was furniſhed with the nobleſt productions of the antient artiſts; that before lay ſcattered all over Spain, Afric, Sicily and the reſt of Greece. Sylla, beſide many others, added vaſtly to them afterwards; particularly by his taking of Athens, and by his conqueſts in Aſia: where by his too great indulgence to his armies, he made taſte and rapine a general thing, even among the (29) common ſoldiers; as it had been, for a long time, among their leaders.

IN this manner, the firſt conſiderable acquiſitions were made by their conquering armies: and they were carried on by the perſons ſent out to govern their provinces, when conquered. As the behaviour of theſe in their governments in general was one of the greateſt blots on the Roman nation, we muſt not expect a full account of their tranſactions in the old hiſtorians, who treat particularly of the Roman affairs: for ſuch of theſe that remain to us, are either Romans themſelves, or elſe Greeks who were too much attached to the Roman intereſt to ſpeak out the whole truth in this affair. But what we cannot have fully from their hiſtorians, may be pretty well ſupplied from other hands. A poet of their own, who ſeems to have been a very honeſt man, has ſet the rapaciouſneſs of their (30) governors in general in a very ſtrong light; as Cicero has ſet forth that of Verres in particular, as ſtrongly. If we may judge of their general behaviour by that of this governor of Sicily, they were more like monſters and harpies, than men. For that public robber (as Cicero calls him, more than once) hunted over every corner of his iſland, with a couple of finders (one a Greek painter, and the other a ſtatuary of the ſame nation) to get together his collection; and was ſo curious and ſo rapacious in that ſearch, that Cicero ſays (31), there was not a gem, or ſtatue, or relievo, or picture, in all Sicily, which he did not ſee; nor any one he liked, which he did not take away from its owner. What he thus got, he ſent into Italy. Rome was the center both of their ſpoils in war, and of their rapines in peace: and if many of their prætors and proconſuls acted but in half ſo abandoned a manner as this Verres appears to have done, it is very probable that Rome was more enriched in all theſe ſort of things (32) ſecretly by their governors, than it had been openly by their generals.

THERE was another method of augmenting theſe treaſures at Rome, not ſo infamous as this, and not ſo glorious as the former. What I mean was the cuſtom of the Ædiles, when they exhibited their public games, of adorning the theatres and other places where they

(28) Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. L. 34. C. 7.

(29) L. Sulla exercitum quem in Aſiâ ductaverat, quo ſibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriosè nimiſque liberaliter, habuerat.——Ibi primum inſuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; ſigna, tabulas pictas, vaſa cælata, mirari; ea privatim ac publicè rapere; delubra deorum ſpoliare; ſacra profanaque omnia polluere. Saluſt. Bel. Cat. §. 11.

(30) Juvenal. See his 8th Satire, ℣. 87, to 139: where, among other things, he ſays:

Non idem gemitus olim, nec vulnus erat par
Damnorum; ſociis florentibus, & modò victis.
Plena domus tunc omnis, & ingens ſtabat acervus
Nummorum: Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa:
Et cum Parrhaſii tabulis ſigniſque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur: necnon Polycleti
Multus ubique labor; raræ ſine Mentore menſæ.
Inde Dolabella eſt; atque hinc Antonius: inde
Sacrilegus Verres. Referebant navibus altis
Occulta ſpolia, & plures de pace triumphos.
Nunc ſociis juga pauca boum, & grex parvus equarum,
Et pater armenti capto eripietur agello:
Ipſi deinde Lares; ſi quod ſpectabile ſignum,
Si quis in ædiculâ deus unicus.

Juv. Sat. 8. ℣. 111.

(31) Nego ullam gemmam aut margaritam fuiſſe; aut quidquam ex auro aut ebore factum; ſignum ullum æneum, marmoreum, eburneum; nego ullam picturam, neque in tabulis, neque textilem fuiſſe; quin quæſierit, inſpexerit; &, quod placitum ſit, abſtulerit. Cicero, 4. in Ver. ſub initio.

(32) I take this to be the true meaning of thoſe expreſſions in Juvenal, quoted Note 30, anteh.

——— Referebant navibus altis
Occulta ſpolia, & plures de pace triumphos.

they were performed, with great numbers of ſtatues and pictures; which they bought up or borrowed, for that purpoſe, all over Greece, and ſometimes even from Aſia. Scaurus, in particular, in his ædileſhip, had (33) no leſs than three thouſand ſtatues and relievo's for the mere ornamenting of the ſtage, in a theatre built only for four or five days. This was the ſame Scaurus who (whilſt he was in the ſame office too) brought to Rome (34) all the pictures of Sicyon, which had been ſo long one of the moſt eminent ſchools in Greece for painting; in lieu of a debt owing, or pretended to be owed, from that city to the Roman people.

FROM theſe public methods of drawing the works of the beſt antient artiſts into Italy, it grew at length to be a part of private luxury, affected by almoſt every body that could afford it, to adorn their houſes, their portico's, and their gardens, with the beſt ſtatues and pictures they could procure out of Greece, or Aſia. None went earlier into this taſte, than the family of the Luculli: and particularly Lucius Lucullus, who carried on the war againſt Mithridates. He was remarkable for his love of the arts and polite learning even from a (35) child: and in the latter part of his life, gave himſelf up ſo much to collections of this kind, that Plutarch reckons it among his follies. "As I am ſpeaking of his faults (ſays (36) that hiſtorian in his life) I ſhould not omit his vaſt baths, and piazzas for walking; or his gardens, which were much more magnificent than any in his time at Rome, and equal to any in the luxurious ages that followed: nor his exceſſive fondneſs for ſtatues and pictures; which he got from all parts, to adorn his works and gardens; at an immenſe expence; and with the vaſt riches he had heaped together in the Mithridatic war." There were ſeveral other families which fell about that time into the ſame ſort of exceſs; and among the reſt, the Julian. The firſt emperor, who was of that family, was a great collector: and, in particular was as fond of old (37) gems; as his ſucceſſor Auguſtus, was (38) of Corinthian vaſes.

THIS may be called the firſt age of the flouriſhing of the politer arts at Rome; or rather the age in which they were introduced there: for the people in this period were chiefly taken up in getting fine things and bringing them together. There were perhaps ſome particular perſons in it of a very good taſte: but in general one may ſay there was rather a love, than any great knowledge of their beauties, during this age, among the Romans. They were brought to Rome in the firſt part of it in greater numbers than can be eaſily conceived; and in ſome time, every body began to look upon them with pleaſure. The collection was continually augmenting afterwards, from the ſeveral methods I have mentioned: and I doubt not but a good taſte would have been a general thing among them much earlier than it was, had it not been for the frequent convulſions in their ſtate, and the perpetual ſtruggles of ſome great man or other to get the reins of government into his hands. Theſe continued quite from Sylla's time, to the eſtabliſhment

(33) In M. Scauri ædilitate tria millia ſignorum, in ſcenâ tantum fuere; temporario theatro. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 34. c. 7. Elz.

(34) Sicyone hic (Pauſias) vitam egit: diuque fuit illa patria picturæ. Tabulas inde e publico omnes propter æs alienum civitatis addictas Scauri ædilitas Romam tranſtulit. Ib. L. 35. c. 11.

It was from theſe, and ſuch other arts as theſe, that the ſame author ſays of him, in another place—Privatis opibus M. Scauri: cujus neſcio an ædilitas maximè proſtravit mores civiles. Ib. L. 36. p. 493.

(35) Την εμμελη ταυτην και λεγομενην ελευθεριαν επι τω καλω προσεποιειτο παιδειαν, ετι και μειρακιον ων. Plutarch. in Lucul. p. 492. Ed. Francf.

(36) Plutarch. in Lucullo, p. 518. Ed. Francf.

(37) Gemmas, toreumata, ſigna, tabulas operis antiqui, ſemper animoſiſſimè comparaſſe (prodiderunt:)——immenſo pretio; & cujus ipſum etiam puderet, ſic ut rationibus vetaret inferri. Suetonius, in Julio Cæſ. §. 47.

Pliny ſpeaks of a fine collection of gems in particular which he placed in the temple he had built to Venus Genetrix. L. 37. c. 1.

(38) Notatus eſt ut pretioſæ ſupellectilis Corinthiorumque præcupidus. Suetonius, in Auguſto Cæſ. §. 70. He adds that, in the time of his proſcription, he marked down ſome, only to get their fine Corinthian vaſes: which occaſioned the oldeſt Paſquinade, perhaps, on record. For upon this action of his, ſomebody one night wrote under his ſtatue; "Pater, Argentarius; ego, Corinthiarius." Ibid.

eſtabliſhment of the ſtate under Auguſtus. The peaceful times that then ſucceeded, and the encouragement which was given by that emperor to all the arts, afforded the Romans full leiſure to contemplate the fine works that were got together at Rome in the age before, and to perfect their taſte in all the elegancies of life. The artiſts who were then much invited to Rome, worked in a ſtyle greatly ſuperior to what they had done (39) even in Julius Cæſar's time: ſo that it is under Auguſtus that we may begin the ſecond, and moſt perfect age of ſculpture and painting, as well as of poetry. Auguſtus changed the whole appearance of Rome itſelf: he found it (40) ill built; and left it a city of marble. He adorned it with buildings, extremely finer than any it could boaſt before his time; and ſet off all thoſe buildings, and even the (41) common ſtreets, with an addition of ſome of the fineſt ſtatues in the world.

ON the death of Auguſtus, tho' the arts and the taſte for them, did not ſuffer ſo great a change, as appeared immediately in the taſte of eloquence and poetry, yet they muſt have ſuffered a good deal. There is a ſecret union, a certain kind of ſympathy between all the polite arts, which makes them languiſh and flouriſh together. The ſame circumſtances are either kind, or unfriendly, to all of them. The favour of Auguſtus, and the tranquillity of his reign, was as a gentle dew from heaven in a favourable ſeaſon, that made them bud forth and flouriſh: and the ſour reign of Tiberius, was as a ſudden froſt that checked their growth, and at laſt killed all their beauties. The vanity, and tyranny, and diſturbances of the times that followed, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to ſculpture as well as eloquence, and to painting as well as poetry. The Greek artiſts at Rome were not ſo ſoon or ſo much infected by the bad taſte of the court, as the Roman writers were: but it reached them too, tho' by ſlower and more imperceptible degrees. Indeed what elſe could be expected from ſuch a run of monſters, as Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero? For theſe were the emperors under whoſe reigns the arts began to languiſh: and they ſuffered ſo much from their baleful influence, that the Roman writers ſoon after them ſpeak of all the arts as being brought to a very low ebb. They talk of their being extremely fallen in (42) general; and as to painting, in particular, they repreſent it as in a moſt feeble (43) and dying condition. The ſeries of ſo many good emperors which happened after Domitian, gave ſome ſpirit again to the arts: but ſoon after the Antonines, they all declined apace; and by the time of the thirty tyrants were quite fallen; ſo as never to riſe again, under any future Roman emperor.

YOU

(39) This appears moſt ſtrongly, by comparing the medals about Julius Cæſar's time, with thoſe of the Auguſtan age.

(40) Urbem neque pro majeſtate imperii ornatam, & inundationibus incendiiſque obnoxiam, excoluit adeò, ut jure ſit gloriatus; "Marmoream ſe relinquere, quam lateritiam accepiſſet." Suetonius in Aug. §. 28. For the particulars, ſee ibid. §. 29. Livy calls him, templorum omnium conditorem, aut reſtitutorem. L. 4. c. 20.

(41) Pretioſiſſima deorum ſimulacra mercatus, vicatim dedicabat. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 57.

(42) Pace veſtrâ liceat dixiſſe, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis. Petr. Arb. Sat. p. 2. Lond. 1693.

Sæpe ex me requiris, cur cum priora ſæcula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriâque efloruerint; noſtra potiſſimum ætas, deſerta & laude orbata, vix nomen ipſum oratoris retineat. Quintil. de Cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ. p. 701. Ed. Hack.

Quis ignorat et eloquentiam et cæteras artes deſciviſſe ab iſtâ vetere gloriâ, non inopiâ hominum, ſed deſidiâ juventutis, & negligentiâ parentum, & inſcientiâ præcipientium, & oblivione moris antiqui? Id. Ibid. p. 739.

Ita eſt profecto; artes deſidia perdidit. Pliny, L. 35. c. 2. p. 414. Elz.

There is a ſtrong paſſage on this, in a ſatire attributed by Scaliger to Sulpitia; who, he ſays, flouriſhed under Domitian.

——Quidnam pater ille deorum
Cogitat? An terras & patria ſæcula mutat?
Quaſque dedit quondam, morientibus eripit artes?
Noſque jubet, tacitos & jam rationis egenos,
Non aliter primo quàm cum ſurreximus ævo;
Glandibus & puræ rurſus procumbere lymphæ?

℣. 17.

(43) Picturâ, arte quondam nobili. (Pliny Nat. Hiſt. L. 35. c. 1. p. 413. Elz.)——Nunc, nulla nobilis pictura eſt. Ib. C. 7. p. 426.——Hactenus dictum ſit de dignitate artis morientis. Ib. C. 5. p. 421.

You may ſee by theſe two accounts I have given you of the Roman poetry, and of the other arts; that the great periods of their riſe, their flouriſhing, and their decline agree very well; and as it were tally with one another. Their ſtyle was prepared, and a vaſt collection of fine works laid in, under the firſt period, or in the times of the republic. In the ſecond, or the Auguſtan age, their writers and artiſts were both in their higheſt perfection: and in the third, from Tiberius to the Antonines, they both began to languiſh; and then revived a little; and, at laſt, ſunk totally together.

In comparing the deſcriptions of their poets with the works of art, I ſhould therefore chuſe to omit all the Roman poets after the Antonines. Among them all there is perhaps no one whoſe omiſſion need be regretted, except that of Claudian: and even as to him it may be conſidered that he wrote when the true knowledge of the arts was no more; and when the true taſte of poetry was ſtrangely corrupted and loſt; even if we were to judge of it by his own writings only, which are extremely better than any of the poets long before and long after him. It is therefore much better to confine one's ſelf to the three great ages; than to run ſo far out of one's way for a ſingle poet, or two: whoſe authorities after all muſt be very diſputable, and indeed ſcarce of any weight.

There is a great deal of difference even as to the writers of the three allowed ages. Thoſe of the firſt, and eſpecially toward the beginning of it, were but little acquainted with the arts; and conſequently are but of little authority. Ennius has the moſt picturesque ſtrokes of any of them: but he was a great imitator of foreign poets; and his deſcriptions probably are more taken from his reading, than from any great taſte or knowledge in the things themſelves. Beſides the appearances, and dreſs, and attributes of the imaginary beings, were not ſo well ſettled among the Romans in his time as they came to be afterwards. One would therefore be very ſparing in making uſe of paſſages from him and his cotemporaries: and if one uſed any, they ſhould be rather to illuſtrate ſuch points as are confirmed by greater authorities, than to build any novelty on their own: for they ſometimes differ conſiderably from the Auguſtan writers; and where they differ, it is eaſy to ſee on which ſide the ſcale ſhould turn. The poets of the Auguſtan age are on all accounts the moſt to be depended upon; and Virgil more than any of them. His Æneid muſt be the ſacred writ in this ſort of enquiries. His taſte, and judgment, and exactneſs, give him this pre-eminence over all the poets of the happy age he lived in. Ovid's authority is but of a mixt kind: for tho' he enjoyed the ſame advantages of writing in the Auguſtan age, and of living much in Auguſtus his court, the luxuriance of his fancy and the incorrectneſs of his manner of writing, may render what he ſays more doubtful and uncertain. The poets of the third age have a middle kind of authority; greater than thoſe antient writers, and leſs than the Auguſtan: as much better acquainted with the works of art than the former, and much leſs exact than the latter. Silius may, perhaps, be allowed the greateſt authority of any poet of this age, for his carefulneſs, and his particular love of the arts; as Lucan's heat, and Statius's inexactneſs, may make them leſs fit to be depended upon than ſome others who wrote under the decline of poetry and of the arts at Rome. But there is not ſo great a difference in theſe, as to require that one ſhould ſettle the rules of precedence punctually between them; at leaſt I ſhall leave that trouble to the critics who may be nicer about it, than ever I ſhall care to be.

BOOK II.

Of the Twelve Great Celeſtial Deities.

DIAL. VI.

Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

THE rain, which continued all the night, and part of the next morning, hindered Polymetis and his friends from going out ſo ſoon as they would otherwiſe have done. Almoſt the moment it held up, they took a turn or two on the terrace which runs along the brow of the hill. As Polymetis was very buſy in pointing out ſome of the beauties of the country and of the river to them; Philander, (who was more deſirous of ſeeing the new diſpoſition of his ſtatues, than one of the moſt pleaſing proſpects in the world) interrupted him, to beg that they might go directly to his Rotonda; which appeared at a little diſtance from them, on the chief eminence of the hill. He longed yet more to hear Polymetis on the ſubject he had promiſed; and had been juſt ſaying ſomething of the great diſcoveries he expected from ſuch a compariſon. Since you deſire it, ſays Polymetis, we will go thither directly; but I would not have you expect too much. The ſtories told in marble may ſometimes help one to find out the meaning of a paſſage in the antient poets; and the poetical ſtories may ſometimes explain an old marble: but this does not happen very often. The chief uſe I have found in this ſort of ſtudy, or amuſement, call it which you pleaſe, has not been ſo much in diſcovering what was wholly unknown; as in ſtrengthening and beautifying what was known before. When the day was ſo much overcaſt juſt now, you ſaw all the ſame objects that you do at preſent; theſe trees, that river, the foreſt on the left hand, and thoſe ſpreading vales to the right: but now the ſun is broke out, you ſee all of them more clearly, and with more pleaſure. It ſhews ſcarce any thing that you did not ſee before; but it gives a new life and luſtre to every thing that you did ſee. It is much the ſame with the writings of the old poets, when one is once got well acquainted with the finer remains of the antient artiſts. You knew before, for inſtance, that ſuch a particular deſcription was a deſcription of Venus; and perhaps underſtood the general import of every word in it: but when you have once got ſtrong ideas of the tenderneſs of that goddeſs's form, and of the fineneſs of her make, from the Venus of Medici and other celebrated repreſentations of her, you ſee the ſame deſcription with other eyes; and find a new brightneſs and enlightening diffuſed all over it. It ſtrikes you more ſtrongly; and touches the mind with a great deal more pleaſure than it did before. This is the chief uſe I think one ſhould propoſe from any enquiry of this kind; and if ever it went farther, I ſhould look upon that as clear gains, rather than as an effect which I expected from it.

I AM much of your mind, ſays Myſagetes; but for heaven's ſake what is that equeſtrian figure, at the hither corner of your Portico? Did not you tell us this was the temple for your celeſtial deities, and that the Virtues were placed round it? What is that then, a Virtue on horſeback?

WHEN I told you that this was the temple of the ſupreme deities, anſwered Polymetis; and that the Moral Beings and Virtues were placed round it; I ſhould have told you, that I had placed ſuch perſons, as the Romans ſuppoſed to have been admitted into the

ſociety of the great gods on account of their ſuperior virtues, in the Portico of this temple. I do not know how you could have choſen a properer place for them, ſays Philander; but are not there too many of them for any one Portico? No, ſays Polymetis, there were but ſix admitted to that honour; and the firſt which you ſee of them is Pollux; one who was a particular friend to the Romans, and was therefore, I ſuppoſe, enrolled by them in this ſmall number. But you may (1) hear more of this, when we come to conſider them more particularly: at preſent we will begin, if you pleaſe, with all due reſpect, from the great gods. In ſaying this, he walked up the ſteps; and led them into the Rotonda itſelf, without loſing any time in the Portico.

THO' his two friends expected a good deal from Polymetis's taſte, they were ſtruck more than they expected, on entering the temple. It was built much after the manner of the famous Rotonda at Rome; only this was of the Compoſite order, as that is of the Corinthian: and all the inſide of it was finiſhed, in a very good taſte. Polymetis had got ſome additional figures to compleat his collection which were new to them; and which were very well diſpoſed in their proper niches all round the dome, and ornamented with relievo's that referred to them. The middle ſpace was all clear: and the light which fell in from the top of the dome, in that pleaſing manner which has been always ſo much admired in the above mentioned building, ſhewed the figures to a very great advantage. That of Jupiter, ſitting on his curule chair, faced them as they came in. On his right hand, ſtood Minerva; and Juno, on his left. Next to Minerva, but at ſome diſtance from her, was Neptune; then Venus, Mars, and Vulcan: as on Juno's ſide, were Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and Mercury: all in the order they are mentioned. Theſe were all the ſingle figures in the temple; but they were accompanied with relievo's, and other ornaments; ſome of them not inferior in beauty, to the ſtatues themſelves.

PLATE, I. THE ſitting figure in the midſt of this circle of deities, ſays Polymetis, you will eaſily know to be Jupiter. The diſtinguiſhing character of his perſon is Majeſty; and every thing about him carries dignity and authority with it. His look is meant to ſtrike ſometimes with terror; and ſometimes with gratitude; but always with reſpect. It is a great pity that we have no better figures of Jupiter: among all I have ſeen, I have never ſeen one which could by any means be placed in the firſt claſs of the antient ſtatues that remain to us. This (2) is a copy of that at the Veroſpi palace in Rome; which is reckoned the beſt of all I have ſeen: but which falls ſhort even of the idea one might form of a Jupiter in one's own mind, by the help of the antient poets; and infinitely ſhort of the celebrated Jupiter made by Phidias, at Athens; and, probably, of many other figures of this god in antient Rome.

YOU might however eaſily know that this is Jupiter, by the dignity of his look; by the fullneſs of his hair about his face; by that venerable beard; by that (3) mark of command in his left hand, and the fulmen in his right: but I queſtion whether you can ſo eaſily know, what Jupiter in particular this is meant to repreſent. As to that, replied Philander, I am ſo far from being able to ſay what Jupiter, that I do not perfectly know what you mean. I know indeed that Cicero mentions that there were ſeveral Jupiters; but I never heard how one ſhould diſtinguiſh them from one another. The diverſity I am ſpeaking of, ſays Polymetis, does not relate to thoſe confuſed notions of the antient mythologiſts; but only to downright matter of fact. I ſhall explain what I mean more

(1) Dial. 9, poſth.

(2) Ovid, where he is deſcribing a picture of the 12 great gods wrought in tapeſtry (which, by the way, would be an excellent deſign for a piece of tapeſtry now) ſpeaks of Majeſty as the diſtinguiſhing character of the figure of Jupiter, in that piece.

Bis ſex cœleſtes, medio Jove, ſedibus altis
Auguſtâ gravitate ſedent. Sua quemque deorum
Inſcribit facies: Jovis eſt regalis imago.
Met. 6. ℣. 74.

(3) In the ſtatue at the Veroſpi palace this appears only as a truncheon: it is poſſibly the remains of a long ſcepter, which may have been broke formerly; and cut ſmooth. This very Jupiter, on medals, has the long ſcepter in that hand; as in Plate 2. Fig. 1.

more at large; becauſe it is a point that is likely to occur extremely often, in what I may have to ſay to you.

THE old Romans, as well as the reſt of the heathen world, were very expert at making diſtinctions by names; where, according to their own notions, there was no manner of difference in the things. The thinking part of them believed that there was (4) but one great Being, that made, and preſerved, and actuated all things: which is juſt as much as to ſay that they believed there was but one God, in our ſenſe of the word. Their beſt authors ſay this expreſly, in books which they publiſhed in their life-time; and ſome of them go ſo far as even to give the reaſons why they talked vulgarly of ſo many gods. When they conſidered this one great Being as influencing the affairs of the world in different manners, they gave him as many different names; and hence came all their variety of nominal gods. When he thundered or lightened, they called him, Jupiter; when he calmed the ſeas, Neptune: when he guided their councils, it was Minerva; and when he gave them ſtrength in battle, it was Mars. This was their firſt great diſtinction

(4) The heathens, in general, believed, 1. That there was but one ſupreme God; and 2. They believed, or rather talked of a multitude of miniſters, deputies, or inferior gods; as acting under this ſupreme. The firſt may be called, the philoſophical belief; and the ſecond, the vulgar belief of the heathens.

This might be well enough illuſtrated from the Roman catholics: who always aſſert there is but one God; tho' they worſhip ſuch a number of Divi, as miniſters and diſpenſers of bleſſings, under that one God.

That the antient Romans believed there was but one God, appears from the concurrent teſtimony of the greateſt philoſophers they ever had among them.

Tho' ſo much of Varro's works is loſt to us, yet we learn from thoſe who were well acquainted with his works when they were more entire, (and from St. Auſtin in particular,) what Varro's opinion was in this caſe. Hi ſoli Varroni videntur animadvertiſſe quid eſſet Deus; qui crediderunt eum eſſe, animam motu ac ratione mundum gubernantem. St. Auſt. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

Cicero was ſtrongly of this opinion. He ſays, in one place, Princeps ille Deus, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, ſicut animus humanus id corpus cui præpoſitus eſt. (Somn. Scip. §. 3.)——In another: Nec verò Deus ipſe alio modo intelligi poteſt, niſi mens ſoluta quædam & libera, ſegregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia ſentiens & movens. (Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1.)——In a third: Eſſe præſtantem aliquam æternamque naturam, & eam ſuſpiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum cœleſtium cogit confiteri. (De Divin. Lib. 2.)——And in a fourth: Omnes gentes una lex, & ſempiterna & immortalis, continebit; unuſque erit, quaſi magiſter & imperator omnium, Deus. (Fragm. Lib. 3. de Repub.)

Seneca teaches us, that all the different names in uſe among the Romans, really ſignified but one and the ſame god. Quid aliud eſt natura, quam Deus & divina ratio toti mundo & partibus ejus inſerta? Quoties voles, tibi licet aliter hunc auctorem rerum noſtrarum compellare; et Jovem illum Optimum & Maximum rite dices, & Tonantem, & Statorem.—Hunc eundem & fatum ſi dixeris, non mentieris: nam cum fatum nihil aliud ſit quam ſeries implexa cauſarum, ille eſt prima omnium cauſa ex quâ cæteræ pendent. Quæcunque voles illi nomina propriè aptabis, vim aliquam effectumque cæleſtium rerum continentia: tot appellationes ejus poſſunt eſſe, quot munera. (De Ben. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.) And in another place: Ne hoc quidem crediderunt (antiqui) Jovem, qualem in Capitolio & in cæteris ædibus colimus, mittere manu fulmina; ſed eundem, quem nos, Jovem intelligunt: cuſtodem rectoremque univerſi; animum ac ſpiritum, mundani hujus operis dominum & artificem; cui nomen omne convenit. (Nat. Quæſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 45.)

Pliny not only ſpeaks of God, as one; but gives us the reaſon, why they talked vulgarly of more than one. Deus – totus eſt ſenſus; totus viſus; totus auditus; totus animæ; totus animi; totus ſui. Innumeros quidem credere, atque etiam ex virtutibus vitiiſque hominum,—aut ut Democrito placuit, duos omnino pœnam & beneficium, majorem ad ſocordiam accedit. Fragilis & laborioſa mortalitas in partes iſta digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor; ut portionibus quiſque coleret, quo maximè indigeret: itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus, & numina in iiſdem innumerabilia reperimus. (Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.)

Theſe four philoſophers, (Varro, Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny,) may be very well looked on as the four chief fathers, of the old Latin church: ſo that their joint teſtimony as to this important point, muſt I think prove what was the opinion of the antient Romans in relation to it, in the ſtrongeſt manner that can well be required.

One might bring a multitude of teſtimonies to prove, that the ſame was an univerſal tenet, among the heathens of old: but as that is leſs my buſineſs at preſent, and would run this into a book inſtead of a note, I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf only with a general aſſertion of it from Maximus Tyrius; a Greek philoſopher, who is ſaid to have reſided for ſome time at Rome, under the Antonines: ſo that this ſentence from him may follow, properly enough, as an appendix to that quoted from Pliny. Ευ τοσθλω——πολεμω, και στασει, και διαφωνια, ενα ιδοις αν εν παση γη ομοφωνον νομον και λογον· ὅτι θεος εις παντων βασιλευς και πατηρ· και θεοι πολλοι, θεοι παιδες, συναρχοντες θεω. Ταυτα δε ο Ελλην λεγει, και ο βαρβαρος λεγει· και ο ηπειρωτης, και ο θαλαττιος· και ο σοφος, και ο ασοφος. (Diſſert. 17. p. 193. Ed. Lond.) This then was the belief of all the heathens; that there was one great God, the father and lord of all things; and ſeveral under-gods: that is, in our ſenſe of the word, no gods at all; but deputies only, or agents under the great God.

ſtinction without a difference. They ſeem at firſt to have only made uſe of different names; ſuch as Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva, and the like; they afterwards carried it farther, by uſing different repreſentations of this Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva: and at laſt came to conſider them, vulgarly at leaſt, as ſo many different perſons. In time, as ſeveral diſtinct acts and characters were attributed even to each of theſe nominal deities, and as the figures of each were multiplied and varied in different places, they came by degrees to conſider each of them too in different views: and this was their ſecond great diſtinction without a difference. The Jupiter, for inſtance, when ſhowering down bleſſings, was called the Kind Jupiter; and when puniſhing, the Terrible Jupiter. There was one Jupiter for Europe, and another for Africa: and in Europe itſelf, there was one great Jupiter who was the particular friend of the Athenians, and another who was the particular protector of the Romans. Nay, there was ſcarce a town, or hamlet perhaps, in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own: and the (5) Jupiter of Terracina, for inſtance, was repreſented as differently from the great Jupiter at the Capitol, as the ſame great Jupiter and Apollo. Theſe diſtinctions were carried ſo much farther than the bare names, that I do not at all queſtion but that, in the time of the Punic wars, it would have been looked upon as highly wicked (or, at leaſt, as very abſurd,) for any Roman to have offered up a prayer, for the ſucceſs of his countrymen againſt the Carthaginians, to (6) the African Jupiter.

We had, not many centuries ago, much the ſame abſurdities in our own country; and at any time may ſee them practiſed, the firſt moment we pleaſe to ſtep out on the continent. A little before the Reformation, when our devotions were almoſt wholly engroſſed by the virgin Mary, ſhe had ſtatues in every town, village, church, and chapel; and had different names and repreſentations, according to the (7) place ſhe was in, or the character ſhe bore. There was then probably with us, as there is in Italy at preſent, one virgin of the mountains, and another of the valleys; one for thoſe who travel by land to pray to, and another for ſuch as travel by ſea. Any body at that time, had they been aſked the queſtion, would have ſaid, upon ſecond thoughts, that there was but one virgin

(5) The Jupiter Anxur, (or Jupiter of Terracina,) is repreſented on medals as young and beardleſs; with rays round his head; and in his whole figure more like an Apollo, than a Jupiter. See Montfaucon, Vol. 1. Pl. 12, 9.

(6) There is a remarkable paſſage, ſomewhat to this purpoſe, in Silius Italicus. It is where he is ſpeaking of the league made by Scipio with Syphax king of Maſæſylia, in the time of the ſecond Punic war: in making which, he ſays, that they invoked both the Roman Jupiter, and the African Jupiter; in their joint prayers before the altar.

Audivit læto Maſſylus, & annuit, ore:
Complexuſque virum, "Firmemus proſpera, dixit,
Omina; nec votis ſuperi concordibus abſint:
Cornigerumque Jovem, Tarpeiumque, ore vocemus."
Lib. 16. ℣. 261.

This puts one in mind, of the forms uſed of old, in their alliances, or treaties of peace; in the entrance of which, they uſually named the different gods of either nation. Thus, in the alliance made between the Macedonians and Carthaginians, but a few years before in the ſame war; which runs thus.——"In the preſence of Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo; in the preſence of the tutelary Divinity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules, and of Iölaus; in the preſence of Mars, of Triton, and Neptune; in the preſence of the Gods who accompany our expedition; and of the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth; in the preſence of (the Gods of) the Rivers, the Meadows, and the Waters; in the preſence of all the Gods who rule over Carthage; in the preſence of all the Gods who rule over Macedon, and the reſt of Greece; in the preſence of all the Gods who preſide over warlike expeditions, and of thoſe who ſtood over us at the taking this oath: Hanibal the general hath ſaid, and all the ſenators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in his army (have ſaid.) As it ſeems good unto you, and to us, let this (oath) be an oath of amity and good-will between us, as friends, relations, and brethren:" &c. The whole treaty is in Polybius, Lib. 7. p. 502, to 505. Ed. Wechel. 1609.

(7) As the antients had their Capitoline and their Olympian Jupiter, ſo we had our virgin of Wincheſter and our virgin of Walſingham: and as there were temples to the Capitoline Jupiter in other places, as well as on the Capitoline hill, and one at Athens in particular; ſo we had places dedicated to the virgin of Wincheſter, in other places as well as Wincheſter; and one at Oxford in particular. The ſociety at Oxford (to which I am obliged more than I could eaſily expreſs, for paſſing the beſt part of my life, in a moſt agreeable manner) was eſtabliſhed before the light of the Reformation had begun to dawn on England; by one of the nobleſt patrons of learning, that ever was. As he was, in thoſe times, biſhop of Wincheſter, he founded a ſeminary there; and a college to be ſupplied with ſtudents from it, at Oxford. This college, at Oxford, was dedicated Sanctæ Mariæ Wintonienſi; and both of them are called, the two St. Mary-Winton colleges, on ſome ſolemn occaſions, to this day.

virgin Mary: yet they looked upon one figure (8) of her as more venerable than another; and there were many devout people then that gave vaſt preſents to the virgin of Wincheſter, for example; who would have grudged perhaps to make the moſt inſignificant offering to the virgin of Walſingham. They thought her more preſent in one place than the other; or had had ſeveral obligations to her figure at Wincheſter, and none at all to that at Walſingham.

JUPITER was almoſt as much in faſhion among the old worſhippers of images, as the virgin among the modern. He had temples, and different characters, almoſt every where. At Carthage, he was called Ammon; in Egypt, Serapis: at Athens, the great Jupiter was the Olympian Jupiter; and at Rome, the greateſt Jupiter was the Capitoline. And to return to what occaſioned this digreſſion, it is the laſt mentioned, the Capitoline Jupiter, which I take to be repreſented in the ſtatue you are now looking upon.

THIS Capitoline Jupiter was the great guardian of the Romans; and it was he who was to give them the empire of the whole world: an idea, which (as I have ſaid already) was very early and very ſtrong among them. They reckoned his influence and power ſuperior to that of the African or Aſiatic Jupiters; and called him (9), the beſt and greateſt Jupiter. For tho' it has been generally taken otherwiſe, I cannot help imagining that the title of Optimus Maximus was vulgarly uſed as a ſurname of this particular Jupiter among the Romans; much in the ſame manner as the title of Auguſtus, was particularly appropriated for the ſurname, of the ſecond of their Cæſars.

IT appears from ſeveral medals, as well as from ſeveral paſſages in the old Roman authors, that the figure of this Capitoline Jupiter, or the Jupiter Optimus Maximus, (which ever you pleaſe to call him) was repreſented, in his chief temple on the Capitoline hill, as ſitting on a curule chair; whith the thunder in one hand, and a ſcepter in the other. Such you ſee him in the medal I have in my hand; but before we go on, I muſt beg you to conſider him a little more particularly. PLATE, II. FIG. 1.

IN his right hand, you ſee, he graſps his fulmen; his thunder, as we are uſed to tranſlate that word, improperly enough; for we ſhould rather call it, his (10) lightning. This

(8) This appears from the practice of all the Roman catholic countries at preſent; and particularly from that of Rome itſelf. In that city, there is a church dedicated to the virgin of Loretto. One would think that the virgin of Loretto ſhould be as powerful, and as much eſteemed at Rome, as ſhe is at Loretto; but there is not near the ſame reſpects paid her there, nor ſuch preſents made to her, as at Loretto. The virgin, at Loretto itſelf, is exceſſively rich; and at Rome very poor in compariſon: nay, ſeveral of the inhabitants of Rome go every year to pay their devotions to the ſtatue of the virgin at Loretto; tho' they have other ſtatues of her, ſo near their own doors.

(9) Cicero ſays that they called their Capitoline Jupiter the beſt and the greateſt. Quocirca te, Capitoline, quem propter beneficia populus Romanus Optimum, propter vim Maximum nominavit. Orat. pro domo ſuâ.

On medals too we have this inſcription, "The Capitoline Jupiter, the Beſt and the Greateſt;" as in that of Vitellius, Pl. 2. N. 1.

Our great Archbiſhop Tillotſon ſeems to underſtand theſe names in a larger ſenſe, and more worthy of his own way of thinking. "Among the divine titles, ſays he, Goodneſs always had the pre-eminence; both among the Greeks and Romans; Ευσὶ μεγασὶ, Deus optimus maximus, was their conſtant ſtyle." (Vol. 2. Serm. 90. p. 678.) And Cicero himſelf has given him ſufficient reaſon for ſaying ſo; for, on another occaſion, where he is ſpeaking of Jupiter in general, he ſays: A poetis dicitur divum atque hominum pater; (or, the kind governour:) à majoribus autem noſtris, optimus maximus: et quidem ante optimus, id eſt beneficentiſſimus, quam maximus; quia majus eſt, certéque gratius, prodeſſe omnibus quàm opes magnas habere. De Nat. Deor. L. 2.

Cicero, in theſe two paſſages quoted from him, uſes theſe words optimus maximus in different ſenſes: in the firſt, as a name applied to a particular national deity; and in the ſecond, as a general character of the Great Being: and this difference, I think, may be eaſily accounted for. The firſt, or vulgar ſenſe, is uſed in a ſpeech of his to the people; and the ſecond, or philoſophical ſenſe, is uſed in one of the moſt philoſophical treatiſes he ever wrote.

(10) There is perhaps no one word in the whole Roman language, whoſe ſignification is more diſtinctly determined by their antient writers themſelves, than that of the word fulmen. One could give ſeveral abſolute definitions of it, in their own words.

This fulmen, in the hand of Jupiter, partook ſomething of the nature of an hieroglyphic, of old; and had different meanings, according to the different manners in which it was repreſented.

THERE were three ways of repreſenting it moſt uſual among the old artiſts. The firſt is a bundle of flames, as wreathed cloſe together, and formed much in the ſhape of what we call the thunder-ſtone at preſent. The ſecond is the ſame figure, with two tranſverſe darts of lightning; and ſometimes with wings added on each ſide of it, to denote its ſwiftneſs. Such was the deviſe which all the ſoldiers of the thundering legion (as it is called) bore on their ſhields; as you ſee it frequently repreſented both on the Antonine, and Trajan pillar, at Rome; and in ſeveral other remains of antiquity: which, by the way, may ſerve very well to explain (11) ſome lines in Valerius Flaccus, that would not be near ſo intelligible without their aſſiſtance. The third is an handful of flames, all let looſe in their utmoſt fury. Theſe three different repreſentations of the fulmen anſwer very well to the (12) three different ſorts of lightning, which the Roman philoſophers and divines ſometimes ſpeak of.

PLATE, II. FIG. 2.

THE old artiſts, when they were to deſign any figure of Jupiter, generally ſeem to have adapted his fulmen to the character under which they were to repreſent him. If his appearance was to be mild and calm, they gave him the firſt ſort, or the conic fulmen, held down in his hand. If puniſhing, he holds up the ſecond ſort; or the three-forked bolt of Jove, as the poets have very properly called it. And if going to do ſome exemplary

Si in nube luctetur flatus aut vapor, tonitrua edi; ſi erumpat ardens, fulmina: ſi longiore tractu nitatur, fulgetra. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. L. 2. c. 43.

Quum autem ſe in nubem induerint, ei uſque tenuiſſimam quanque partem cœperint dividere ac diſrumpere, idque crebriùs facere & vehementiùs, tum et fulgores & tonitrua exiſtere: ſi autem nubium conflictu ardor expreſſus ſe emiſerit, id eſſe fulmen. Cicero de Divin. L. 2. §. 64.

——————Igneus ille
Vortex, quod patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen.
Lucretius 6. ℣. 297.

When we are taught (as we generally are) to tranſlate the word fulmen, by the word thunder: we uſe a word that is apt to give an idea of noiſe, without any idea of the light; for a Latin word which gave an idea of light, without any idea of the noiſe.

This miſtake is very apt to make people loſe the beauty of ſeveral paſſages in the old Roman writers; as, for inſtance, where Cicero ſpeaks of the fulmina verborum, or where Virgil calls the two Scipios the duo fulmina belli.

The meaning of Virgil in that expreſſion is opened to us, more at large, in a ſimilie of Lucan's; which, by the way, is one of the beſt perhaps in the whole Pharſalia. It is where he is giving us the character of Julius Cæſar; toward the opening of that poem.

Acer, & indomitus, quô ſpes quôque ira vocaſſet
Ferre manum; & nunquam temerando parcere ferro;
Succeſſus urgere ſuos, inſtare favori
Numinis, impellens quicquid ſibi ſumma petenti
Obſtaret; gaudenſque viam feciſſe ruinâ.
Qualiter expreſſum ventis per nubila fulmen
Ætheris impulſi ſonitu mundique fragore
Emicuit, rupitque diem; populoſque paventes
Terruit, obliquâ præſtinguens lumina flammâ:
In ſua templa furit; nullâque exire vetante
Materiâ, magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
Dat ſtragem latè, ſparſoſque recolligit ignes.
Lib. 1. ℣. 157.

Where Mr. Pope makes uſe of the ſame image to point out the particular character of the late Earl of Peterborough;

——He, whoſe lightning pierc'd th' Iberian lines;

how much of the beauty and juſtice of it would have been loſt, had he uſed the word thunder, inſtead of the word he has uſed?

(11) This winged fulmen generally ſpread all over the ſhield; as in Plate 2. Fig. 2. which is the copy of a ſhield, on the Antonine pillar. This ſort of figure on the Roman ſhields is thus deſcribed by Valerius Flaccus:

Cuncta phalanx inſigne Jovis cælataque geſtat
Tegmina; diſperſos trifidis ardoribus ignes:
Nec primus radios, miles Romane, coruſci
Fulminis & rutilas ſcutis diffuderis alas.
Argon. 6. ℣. 56.

The make of his fulmen there, (in three rays upwards, and as many downwards) agrees very well too with the common epithets of trifidum & triſulcum, in the Roman poets.

——Trifida flamma.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 325.
——Cui dextra triſulcis
Ignibus armata eſt——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 849.

Flaccus ſpeaks of them too as all on fire, in the paſſage above; and ſeems to make them caſt a bright reflection, as ſuch, on the wings in his ſhield; which is a very juſt, and very pictureſque idea.

(12) Fulmina dicunt, (the augurs,) à Jove mitti; & tres illi manubias dant. Prima, ut aiunt, monet & placata eſt; & ipſius conſilio Jovis mittitur. Secundam quidem Jupiter, ſed ex concilii ſententiâ; Duodecem enim Deos advocat: quæ prodeſt quidem, ſed non impunè. Tertiam manubiam idem Jupiter mittit, ſed adhibitis in conſilium diis, quos ſuperiores & involutos vocant; quæ vaſtat, & incendit, & rerum mutat ſtatum privatum & publicum. Seneca; Nat. Quæſt. L. 2. C. 41.

plary execution, they give him the third; and ſometimes fill even both his hands with flames. There is a figure of Jupiter, in Senator Buonaroti's collection at Florence, where you ſee him holding up the three-forked bolt as juſt going to dart it on ſome guilty wretch that has provoked him; but with the conic fulmen lying under his feet, to ſhew that it is of no uſe to him on occaſions of ſuch ſeverity. The figures of the Capitoline Jupiter had generally, I believe, the mildeſt fulmen, and that held down; his character being rather a character of goodneſs, than ſeverity. And when they gave him flames in his right hand, even thoſe are held down: to ſignify, that he is always ready to overturn any nation or people that ſhould inſult the Roman ſtate; without deſtroying the complacency of his character. PLATE, II. FIG. 3.

IN his other hand, you ſee, (13) he holds his ſcepter; as the king, or father, (which antiently ſignified the ſame thing) of all beings, whether human or divine. You muſt not expect in his ſcepter to meet with ſuch a ſhort ornamented thing, as we have an idea of at preſent whenever we make uſe of that word. The ſcepter of the antients was plain, as you ſee it here; and tho' the figures of Jupiter ought not to be ſhort, his ſcepter is generally longer than himſelf; whence it is, I ſuppoſe, that father Montfaucon ſo often calls it, his pike. To ſay the truth, in the ſimplicity of the earlier ages of the world, the ſcepters of kings were really no other than long (14) walking-ſtaves; and thence had the very name of ſcepter, which now ſounds ſo magnificently. Ovid, in ſpeaking of Jupiter, deſcribes him as (15) reſting on his ſcepter; which, if taken in the modern ſenſe of the word, would be almoſt as ridiculous, as if one ſhould deſcribe a general, at the head of his troops, reſting on his truncheon.

IT was neither his ſcepter, nor even his fulmen, that ſhewed the ſuperiority of Jupiter ſo much, as that air of majeſty which the antient artiſts endeavoured to expreſs in his countenance. If ſome of the nobler ſtatues of Jupiter, as that of the Jupiter Olympius made by Phidias, in particular, had remained to our times; we might ſee this more ſtrongly than we can at preſent: for that was reckoned the maſter-piece of the greateſt ſtatuary that ever was; and thoſe who beheld it are ſaid to have been aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of his ideas in it. When he was (16) aſked how it was poſſible for him to conceive that air of divinity he had expreſſed in the face of his Jupiter; he anſwered, "that he had copied it from the celebrated deſcription of that god in Homer." It is obſervable that the perſonal ſtrokes in that deſcription relate to nothing but the head of hair, the eye-brows, and the beard: and indeed in the beſt heads of Jupiter I have ever ſeen, I have obſerved that it was theſe very particulars which gave his face the greateſt ſhare of the dignity that appeared in it.

I HAVE known judges, ſays Myſagetes, who owed much of their ſolemn air to a full-bottomed wig; but I never knew before, that Jupiter was ſo very much obliged for his to his beard. Take care a little, ſays Polymetis; or you may be eaſily led, by your prejudice

(13) Pl. 2. Fig. 1.

(14) Σκηπτρον, απο τ᾽ σκηπτεσθαι.

The old ſcepter's being as long as a hunting-pole, may ſerve to explain ſome expreſſions in Virgil, relating to King Latinus's ſcepter; which would not be ſo proper, if applied to a truncheon or modern ſcepter.

Ut ſceptrum hoc (dextra ſceptrum nam forte gerebat)
Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta, nec umbras;
Cum ſemel in ſylvis imo de ſtirpe reciſum
Matre caret; poſuitque comas & brachia ferro:
Olim arbos.———

Æn. 12. ℣. 210.

It was a whole young tree; cut from the root, and ſtript of its branches.

(15) Celſior ipſe loco, ſceptroque innixus eburno,
Terrificam capitis concuſſit terque quaterque
Cæſariem.———

Met. 1. ℣. 178.

(16) Phidias, cum Jovem Olympium fingeret, interrogatus de quo exemplo divinam imitaretur effigiem; reſpondit, archetypum Jovis in his ſe tribus Homeri verſibus inveniſſe:

Η, και κυανεησιν επ' οφρυσι νευσε Κρονιων·
Αμβροσιαι δ' αρα χαιται επερρωσαντο ανακτος
Κρατος απ' αθανατοιο· μεγαν δ' ελελιξεν Ολυμπον.

Nam de ſuperciliis & crinibus, totum ſe Jovis vultum collegiſſe. (Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 5. c. 14.) We have the ſame anecdote, in Valerius Maximus; more at large. Memorab. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

prejudice for our preſent modes, to advance ſomething, which may contradict your own eyes and your own judgment, when you look farther into it. It is true we ſcarce ever ſee a full beard on any but the loweſt ſort of people among us; and that has given us a mean idea of the thing itſelf. Nature perhaps deſigned it for the ornament of old age; but cuſtom has got the better of her. Yet when we were in Italy together, I remember to have ſeen you admiring ſeveral repreſentations of the deity, which owed a great part of that majeſtic air the beſt painters generally give them in that country, to their beards. How particularly were you ſtruck with that celebrated picture of (17) S. Antonio, at Bologna? And how often have I heard you quoting it ſince, as one of the moſt venerable figures that could be conceived, for ſuch a character? Now that very S. Antonio, your great favourite, owes much of his venerable air to that long ſolemn beard, that falls ſo nobly all down his boſom. What is nobler too than the long beard in Michael Angelo's Moſes? A full beard ſurely may give majeſty as well as a long one; and you ſee, in effect, how much it gives to the heads of kings on Greek medals: and, permit me to add, to the heads of the Greek Jupiters, in ſeveral of the buſts and gems of him, which we have had the pleaſure of ſeeing together.

A FULL beard ſtill carries that idea of majeſty with it, all over the Eaſt; which it may, poſſibly, have had ever ſince the times of the patriarchal government there. The Grecians had a ſhare of this oriental notion of it. The very name is apt to carry ſomething low and ridiculous along with it among us: and to ſay the truth, the Romans in their beſt ages ſeem to have had this Northern (or Gothic) idea of it, almoſt as much as we have at preſent. A true antiquarian might think this a very good opportunity of informing you of the great eſteem that was paid to beards by the Romans, in the (18) earlier ages of their ſtate; who was the firſt perſon that ever was ſhaved in Rome; when the cuſtom of having naked chins grew univerſal there; and how far the very idea of a beard was become ſordid and (19) contemptible, in the more polite ages of Rome. He would tell you,——But I ſee a ſmile riſing on Myſagetes's face; and for once will be ſo malicious, as to diſappoint him of his laugh. For heaven's ſake, ſays Myſagetes, do not be ſo ſtrict an obſerver of the movements in my face; or, at leaſt, do not let them interrupt you. However at preſent, I hope, they are pretty ſafe: for the loſs of ſo conſiderable an hiſtory, as the hiſtory of the Roman beards muſt have been, affects me ſo deeply, that I ſhall not be in any diſpoſition to ſmile again, at leaſt for this half hour. Be that as it will, ſays Polymetis, I ſhall only add at preſent, that Virgil ſeems to have had

(17) S. Antonio abbate, preaching: by Lewis Carache; in a college dedicated to that ſaint. It is the high altar-piece, in the chapel belonging to that college.

(18) Even as far down, as to the ſacking of Rome by the Gauls.——Haud ſecus quàm venerabundi intuebantur in ædium veſtibulis ſedentes viros, præter ornatum habitumque humano auguſtiorem, majeſtate etiam quam vultus gravitaſque oris præ ſe ferebat ſimillimos diis. Adeo velut ſimulacra verſi cum ſtarent, M. Papyrius unus ex his dicitur Gallo barbam ſuam, ut tum omnibus promiſſa erat, permulcenti; &c. Livy, L. 5. §. 41.

(19) The Roman poets, of the ſecond and third ages, ſpeak very diſreſpectfully of their forefathers; on account of their long beards, and rough heads of hair.

In gradibus ſedit populus de ceſpite factis;
Quâlibet hirſutas fronde tegente comas.
Ovid. Art. Am. 1. ℣. 108.

Hoc apud intonſos nomen habebat avos.
Id. Faſt. 2. ℣. 28.

——Facile eſt barbato imponere regi.
Juvenal. S. 4. ℣. 103.

——Credam dignum barbâ, dignumque capillis
Majorum——
Id. S. 16. ℣. 32.

Horace makes their beards a topic of ridicule, in ſpeaking of the philoſophers of his time.

Solatus juſſit ſapientem paſcere barbam.
Lib. 2. Sat. 3. ℣. 35.

——Dii te, Damaſippe, deæque,
Verum ob conſilium donent tonſore!——
Ib. ℣. 17.

——Vellent tibi barbam
Laſcivi pueri; quos tu niſi fuſte coerces, &c.
Lib. 1. Sat. 3. ℣. 134.

Indeed about that time no body but theſe poor philoſophers, and ſuch of the Romans as lay under ſome diſgrace or misfortune, ever appeared with a long beard.——Sed erat veſte obſoletâ, capilloque & barbâ promiſsâ; præferens in vultu habituque inſignem memoriam ignominiæ acceptæ:——cenſores eum tonderi, & ſqualorem deponere, & in ſenatum venire fungique aliis publicis muneribus, coegerunt. Livy, Lib. 27. §. 34.

Thus, as Suetonius tells us, Julius Cæſar let his beard grow, on the defeat of Tiberius; and Auguſtus, on that of Varus.

had as deſpicable an idea of beards as you can have; or at leaſt, that he had ſo much complaiſance for the prevailing idea of his countrymen, that where he (20) copies that noble deſcription of Jupiter from Homer, he omits all the pictureſque ſtrokes on the beard, hair, and eye-brows; and ſupplies them from other circumſtances: which are very great and ſtriking indeed; but borrowed from things abroad, and not at all deſcriptive of the perſon of Jupiter: ſo that an artiſt could not have conceived ſuch noble ideas from his deſcription, as Phidias did from Homer's. It is for this very omiſſion, that Macrobius (21) has placed this paſſage of Virgil, in his chapter of inſtances of that poet's falling ſhort of his maſter. Scaliger on the contrary, like a true modern critic, cries up Virgil for his judgment in this omiſſion; and flings away ſome mirth upon Homer, as being too frivolous and particular. One might, I think, eaſily enough compound the matter between them: by allowing (which is the very truth) that Virgil on this occaſion has deſcribed Jupiter in the propereſt manner that could be, among the Romans; and that Homer has deſcribed him in the nobleſt manner that could be, among the Greeks.

AMONG the different characters of Jupiter, I think I mentioned to you thoſe of the Mild and of the Terrible Jupiter. We have ſeveral heads of the Mild Jupiter, particularly on antient ſeals; and ſuch is this that I uſually wear on my finger. His face, you ſee, has a mixture of dignity and eaſe in it. That (22) ſerene and ſweeter kind of (23) majeſty, which Virgil gives him, where he is receiving Venus with ſo much paternal tenderneſs; in the firſt Æneid. It is this character of Jupiter's face in general that Eſculapius reſembles ſo much; agreeably to which that deity of phyſic is called, (24) the mild god, by ſome of the poets; and I believe you may have obſerved the ſame manners, and the ſame air of the face, in ſome phyſicians that I could mention to you of our acquaintance. Not to ſpeak of the old French-officer look; which you know, is generally ſo compoſed and ſo obliging. PLATE, II. FIG. 4.

THE ſtatues of the Terrible Jupiter were repreſented in every particular differently from thoſe of the former. Theſe were generally of black marble, as thoſe were of white. The one is ſitting, with an air of tranquillity; the other, is ſtanding and more or leſs diſturbed. The face of one, is pacific and ſerene; of the other, angry or clouded. On the heads of the one, the hair is regular and compoſed; in the other, it is ſo diſcompoſed, that it falls half way down the forehead. PLATE, II. FIG. 5.

THE beſt artiſts however ſeem to have taken great care not to repreſent Jupiter, as too angry. A great deity is not to be ſo much in a paſſion as a little one; much leſs, in ſuch a paſſion as a man. Jupiter is ſtill to retain his majeſty; which is apt to be ſcattered away with too much paſſion. I remember there is a figure in Montfaucon of this angry ſort of Jupiter from the work of ſome low artiſt, who has gone ſo far as to make his face diſturbed, and (25) his cheeks ſwelled out with rage. Horace, where he is ſpeaking humouroufly of Jupiter's being in a violent paſſion, ſeems to have had ſome ſuch bad figure of him in his eye; in which the ſtatuary had repreſented this king of the gods and men, very ridiculouſly, with both his cheeks as it were (26) bloated with ill humour.

(20) Dixerat; idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas,
Annuit: et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.
Æn. 9. ỳ. 106.

(21) Saturn. Lib. 5. C. 14.

(22) Olli ſubridens hominum ſator atque deorum,
Vultu quo cœlum tempeſtateſque ſerenat,
Oſcula libavit natæ.——
Æn. 1. ỳ. 256.

(23) ——Mediis ſeſe arduus infert
Ipſe deis; placido, quatiens tamen omnia, vultu.
Statius. Theb. 1. ỳ. 203.

(24) Statius. Sylv. Lib. 3. Carm. 4. ỳ. 25.

(25) Montf. Sup. Tom. 2. Pl. 19. Fig. 2.

(26) Quid cauſæ eſt, meritò quin illis Jupiter ambas
Iratus buccas inflet; neque ſe fore poſthac
Tam facilem dicat votis ut præbeat aurem.
Horace, Lib. 1. Sat. 1. ỳ. 21.
So, intumuit, is uſed by Ovid, of Juno when in a paſſion.
Intumuit Juno, raptâ quod pellice natum
Educet; at ſanguis ille ſororis erat.
Faſt. 6. ỳ. 488.

humour. How different is the air of that fine buſt of the Jupiter Terribilis, at the Villa Mattei at Rome? which has as much of majeſty as terror in it; and which, where it expreſſes anger, expreſſes (27) an anger not unworthy of Jupiter.

The face of the Jupiter Tonans has a good deal of reſemblance to that of the Jupiter Terribilis, as appears from ſeveral of the gems (28) and medals where his figure is preſerved to us. He is repreſented on them as holding up the triple bolt, in his right hand; and ſtanding in a chariot, which ſeems to be whirled on impetuouſly by four horſes. The poets deſcribe him in the ſame manner as (29) "ſtanding amidſt his rapid horſes;" or "his horſes (30) that make the thunder." For as the antients had a ſtrange idea of the brazen vault of heaven, they ſeem to have attributed the noiſe in a thunder-ſtorm to the rattling of Jupiter's chariot and horſes on that great (31) arch of braſs, all over their heads; as they ſuppoſed that he himſelf flung the flames out of his hand, which dart at the ſame time out of the clouds, beneath this arch. Jupiter obtained this conſtant prerogative of diſpenſing the thunder-bolt, as Ovid (32) tells us, from his having conquered the rebel giants with that weapon; and I remember there is a gem in the Great Duke's collection at Florence (33), in which Jupiter is repreſented as driving on his chariot againſt one of them; and graſping his fulmen, as ready to dart it at his head. By the way, the artiſt has made uſe of the ſame artifice to inſinuate the vaſt ſize of Jupiter in this little gem, that Timanthes was ſo celebrated for in his paintings in miniature. For tho' the chariots of the antients were of a very low make (and rather a ſtanding-place only for their feet, than any thing like what we now call a chariot) this of Jupiter is higher than the giant who is oppoſed to him: what then muſt be the height of the deity himſelf?

The Jupiter Fulminans, and the Jupiter Fulgurator, ſeem to have been very much of the ſame kind: only thoſe who were nicer might perhaps conſider the Jupiter Fulminans as the diſpenſer of the lightnings, which are darted forth from the clouds; and the Jupiter Fulgurator as the diſpenſer of thoſe leſſer lightnings, that only ſhoot about and ſtruggle (34) amidſt the clouds. Had the Aurora Borealis, for inſtance, been as common formerly at Rome, as it has been of late years among us; the augurs there would have attributed thoſe quivering lights to the Jupiter Fulgurator; as they did the ſtreams of lightning that darted through the air, to the Jupiter Fulminans. I have already ſaid, that the fulmen was repreſented by the artiſts in different ſhapes; but of whatever ſhape it was, it was always ſuppoſed to conſiſt chiefly of (35) fire. The poets often call it

And of Jupiter himſelf;

Jupiter intumuit: quâque eſt non uſa modeſtè
Eripuit linguam.——
Faſt. 2. ℣. 608.

(27) ——Dignas Jove concipit iras.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 166.

(28) See Muſ. Flor. Vol. I. Pl. 57. Fig. 2.

(29) ——Rapidis qui tonat altus equis.
Ovid. Deïan. Herc. V, 28.

(30) ——Tonantes
Egit equos, volucremque currum.
Horace, Lib. 1. Od. 34. ℣. 8.

(31) This notion of theirs may help to explain the ſtory of Salmoneus: who is ſaid to have built a great bridge of braſs, in the middle of the city of Elis; and to have acted the part of the Jupiter Tonans upon it; or as Virgil ſays,

Dum flammas Jovis & ſonitus imitatur Olympi,
Quatuor hic invectus equis, & lampada quaſſans,
Per Graium populos mediæque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovans; divûmque ſibi poſcebat honores.
Demens, qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen
Ære & cornipedum pulſu ſimularat equorum.
Æn. 6. ℣. 591.

(32) Fulmina poſt auſos cœlum affectare gigantas
Sumpta Jovi: primo tempore inermis erat.
Faſt. Lib. 3. ℣. 440.

(33) Muſæum Florentinum. Vol. I. Pl. 57. Fig. 7.

(34) See Note 10, anteh.

(35) Ipſe pater rectorque deum, cui dextra triſulcis
Ignibus armata eſt.——
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 849.
——Trifida flamma.
Id. Ib. ℣. 325.
——Jove tortus ab alto
Ignis.——
Statius, Theb. 5. ℣. 395.

Thus Virgil, in his compoſition of the fulmen, ſpeaks of fire oftner than any thing elſe in it.

His informatum manibus jam parte politâ
Fulmen erat; toto genitor quæ plurima cœlo
Dejicit in terras; pars imperfecta manebat.
Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquoſæ
Addiderant; rutuli tres ignis, & alitis auſtri:

Fulgores

it ſo; and there are ſome expreſſions in them relating to it, and the Jupiter who darted it on the earth, which were probably taken from ſome (36) paintings of old; tho' they do not remain to be confronted with them.

THERE is another very conſiderable character of Jupiter, that of the Jupiter Pluvius, which I ſhall perhaps have a good deal to ſay to, on another occaſion; ſo that if you pleaſe we will quit his figure for the preſent, to conſider his conſort a little.

JUNO, as well as Jupiter, had a great variety of characters; but the favourite one of them all, among the Romans, was that of the Juno Matrona. You ſee ſhe is dreſt in a long robe, which covers her from head to foot; juſt in the ſame manner as the Roman matrons dreſſed themſelves, out of a principle of decency; which had prevailed ſo much among them, that it was reckoned ſcandalous for any married woman to have any thing uncovered (37) but her face. The figures of the Roman empreſſes were often formed under this character of Juno. It was a compliment very commonly paid them on the reverſes of their medals; and not uncommon in their ſtatues. Such is that very pretty ſtatue of Sabina, at the Villa Mattei in Rome; in which that empreſs appears dreſſed and ornamented exactly like the Juno Matrona. This Juno was called indifferently Juno Matrona and Juno Romana; and thoſe two names ſignified one and the ſame thing, as much as Gens togata ſignified the people of Rome. I make this obſervation to you, becauſe it may ſerve to explain a (38) paſſage in Horace, which is otherwiſe liable enough to be miſunderſtood. It is where he is ſetting the gods in array againſt the rebel giants. In that deſcription, he mentions Juno under the name of Matrona: which in the general ſenſe of the word would be the moſt improper he could have pitched on among all

PLATE, III. FIG. I.

Fulgores nunc terrificos, ſonitumque metumque
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.
Æn. 8. ℣. 432.

This compoſition of Virgil's is partly natural, and partly poetical. The natural ingredients for it are clouds, wind, fire, rain, and hail; for his imber tortus ſeems to ſignify the ſame, as durus imber does in Columella. (De cultu Hort. ℣. 329, & 330.) The word tres, ſo often repeated in it, may have ſome relation to the epithets of trifidium and triſulcum ſo often given to fulmen by the poets, and ſo very well agreeing with the figures of it, in moſt antiques; as the epithet of alitis, may have ſome reference to the wings given to it, in ſome of them.

(36) Thus Horace's,

Jam ſatis terris nivis atque diræ
Grandinis miſit pater; & rubente
Dexterâ ſacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit urbem.
Lib. 1. Od. 2. ℣. 4.

And Virgil's,

Ipſe pater mediâ nimborum in nocte coruſcâ
Fulminâ molitur dextrâ ——
Geor. L. 1. ℣. 329.

And Valerius Flaccus's,

Cuncta phalanx inſigne Jovis, cælataque geſtat
Tegmina; diſperſos trifidis ardoribus ignes;
Nec primus radios, miles Romane, coruſci
Fulminis & rutilas ſcutis diffuderis alas.
Argon. Lib. 6. ℣. 56.

If theſe ſtrokes were not borrowed from paintings, they are at leaſt ſo pictureſque, that they might be of uſe to painters now. They all refer to that gleam which is caſt by lightning on the objects near it. In the two firſt paſſages this ruddy brightneſs is deſcribed on Jupiter's hand who holds it; and in the laſt, on the wings which the old artiſts annex to it.

As the expreſſions of coruſcus, ruber, and rutilus in theſe three paſſages, if borrowed at all, muſt have been borrowed from paintings; there are other expreſſions in the poets relating to this ſubject, which might have been taken indifferently from ſtatues or pictures.

Thus:

In nos alta Jovis dextera fulmen habet.
Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 3. ℣. 10.

Fulminantis magna Jovis manus.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. ℣. 6.

Alta ſignifies the up-lifted hand of Jove; as altus, applied to Jupiter himſelf, ſignifies that he is ſtanding in his chariot; Note 29, anteh.

(37) Eſte procul vittæ tenues, inſigne pudoris;
Quæque tegis medios inſtita longa pedes.
Ovid. de Art. Am. Lib. 1. ℣. 32.

Quarum ſubſutâ talos tegat inſtita veſte.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 2. ℣. 30.

Ad talos ſtola demiſſa, & circundata palla.
Ibid. ℣. 99.

Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere poſſis;
Cætera, ni Catia eſt, demiſsâ veſte tegentis.
Ibid. ℣. 95.

(38) Sed quid Typhœus & validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion ſtatu,
Quid Rhæcus, evulſiſque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra ſonantem Palladis ægida
Poſſent ruentes? Hinc avidus ſtetit
Vulcanus; hinc Matrona Juno: &
Nunquam humeris poſiturus arcum,
Qui rore puro Caſtaliæ lavit
Crines ſolutos, qui Lyciæ tenet
Dumeta natalemque ſylvam,
Delius & Patareus Apollo.
Lib. 3. Od. 4. ℣. 64.

all the variety of titles given to this goddeſs; but in this light, is a compliment to the Roman Juno; the great patroneſs of his country. It was the Roman Juno, it ſeems, who appeared in arms, on this emergency. It was the Roman Juno who aſſiſted in perſon to ſupport the empire of heaven, and conſequently the happineſs of mankind, againſt the moſt formidable enemies that even the imagination of the poets could ever raiſe up againſt them.

In the antient gems and marbles the Juno Matrona is always repreſented in a modeſt and decent dreſs; as the Juno Regina, and the Juno Moneta, are always in a fine and more magnificent one. Yet when one has formed an idea of Juno, either from the ſimplicity of the one, or the magnificence of the others, one is ſtill at a loſs what to make of Virgil's account of her (39) arms and military chariot in the firſt Æneid; or of that angry and (40) warlike figure, he has given of her in the ſecond. A critic of any ſpirit would be apt to conclude from hence immediately, that Virgil takes his nap ſometimes as well as Homer; and that this contrariety was owing to his forgetfulneſs: but it would be better perhaps, wherever there ſeems at firſt ſight to be any blunder in ſuch excellent writers as Homer and Virgil (or indeed in leſs excellent poets, if they wrote in times ſo very far removed from us) rather to ſuſpect that we ourſelves are ignorant of ſome cuſtom, or fact, very well known in their times; than that the poet is miſtaken, or guilty of ſome blunder. I ſhould think it would be very right to lay this down as a general rule to ourſelves in reading the works of all ſuch of the antients, as have been allowed in their own times, and in the next ſucceeding ages, to have been men of very good ſenſe and very careful writers. This opinion of mine is, I can aſſure you, founded on fact; I mean that of my having found myſelf very often miſtaken in the end, where I thought they were at firſt: and to ſay the truth this has happened to me in the very caſe I was ſpeaking of. At my firſt conſidering theſe warlike deſcriptions of Juno in Virgil, I ſaw they did not agree with the moſt eſtabliſhed characters of that goddeſs among the Romans: I therefore thought, for ſome time, that Virgil took a good deal of liberty in caſes of this nature; and that theſe were to be reckoned among his negligences. But on a more careful review, I found the fault was in myſelf; and that Virgil in both thoſe places intended to ſpeak of Juno, not according to the appearance ſhe uſed to make among the Romans, but according to the repreſentations of her in other countries. In the firſt, he certainly ſpeaks of the (41) Carthaginian Juno; and in the ſecond, of the Juno Argiva; or, at leaſt, ſome particular Juno (42) of the Greeks.

It is true there was a Juno too received among the Romans, with which theſe attributes, and this ſort of character, would not diſagree. What I mean is the Juno Soſpita; who appears on ſeveral (43) family-medals, in a war-chariot, and with a ſpear in her hand. Tho'

(39) Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Poſthabitâ coluiſſe Samo: hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit——
Æn. 1. ℣. 17.

(40) ——Juno Scæas ſæviſſima portas
Prima tenet; ſociûmque furens e navibus agmen,
Ferro accincta vocat.——
Æn. 2. ℣. 614.

(41) It appears from the context in Virgil, that it was at Carthage, that Juno had her arms and a chariot; and ſo Ovid makes her ſay, more expreſly,

Pœniteat quid non foveo Carthaginis arces;
Cum mea ſint illo currus & arma loco.
Faſt. Lib. 6. ℣. 46.

One would think from this, compared with what Apuleius ſays in his prayer of Pſyche, that the Carthaginians repreſented their Juno ſometimes, in a chariot drawn by lions.——Magni Jovis germana & conjuga! Sive tu Sami, quæ querulo partu vagituque & alimoniâ tua gloriatur, tenes vetuſta delubra! Sive celſæ Carthaginis, quæ te virginem vecturâ leonis cœlo commeantem percolit, beatas ſedes frequentas! Sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & reginam dearum memorat! &c.—Af. Aur. Lib. 6.

(42) It ſhould, by the rules of propriety, be ſome Grecian Juno, or other; becauſe ſhe is aſſiſting the Greeks, to overturn the empire of the Aſiatics. One of the moſt celebrated among the Grecian Juno's was the Juno Argiva. She was worſhipped under that name even in Italy; and Ovid has a long deſcription of a proceſſion to her at Faliſci. Lib. 3. El. 13. Helenus had ordered the Romans, by Æneas, to worſhip Juno moſt particularly; to get her over to their party. Virgil's Æn. 3. ℣. 433—439. They did ſo; and thought that, in time, ſhe came to prefer them to all her moſt favourite nations. Ovid's Faſt. 6. ℣. 45, 48.

(43) See Montfaucon's Antiquities. Tom. 1. Pl. 22, 11.

Tho' the idea of this Juno was ſo well known and ſo familiar to the Romans, that they uſed to ſee her with all her proper accoutrements about her even in their (44) dreams; yet I ſhould never have been at all inclined to think that theſe deſcriptions were wrote by Virgil with any eye to her. Her dreſs is ſo particular, that any deſcription of it in the poets would be eaſily known; and yet, I believe, you cannot find out any one line either in Virgil, or in any other of the Roman poets, which is deſcriptive of her. Indeed it ſeems to have been a general rule among them, to follow the great and national ideas that were univerſally received among them, in deſcribing the figure of any deity; and to touch but very ſeldom, on the local and particular ones: among which we may reckon the Juno Soſpita; who was much more worſhipped (45) at Lanuvium, than ſhe was at Rome.

THERE was a Mild Juno, as well as a Mild Jupiter, among the Romans. Her face is gentle, and more good-humoured than uſual. It has the ſame air with which ſhe appears on a Greek medal, in Montfaucon (46); where you ſee her ſtanding in her chariot, drawn by peacocks. This is an idea, which was received too among the Roman poets; and which I ſhall conſider farther, together with that of the Jupiter Pluvius, when we come to the (47) deities of the air.

THE moſt obvious and ſtriking character of Juno, and that which we are apt to imbibe the moſt early of any from the writings of Homer and Virgil, is quite contrary to the former; that of an imperious, haughty wife. In both of theſe poets, we find her much oftner ſcolding at Jupiter, than careſſing him: and in the tenth Æneid in particular, even in the council of the gods, her behaviour is all either ſullen (48), or angry and indecent. There is a relievo, in the court of the univerſity at Turin, which ſeems to be meant to repreſent her in this very ſcene; and I could ſay much more of it, and of this ill-natured character of Juno in general. But as this goddeſs was antiently looked on as the great patroneſs of marriage and a wedded life, I chuſe to wave the ſubject; and ſhall only add, that it is a great matter of ſurprize to me, how Virgil and Homer could be ſo wicked, as to repreſent her moſt commonly in this character, under ſo falſe, and ſo diſagreeable a light.

ON the right hand of Jupiter, you ſee Minerva; as Juno is on his left. Theſe three deities are frequently joined together (49) by the Roman authors; as well as in antient inſcriptions, PLATE, III. FIG. 2.

(44) —Illam noſtram Soſpitam; quam tu nunquam nec in ſomniis vides, niſi cum pelle caprinâ, cum haſtâ, cum ſcutulo, cum calceis repandis. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1.

(45) She was particularly worſhipped at Lanuvium.

Quos caſtrum, Phrygibuſque gravis quondam Ardea miſit;
Quos, celſo devexa jugo Junonia ſedes,
Lanuvium.———
Silius, Lib. 8. ℣. 362.

Lanuvio generate, inquit, quem Soſpita Juno
Dat nobis.———
Id. Lib. 13. ℣. 365.

Date hoc ipſius pudori, date patri mortuo, date generi & familiæ, date etiam Lanuvio municipio honeſtiſſimo, quod in hâc totâ causâ frequens mæſtumque vidiſtis. Nolite a ſacris patriis Junonis Soſpitæ, cui omnes conſules facere neceſſe eſt, domeſticum & ſuum conſulem potiſſimum avellere. Cicero. pro Muræna, ſub fin.

They had in old times a temple to the Juno Soſpita in Rome; but her worſhip had been ſo little regarded there, that the very ruins of it were not eaſily to be found out, in the Auguſtan age.

Principio menſis Phrygiæ contermina matri
Soſpita delubris dicitur aucta novis;
Nunc ubi ſunt illis, quæris, ſacrata kalendis
Templa deæ? Longâ procubuere die:
Cætera ne ſimili caderent labefacta ruinâ
Cavit ſacrati provida cura ducis:
Sub quo, &c.
Ovid. Faſt. Lib. 2. ℣. 61.

(46) Vol. I. Pl. 22, 6.

(47) Dial. XIII.

(48) ——Tum regia Juno
Acta furore gravi. "Quid me alta ſilentia cogis
Rumpere, & obductum verbis vulgare dolorem? &c.
See her whole ſpeech, Æn. 10. ℣. 62—95.

(49) This is frequent in the Roman authors in general; but I ſhall only chuſe out three or four paſſages from ſome of the beſt of them.

Cicero, in the cloſe of his ſpeech againſt Verres, invokes theſe three deities at the head of all the other gods, whoſe temples that impious governor had profaned. "Nunc te, Jupiter Optime Maxime! cujus iſte

(50) inſcriptions, and the (51) works of the artiſts. They were looked upon as having at leaſt as great a (52) ſuperiority among the twelve great gods, as the reſt of the twelve had over the multitude of divinities received among the Romans. They worſhipped them with the higheſt kind of worſhip; and regarded them as their particular defenders, and as the (53) guardian gods of their empire. You ſee their riches are joined together here; as

iſte donum regale, dignum tuo pulcherrimo templo, dignum Capitolio, atque iſtâ arce omnium nationum:—Teque, Juno regina!——Teque Minerva!" &c.

In the peroration of Cicero's ſpeech a little before his own baniſhment, he invokes the ſame three deities, in particular; and all the other Roman deities in general: as it ſeems, in the words of ſome form of prayer uſed among the Romans. "Nunc ego te, Jupiter Optime Maxime, cujus nutu ac ditione ſola terrarum gubernantur! Teque, particeps connubii, ſocia regni, Regina Juno! Teque, Tritonia armipotens Gorgophora Pallas Minerva! Cæterique dii, deæque immortales!"

The ſame manner of diſtinguiſhing Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, from all the other gods is very frequent in Livy; as in his account of the Servile war, in particular.——Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, & Minerva, aliique dii deæque obſidentur. Lib. 3. §. 17. And in Manlius Capitolinus's ſpeech, when they are carrying him to priſon. Jupiter Optime Maxime, Junoque Regina, ac Minerva, cæterique dii deæque qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, ſiccine veſtrum militem ac præſidem finitis vexari ab inimicis?" Lib. 6. §. 16.

(50) Theſe ſometimes only mention theſe three deities; as in that at Milan, in Gruter's collection.

IOVI. IVNON. MINER.

And ſometimes diſtinguiſh them from all the other gods; as in that at Auſburg, in the ſame author.

I. O. M.
IVNONI REGINAE. MINERVAE.
OMNIBVS DIIS IMMORTALIBVS.

(51) Theſe three deities are frequently repreſented together, on gems and medals; and, particularly, in a jaſper of the Great Duke's at Florence, the draught of which is given in Pl. 3. Fig. 2.

Sometimes they repreſented them by proxy; as on a medal of Antoninus, where you have the owl for Minerva, an eagle for Jupiter, and a peacock for Juno: and ſometimes more fully; as in the drawing of a gem in Baron Stoſche's collection at Florence, where you have the three deities ſitting, with their three particular birds at their feet, and Vulcan ſtanding near an altar by them.

(52) There were three deities which were looked on by the Romans as, The Great and Powerful Gods. Ante has tres aræ trinis Diis parent, Magnis, Potentibus, Valentibus. Tertullian Lib. de Spectac. C. 4.

Who the three were, or at leaſt whence this high notion of them was derived, may perhaps ſufficiently appear from the following paſſage in Macrobius. Varro (ſays he) rerum humanarum ſecundo, Dardanum refert Deos Penates ex Samothrace in Phrygiam, & Æneam ex Phrygiâ in Italiam detuliſſe. Qui ſint autem Dii Penates, in libro quidem memorato Varro non exprimit. Sed qui diligentius quærunt veritatem, Penates eſſe dixerunt; per quos penitus ſpiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi poſſidemus. Eſſe autem medium æthera Jovem, Junonem verò imum aëra cum terrâ, et Minervam ſummum ætheris cacumen, eo argumento utuntur; quòd Tarquinius, Demarathi Corinthii filius, Samothraciis religionibus myſticè imbutus, uno templo ac ſub eodem tecto numina memorata conjungit. Caſſius verò Hemina dicit, Samothracas deos, eoſdemque Romanorum Penates, propriè dici Θεους Μεγαλους, Θεους Χρηστους, Θεους Δυναλους. Macrobius. Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 4.

Hence may appear too (by the way) the reaſon why Jupiter is generally placed in the midſt, Minerva on his right hand, and Juno laſt; in the joint repreſentations of theſe three great divinities.

(53) This may be partly inferred from the quotation from Macrobius, in the preceeding note; where he calls theſe three deities, the Penates of the Romans: for as the private Penates were the patrons and guardian-gods of particular families, ſo the public Penates were the guardian-gods of any ſtate or people. The diſtinction between private and public gods is authorized by Livy. Hos omnes deos publicos privatoſque, Quirites, deſerturi eſtis? Lib. 5. §. 52. And the ſame author, after mentioning Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, in his account of the Servile war, and the Capitol's being beſieged, adds immediately: Caſtra ſervorum publicos veſtros Penates tenent. Lib. 3. §. 17.

The Romans called theſe three deities by the very name of guardians. Veneramini illum Jovem, cuſtodem hujus urbis. Cicero. in Catal. 3. §. 162.—Eo ipſo die, (quinquatribus, or the firſt of the five-days feaſt to Minerva) ſenatus decrevit, ut Minerva noſtra, cuſtos urbis, quam turba dejecerat, reſtitueretur. Id. Lib. 12. Epiſt. 25.——Junoni conſervatrici; is common in antient inſcriptions. See Gruter, p. 25.

One may add here, that as the Romans looked on theſe three deities as their Great Guardian Gods, it muſt have been one of the higheſt compliments they could pay to any of their emperors, to repreſent them on the reverſe of their medals. Thus, for inſtance, when we find theſe three deities on the reverſe of Antoninus; this, in the language of the artiſts is directly ſaying that Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, were their guardian gods, or preſervers of the empire. In the ſame manner you have Balbinus, Pupienus, and young Gordian engraved on one ſide of a jaſper, in Signor Ficoroni's collection at Rome; and Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the other: which is ſaying hieroglyphically, (or by images) much the ſame as Ovid does in words, in the cloſe of the fourth book of his Faſti.

State Palatinæ laurus! prætextaque quercu
Stet domus! Æternos tres habet una deos.

as their ſhrines (54) formerly were, in the great temple of Jupiter, on the Capitoline hill.

MINERVA, you ſee, is a beauty; but a beauty of the ſeverer kind. She has not any thing of the little graces, or of the ſoftneſs and prettineſſes of Venus. It is that dignity; that becoming air; that firmneſs and compoſure; with ſuch juſt features, and a certain ſternneſs that has much more of (55) maſculine than female in it; which make the diſtinguiſhing character of her face. This goddeſs, as the antients uſed to repreſent her, is more apt to ſtrike one with awe and terror, than to charm one, at firſt ſight. Her dreſs and attributes are adapted to the character of her face. She moſt uſually appeared with a helmet on her head; and a plume, that nodded formidably in the air. In her right hand ſhe ſhook her ſpear; and in the other graſped her ſhield, with the head of the dying Meduſa upon it. You have the ſame figure again, with all its terrors and all its beauties, on her breaſt-plate; and ſometimes the goddeſs herſelf is repreſented as having living ſerpents about her breaſts, and about her ſhoulders. It is true the forms, either of wiſdom or of virtue, are apt at firſt to ſeem a little too ſevere to the eyes of mortals: but in this caſe the antient artiſts have rather over-done their part; and have worked up too much of outward terrors, about a perſonage, that is really, (and that ought to be) ſo amiable. PLATE, III. FIG. 3.

THE poets however agree with the artiſts even in this exceſs too; for tho' they ſometimes ſpeak of Minerva as extremely beautiful; they generally deſcribe her as (56) more terrible, than beautiful. They never call her pretty, but handſome or graceful; and give her the titles of the (57) dark-complexioned goddeſs, the (58) ſtern goddeſs, and the (59) virago: which

(54) Trina in Tarpeio fulgent conſortia templo.
Auſonius, Edyl. 11. ℣. 42.

Theſe three deities were before placed together, in one and the ſame chapel, in the Capitolium Vetus, by Tarquinius Priſcus; uno templo, ac ſub eodem tecto, as Macrobius ſays; Note 52, anteh. And Varro tells us that this Capitolium Vetus was ſo called, Quod ibi ſacellum Jovis, Junonis, & Minervæ; & id antiquius quam ædis quæ in Capitolio facta. De Linguâ Lat. Lib. 4. p. 39. Ed. Stevens.

By the way, the reaſon that Varro here gives, why the temple built by Tarquinius Priſcus, (near where the Barbarini palace now ſtands in Rome) was called Capitolium, ſeems to overturn the vulgar derivation of that word, from the head of one Tolus; which, indeed, otherwiſe ſeems idle enough. He ſays expreſly it was called Capitolium, (or the chief temple) becauſe their three chief gods were inſhrined in it. Thus the Greek authors too, call the Capitoline Jupiter indifferently by the name of Ζευς Καπιτωλιος, or Ζευς Κορυφαιος: which ſignifies, (as coryphæus does in Latin,) the chief, or principal.

(55) The air of her face is ſo maſculine, that her heads are very like thoſe of Alexander the Great; (ſee Pl. 3. Fig. 3.) and have often been taken by miſtake for his. There is a whole plate of theſe maſculine heads of her, in Montfaucon; (Vol. I. Pl. 84.) among which there is one, in particular, extremely like Lewis XIV.

Cupid, in Lucian's Dialogues, tells his mother, that he is always afraid to approach Minerva, ſhe looks ſo terrible, and ſo much like a man. Δεδια, ω μητερ, αυτην· φοβερα γαρ εστι, και χαροπη, και δεινως ανδρικη. Tom. 1. p. 216. Ed. Blaeu.

(56) The two diſtinguiſhing characters of the perſonage of Minerva in the Roman poets, are beauty and terror.

——Deam formâque armiſque decoram.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 773.

Bellipotens, cui torva genis horrore decoro
Caſſis, & aſperſo crudeſcit ſanguine Gorgon.
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 717.

The poets uſually compare ſoft beauties to Venus, majeſtic ones to Juno, and ſevere ones to Diana or Minerva.

Non ſecus ac ſupero pariter ſi cardine lapſæ
Pallas & aſperior Phœbi ſoror; utraque telis,
Utraque torva genis, flavoque in vertice nodo;
Illa ſuas Cyntho comites agat, hæc Aracintho.
Tunc (ſi fas oculis,) non unquam longa tuendo
Expedias, cui major honos, cui gratior, aut plus
De Jove: mutatoſque velint tranſumere cultus,
Et Pallas deceat pharetras, & Delia criſtas.
Statius. Theb. 2. ℣. 243.

(57) Flava Minerva.
Ovid. Faſt. 6. ℣. 652.

Si pæta eſt, Veneri ſimilis; ſi flava, Minervæ.
Id. Art. Am. Lib. 2. ℣. 659.

(58) Torva.
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 238.

Ferox Pallas.
Id. Achil. 2. ℣. 152.

(59) Flava virago.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 130.

The ſame poet calls her Impavida, if the poem ad Liviam be his; and Lucian calls her, αναιδυνος: both which epithets fall in with Silius's expreſſion of ſtans vultus, in his deſcription of Virtus; where he makes that goddeſs appear to Scipio Africanus.

which (tho' too ſevere for her intended character) agree exactly with her perſonal one, as it is repreſented in the ſtatues and gems of the antients.

THE poets do not only ſpeak of a certain ferocity and threatning (60) turn in the eyes of Minerva; but the very colour of them too, it ſeems, was (61) adapted to this character of terror. I can remember, ever ſince I was a boy, how very ſtriking the eye of a particular Blackmoor was to me, whenever he flung his face into a paſſion. Minerva, as a native (62), or inhabitant at leaſt, of Africa, has a great deal of the Moor in her complexion; together with a very light-coloured eye, which muſt ſhew this the ſtronger. I do not know that any one of the poets in the (63) Auguſtan age has touched on this particular colour of Minerva's eyes; tho' the Greeks took ſo much notice of it, as to give her one of her moſt celebrated titles (64) among them from thence. Virgil, in ſpeaking of the Palladium, (the little tutelary ſtatue of Minerva, which was kept at firſt ſo carefully at Troy, and afterwards at Rome,) aſcribes a certain fury and motion to the eyes of that figure, in a very particular manner. It is when Diomede had ſtole the Palladium, and brought it into the Grecian camp.

> Vix poſitum caſtris ſimulacrum, arſere coruſcæ
> Luminibus flammæ arrectis; ſalſuſque per artus
> Sudor iit: terque ipſa ſolo (mirabile dictu)
> Emicuit, parmamque ferens haſtamque trementem (65).

PLATE, III. FIG. 4. THE figure of the Palladium is often to be met with on gems, with the little round ſhield (or parma) in one hand, and her ſpear in the other. It is ſaid, that the famous original ſtatue itſelf could (66) turn its eyes ſtrangely; and who knows whether the heathen prieſts were not as dexterous in managing their old poppets, and giving them certain motions on certain occaſions; as ſome others have ſhewed themſelves with the modern? Virgil, (as of the Trojan party) ſays that Diomed ſeized this Palladium with his (67) hands all bloody; which according to their notions would have been an high piece

(60) Vertit ad hanc torvi dea bellica luminis orbem.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 752.

(61) Τι ἐν ὀχι και συ, Αθηνα, την κορυν αφελωσα, ψιλην την κεφαλην επιδεικνυεις; αλλ' επισειεις του λοφου, και τον δικας-ην φοβεις. Η δεδιας μη σοι ελεγχηται το γλαυκον των ομματων, ανευ τε φοβερᾶ βλεπομενον; Lucian. Dial. p. 89. Ed. Pariſ. 1615.

(62) Hinc qui ſtagna colunt Tritonidos alta paludis:
Quâ virgo, ut fama eſt, bellatrix edita lymphâ,
Invento primam Libyen perfudit olivo.
Silius. Lib. 3. ℣. 324.

Even the poets had what one may call their real, and their fabulous hiſtory, of their divinities. The former they believed, or pretended to believe; but the latter they looked upon as doubtful. When they tell any ſtory of this kind, they generally uſher it in with, Ut fertur, Ut perhibent, or Ut fama eſt; to ſhew that it is a thing only rumoured, and not abſolutely received. This ſtory of Minerva's birth has the mark of the fabulous hiſtory annexed to it; and indeed according to the more received account, ſhe was not born, but only made her firſt appearance there.

> Hanc & Pallas amat; patrio quæ vertice nata
> Terrarum primam Libyen (nam proxima cœlo eſt,
> Ut probat ipſe calor) tetigit: ſtagnique quietâ
> Vultus vidit aquâ, poſuitque in margine plantas;
> Et ſe dilectâ Tritonida dixit ab undâ.
> Lucan. Lib. 9. ℣. 354.

It may be hence, that Juvenal calls Minerva, the African goddeſs:

> ——Niveam reginæ cædimus agnam;
> Par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Mauræ.
> Sat. 12. ℣. 4.

For ſo it ſeems it ſhould be read; and not Gorgone Maurâ, the uſual reading: Minerva being often called Tritonia, which is the ſame with Maura; and Meduſa not having any ſuch general appellation from her country, that I know of.

(63) Lucretius takes notice of it in the age before:
Nigra, μελιχροος eſt; immunda & fœtida, ακοσμος·
Cæſia, Παλλαδιον.——
Lib. 4. ℣. 1155.

(64) Γλαυκωπις Αθηνη.

(65) Æn. 2. ℣. 175.

(66) There were ſtories of this kind of the Palladium at Troy, and of ſeveral other little figures of Minerva of the ſame kind. Ιταμον—— και το δη λεγω μυθευειν ως τε μη μονον καλαμυσαι φαινομενου, καθαπερ και το εν Ιλιω απος-γραφηναι καλα του Κασανδρας βιασμου, αλλα και καλαμυον δεικνυσθαι· πολυ δε ιταμωτερον το τοιαυτα ποιειν εξ Ιλιε κεκομισμενα ξοανα, οσα φασιν οι συγγραφεις· και γαρ εν Ρωμη, και εν Λακινιω, και εν Λκκερια, και εν Σειριτιδι, Ιλιας Αθηνα καλειται, ως εκειθεν κομισθεισα· και το Τρωαδων δε τολμημα περιφερεται πολλαχε, και απιστον φαινεται, καιπερ δυναλου ον. Strabo. Lib. 6. p. 182.

(67) Æn. 2. ℣. 167.

piece of impiety: but the artiſts, who were uſually Greeks, repreſent him as covering his hand in his robe; and ſo taking the image with reverence. I ſuppoſe the Greek writers too, would ſcarcely have allowed of his miracle; or of the anger of the goddeſs, on this occaſion.

THE head of Meduſa, which occurs ſo frequently both on the breaſt-plates and on the ſhields of Minerva, is ſometimes one of the moſt beautiful, and at others one of the moſt ſhocking objects in the world. In ſome figures of it, the face is repreſented as dead, but with the moſt perfect features that can be imagined; in others, her face is full of paſſion and her eyes convulſed; and in many others, (if all that ſort of heads are really Meduſa's, which are commonly taken for ſuch) the look is all frightful, and formed on purpoſe to give terror. In the noble Meduſa, in the Strozzi collection at Rome, her look is unpaſſionate and dead; but with a beauty, that death itſelf is not capable of extinguiſhing: and in this other (which I always keep in this drawer within the ſhrine of Minerva, as being one of the attributes of that goddeſs) you ſee that angry and painful turn of the eye, which is common in her figures. Whenever I have the pleaſure of ſhewing my collection here, to any ladies; I never fail of putting them in mind of Ovid's advice, to the Roman beauties in his time. He tells them, in his Art of Love (68), "That they ſhould take care not to be angry, becauſe it diſcompoſes and ſpoils a good face;" and refers them to ſome ſuch figure as this of Meduſa, for a proof of what he ſays. And indeed what an irreſiſtable face would this be, were it all enlivened with love, or ſoftened into ſmiles; inſtead of all that ſpite and anger which you ſee in it? The beauties (69), and horrors (70), of Meduſa's face, are both mentioned by the Roman poets. They ſpeak frequently alſo of her ſerpents: and particularly of two, that are very much diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, in ſeveral of her figures; as having their tails (71) twined together under her chin, and their heads reared over her forehead: as you ſaw they were, in the gem I have juſt been ſhewing you.

PLATE, IV. FIG. 1.

PLATE, IV. FIG. 2.

SOME of the Roman poets, and Statius in particular, ſpeak of other ſerpents about Minerva; diſtinct from thoſe which belong to her Gorgon. Their expreſſions are ſuch, that they ſeem to point at looſe ſerpents, winding at liberty about her breaſt; and appearing in very different manners, on different occaſions. Sometimes they deſcribe them as quite ſtill, and gentle; and at others, as rouſed and enraged. Thus Statius:

Ipſa metus Libycos, ſervatricemque Meduſam
Pectoris, incuſsâ movit Tritonia parmâ:
Protinus erecti toto ſimul agmine Thebas
Reſpexere angues.——(72)

And in another place:

Pallada mulcet honos; rediit ardore remiſſo
Vultus, & erecti ſederunt pectoris angues. (73)

I

(68) Pertinet ad faciem rabidos compeſcere mores;
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras:
Ora tument irâ; nigreſcunt ſanguine venæ;
Lumina Gorgoneo ſævius igne micant.
Lib. 3. ℣. 504.

(69) ——Clariſſima formâ,
Multorumque fuit ſpes invidioſa procorum.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 793.

(70) Quos habuit vultus hamati vulnere ferri
Cæſa caput Gorgon? Quanto ſpiraſſe veneno
Ora rear, quantumque oculos effundere mortis?
Lucan. Lib. 9. ℣. 680.
Gorgona, deſecto vertentem lumina collo.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 438.

This caſt of Meduſa's eyes (as in Pl. 4. Fig. 2.) may perhaps ſerve to explain a paſſage in Ovid; where that poet ſeems to infer: "that tho' your miſtreſs is apt to turn away her eyes from you, as violently as Meduſa does; yet if you do but flatter her ſufficiently, ſhe will turn them kindly on you again."
Ut fuerit torvâ violentior ipſa Meduſa,
Fiet amatori lenis & æqua ſuo.
Art. Am. 2. ℣. 310.

(71) Nexaque nodoſas angue Meduſa comas.
Ovid. ex Ponto. Lib. 3. Ep. 1. ℣. 124.
Connexoſque angues ——
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 437.

(72) Statius, Theb. Lib. 12. ℣. 609.

(73) Ib. Lib. 8. ℣. 519.

I USED formerly to think, that this was only a figurative way of ſpeaking of the ſerpents wrought about the Gorgon's head, on the breaſt-plate of Minerva; and as ſuch a figure would have been perhaps too bold, I was inclined to reckon it among the liberties which Statius is apt enough to take. It was by the help of ſome antient gems and ſtatues, that I firſt diſcovered my miſtake. After ſeeing them, the very lines which before ſeemed falſe to me, changed their look; and became very juſt and deſcriptive of the appearance this goddeſs uſed to make in the works of the old artiſts. For in theſe you meet
PLATE, IV. often with looſe ſerpents, ſometimes winding themſelves along the breaſt of Minerva;
FIG. 3 & 4. ſometimes as enraged, and hiſſing, and ſtanding out from it; and ſometimes, with their whole length folded up (74) circle within circle, as reſting or aſleep: in ſhort, in every action, and every attitude, in which they have been deſcribed by any of the poets.

IT was a very common thing among the Romans, to transfer the diſtinguiſhing attributes of their divinities to the ſtatues of their emperors. If any one ſaid, that Auguſtus was his god; it was little more in thoſe times, and in their manner of ſpeaking, than if he had ſaid, that emperor was (75) his patron: but to make a ſtatue of Auguſtus with the fulmen of Jupiter in his hand, was ſaying he was the lord and governor of all the world. You can ſcarce imagine how fond the greateſt men of antiquity were of this kind of flattery. Auguſtus himſelf loved to be repreſented with the attributes of Apollo; as his great rival Marc Antony affected thoſe of Hercules. This ſpecies of flattery was carried very far, in all its branches, by the old artiſts; but in no point farther, than in the Gorgon on Minerva's breaſt. I doubt not but one might make a ſeries of the Roman emperors from Auguſtus to Gallienus (which would be from the perfecting, to the abſolute fall of all the arts at Rome) with this attribute of Minerva on their breaſt-plates. I could name the places where the ſtatues, or buſts, of the greater part of them are; and if any ſhould be wanting to make up ſuch a ſeries, it would only be two or three of their emperors, of whom we have ſcarce any figures at all left to us. They ſeem all to have been as fond, of being complimented with this outſide badge of wiſdom; as our James the Firſt was, of being called by the name of Solomon. The ſtrongeſt I remember in the whole number, for the dying caſt of the eyes, is on the buſt of Nero in the Great Duke's gallery: and I ſcarce ever ſaw it, without its putting me in mind of that fine deſcription of Minerva's breaſt-plate (76) in Virgil. There is another on a Domitian, in the ſame collection: to which emperor Martial addreſſes one of his epigrams; with the very ſame turn of flattery in words, which is uſed by the artiſt in marble.

Accipe belligeræ crudum thoraca Minervæ,
Ipſa Meduſeæ quem timet ira deæ:
Dum vacat hæc, Cæſar, poterit Lorica videri;
Pectore cum ſacro ſederit, Ægis erit (77).

A BREAST-PLATE (78) with this particular ornament on it, when worn by a deity, was called Ægis. It is the moſt uſual ornament on the breaſt-plates of Minerva. Her ſhield

(74) I remember an inſtance of this, on a ſtatue of Minerva; in the King of Sardinia's palace, at Turin.

(75) Thus where Virgil ſays of Auguſtus;
——Deus nobis hæc otia fecit:
Namque erit ille mihi ſemper deus.——
He, juſt after, gives this reaſon for it.
Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis; & ipſum
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permiſit agreſti.
Ecl. 1. ℣. 10.

(76) Ægidaque horriferam, turbatæ Palladis arma,
Certatim ſquamis ſerpentum auroque polibant;
Connexoſque angues: ipſamque in pectore divæ
Gorgona, deſecto vertentem lumina collo.
Æn. 3. ℣. 438.

(77) Martial. Lib. 7. Ep. 1.

(78) Ægis propriè eſt munimentum pectoris, habens in medio Gorgonis caput. Quod munimentum, ſi in pectore numinis fuerit, Ægis vocatur; ſi in pectore hominis, ſicut in antiquis imperatorum ſtatuis videmus, Lorica dicitur. Says Servius on Virgil Æn. 8. ℣. 435. and what he ſays is entirely confirmed by

ſhield too had ſometimes the ſame deviſe, and the ſame (79) name; and was of ſo much dignity, that it ſeems to have been appropriated to herſelf and Jupiter alone of all the gods. This Ægis, or ſacred ſhield, was very antiently ſuppoſed to be held by Jupiter when he thundered: and Minerva uſed it ſometimes, on the ſame occaſion.

I COULD eaſily think, ſays Philander, that Jupiter might make free with the Ægis of Minerva; but I ſhould never have imagined, that Minerva durſt manage his thunder. If that ſurprizes you, ſays Polymetis, it is not at all ſtrange; becauſe you were never initiated in the great Samothracian myſteries; or even in thoſe of Athens or Rome. Theſe, you muſt know, I have long fancied to have been a ſort of Pagan Free-maſonry. At leaſt this is certain, that there were many ſocieties of old, in which their moſt ſacred ſecrets were preſerved with great devotion. The moſt famous lodge of this kind was in the iſland of Samothrace; from which the Greeks and Romans derived their leſſer lodges. Had we lived in thoſe times, proved extraordinary good heathens, and been admitted into one of theſe ſocieties, I doubt not but we ſhould have known perfectly well, why Minerva is ſometimes repreſented by the artiſts, and poets (80), as dealing out the thunderbolts of Jove; and why this goddeſs and Juno, and thoſe two only of all the heathen deities, are allowed to have an equal right to this diſtinguiſhing privilege with Jupiter himſelf. By what has got air of theſe old ſecrets it ſeems probable enough, that the Romans conſidered theſe three (81), as one and the ſame divinity under three different names; PLATE, IV. FIG. 5.

by the epigram from Martial above. The ſame poet has another epigram on their emperor's bearing the Ægis of Minerva.

Dic mihi, virgo ferox, cum ſit tibi Caſſis & Haſta,
Quare non habeas Ægida? Cæſar habet.
Lib. 14. ℣. 161.

And, perhaps, Ovid:

A quacunque trahis ratione vocabula, Pallas;
Pro ducibus noſtris Ægida ſemper habe.
Faſt. 3. ℣. 848.

(79) The word Ægis ſeems to be uſed for Minerva's ſhield, rather than her breaſt-plate, in the following paſſages.

Quid Rhæcus, evulſiſque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra ſonantem Palladis Ægida
Poſſent ruentes?——
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 4. ℣. 62.

Ægide terrificâ, quam nec dea laſſat habendo,
Nec pater; horrentem colubris, vultuque tremendam
Gorgoneo.——
Flaccus, Argon. 6. ℣. 176.

(80) The Roman poets (of all the three ages) give this diſtinguiſhing attribute of Jupiter, to Juno and Minerva.

As in the following paſſages; (of Minerva.)

Ipſa Jovis rapidum jaculata e nubibus ignem
Diſjecitque rates, evertitque æquora ventis;
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque infixit acuto.
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 45.

Prima coruſcanti ſignum dedit Ægide virgo,
Fulmineam jaculata facem: vixdum ardua cautes
Ceſſerat, illa volans tenui per concita ſaxa
Luce fugit. Rediere viris animique manuſque,
Ut videre viam. Sequor, O quicumque Deorum!
Æſonides, vel fallor, ait; præcepſque fragores
Per medios ruit, & fumo ſe condidit atro.
Flaccus, Argonaut. 4. ℣. 676.

——Fulmine irati Jovis
Armata Pallas, quicquid aut haſtâ minax,
Aut Ægide, aut furore Gorgoneo poteſt,
Aut igne patrio, tentat.——
Seneca. Agamem. Act. 3. Sc. 1.

And in theſe; (of Juno.)

——Præfervido fulgore——
Ardor injectus Junonis dexterâ ingenti incidit.
Fragm. of Actius.

——Flammis cincta ſub ipſam
Starem aciem, traheremque inimica in prælia Teucros.
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 812.

His ego nigrantem commixtâ grandine nimbum
Deſuper infundam, & tonitru cœlum omne ciebo.
Ibid. 4. ℣. 122.

Siderei regina poli, tumulumque rebellem
Diſjice; & in Thebas aliud, potes, excute fulmen!
Statius. Theb. 10. ℣. 69.

——Imbrem & tenebras ſævumque tridentem
Jam jam ego, & inviti torſiſſem conjugis ignem.
Valerius Flaccus. Argon. 1. ℣. 116.

What is aſſerted above, and proved here, may help one to explain that paſſage in Juvenal.

——Jures licet & Samothracum
Et noſtrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper
Crederis atque deos, diis ignoſcentibus ipſis.
Sat. 3. ℣. 146.

"Tho' you ſwear by the great gods, ſo revered in the Samothracian myſteries, and received as the guardian gods of our ſtate; yet, if you are poor, no one will mind what you ſay. They will think that you deſpiſe even thoſe gods, and their thunder; nay, that thoſe gods, (by whom they ſuppoſed, by the way, that every man lived and breathed,) in their turn, have no regard at all for you; nor for any thing that you may do, or ſay."

Whether it was that the artiſts were looked on as a meaner ſort of people of old among the Romans, and were therefore ſeldom initiated in the myſteries, I know not; but it is certain, that this point is not ſo frequently to be met with in their works, as it is in thoſe of the poets. I never remember to have ſeen any antique of Juno with the fulmen; unleſs one might reckon the figures of Juno Soſpita, who bears it on her ſhield: and ſcarce any of Minerva, except that on the medal of Domitian. Pl. 4. Fig. 5.

(81) That this was the opinion of ſome of their philoſophers, may be collected from that remarkable paſſage in Lactantius. Vana igitur perſuaſio eſt eorum, qui

names; among which names, that of Jupiter might ſignify the ſupreme goodneſs; that of Minerva, the ſupreme wiſdom; and that of Juno, the ſupreme power: ſomewhat after the manner, that our (82) Cudworth, and ſome other very learned writers, have imagined. I could go much farther on this ſubject; but it is high time, I believe, that we ſhould think a little of our dinner: and ſo, if you pleaſe we will take our leave of Minerva; and of all the ideas which the old Romans may have entertained, of her and her two aſſociates.

qui nomen Jovis ſummo Deo tribuunt. Solent enim quidam errores ſuos hâc excuſatione defendere; qui convicti de uno Deo, cum id negare non poſſunt, ipſum ſe colere affirmant; verum hoc ſibi placere, ut Jupiter nominetur. Quo quid abſurdius? Jupiter enim ſine contubernio conjugis filiæque coli non ſolet; unde quid ſit apparet: nec fas eſt id nomen eò tranſferri, ubi nec Minerva eſt ulla nec Juno. Inſtitut. Lib. 1. §. 11. p. 49. Ed. 1684.

Arnobius too ſeems to ſay ſomething like this. Hos (Penates) Conſentes & Complices Etruſci aiunt & nominant, quòd unà oriantur & occidant unà. Adv. Gentes. Lib. 3.

Macrobius ſays that theſe three deities were joined uno templo, ac ſub eodem tecto, Note 51, anteh. and Lactantius here, that they were worſhipped under the ſame tent, or ſhrine; "whence (ſays he,) it is plain, what they were." That is, that they were as great as Jupiter, and one with him: for the Romans could have but one and the ſame god, in the ſame ſhrine; as appears from the following paſſage, in Valerius Maximus. Cum Marcellus – templum Honori & Virtuti—conſecrare vellet, a collegio pontificum impeditus eſt; negante, unam cellam duobus diis rectè dicari: futurum enim, ſi quid prodigii in eâ accidiſſet, ne dignoſceretur utri rem divinam facere oporteret; nec duobus, (niſi certis diis,) unà ſacrificari ſolere. Memorab. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

(82) Theſe three Capitoline gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva,—may be underſtood to have been nothing elſe but ſeveral names and notions of one ſupreme deity, according to its ſeveral attributes and manifeſtations. Intell. Syſtem. Book 1. Ch. 4. p. 450.

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I

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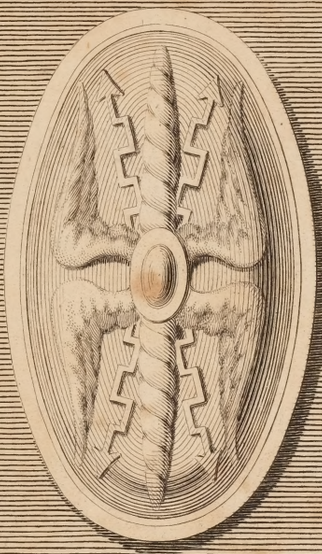
I



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L. P. Boitard Sculp.

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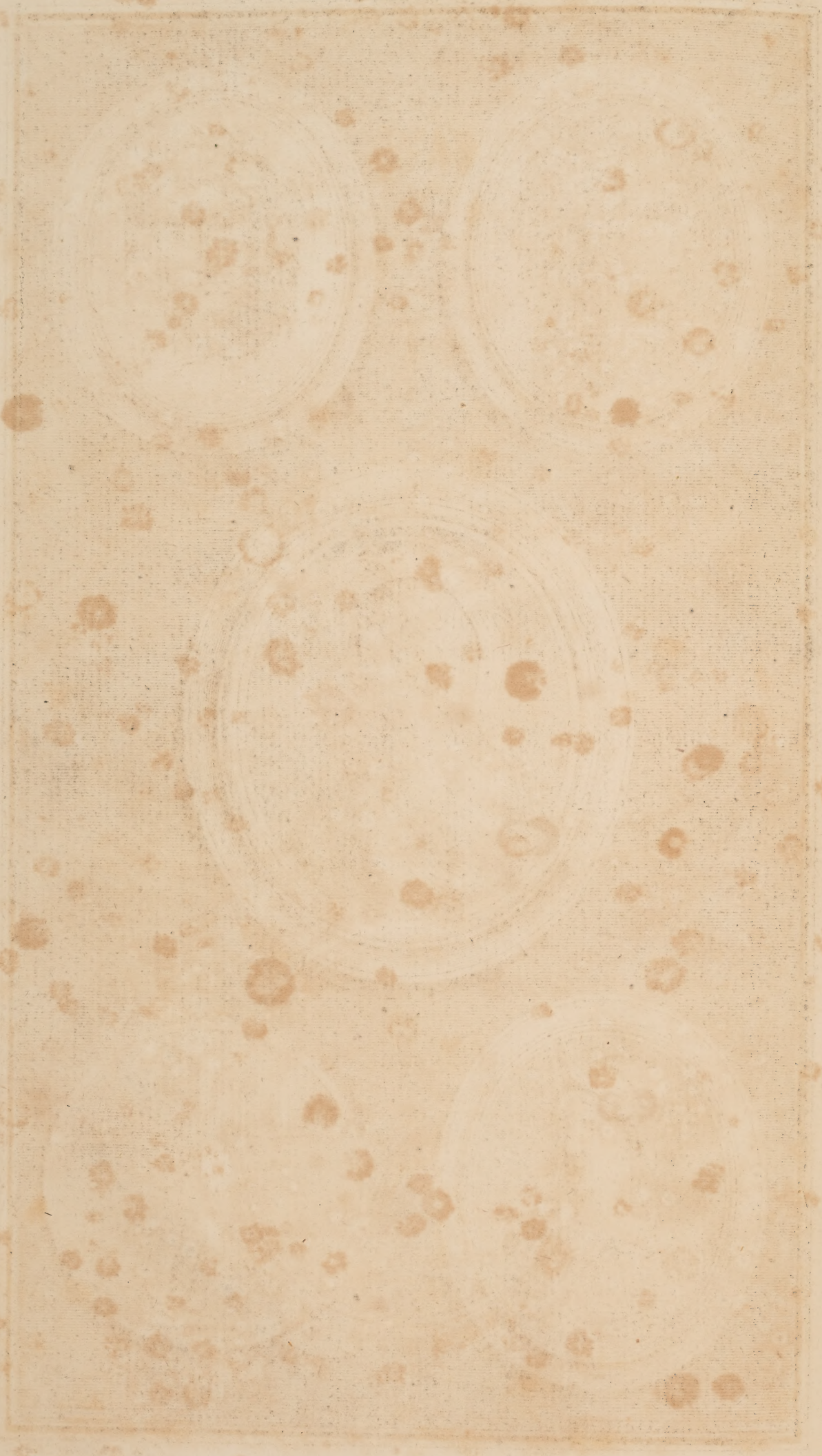

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DIAL. VII.

Neptune; Venus; Mars; Vulcan, and Veſta.

AFTER dinner, Polymetis returned with his two friends to his Rotonda; and went on in ſhewing them his collection, without making any new prefaces.

THAT deity, ſays he, next to Minerva, you ſee is Neptune; and this figure of him is the ſame figure in large, which you may have often ſeen in miniature, on a very common medal (1) of Adrian. As the little figures on medals and gems were without doubt frequently copies of ſome of the more celebrated ſtatues among the antients, they might be of great uſe for a ſupply where the originals are loſt: and ſurely, on occaſion, it may be full as fair to revive a ſtatue, from a medal; as it was at firſt to take the reverſe of the medal, from a ſtatue. I have therefore done it in this caſe; and in ſome others, where it was difficult to find out a good ſtatue to copy for my collection. Neptune, in this figure of him, holds his trident in his right hand; which is his ſcepter, as lord of all the (2) Mediterranean ſeas; the dolphin in his left hand, and the prow of a ſhip on which he reſts one of his feet, refer to the ſame; for as maſter of the inland ſeas, he was maſter of all the navigation of thoſe times. His aſpect in this, and in all the good figures I have ſeen of him, is (3) majeſtic and ſerene. The lower ſort of artiſts repreſent him ſometimes with an angry and diſturbed air; and one may obſerve the ſame difference in this particular between the great and leſs poets, as there is between the bad and the good artiſts. Thus Ovid (4) deſcribes Neptune with a ſullen look; whereas Virgil expreſly tells us that he has a (5) mild face, even where he is repreſenting him in a paſſion.

NEPTUNE, as having a ſeat in the ſupreme council of the gods, is often ſpoken of as in the higheſt heaven; and I have therefore given his ſtatue a place here among the Twelve Great Gods. But we ſhall meet with him, in his proper character, in the temple of the Water-deities; where we may conſider him more particularly. Let us therefore at preſent go on to a ſofter figure, this Venus; which is a copy of the famous Venus of Medici. PLATE, V.

VENUS

(1) See Plate 30. Fig. 1. after Dial. 14.

(2) As Oceanus and Amphitrite preſided over the great body of waters that ſurround the earth; ſo their ſon-in-law, Neptune, had the dominion of the waters incloſed between the coaſts of Europe and Africa. Hence Statius, (probably from ſome of the old Grecian poets) makes Neptune keep his reſidence in the port of Tænaros; the moſt conſiderable gulph on the coaſt of Greece, toward the main courſe of the Mediterranean ſea. Theb. 2. 45. And Juvenal calls him expreſly, "Lord of the Ægean ſea;" a principal part of the Mediterranean.

Per ſolis radios, Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat;
Per Martis frameam, & Cirrhæi ſpicula vatis;
Per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellæ;
Perque tuum, pater Ægei Neptune, tridentem.
Sat. 13. ỳ. 81.

What was of old called the Ægean ſea, is what we now call the Archipelago; and may very well be uſed here, by way of eminence, for the whole Mediterranean. It was yet more eminent, among the Greek and Latin poets; from its neighbourhood to Athens.

(3) The artiſts, to give Neptune's figures the more majeſty, formed him large; as they did Jupiter:

——Ubicunque rotis horrendus equiſque
Stas pater; atque ingens utrinque fluentia Triton
Fræna tenet: tantus noſtras condêre per urbes.
Valerius Flaccus Arg. 1. ỳ. 680.

And the poets give him the majeſtic nod of aſſent; as they do to Jupiter.

——Movit caput æquoreus Rex;
Concuſſitque ſuis omnes aſſenſibus undas.
Ovid. Met. 8. ỳ. 604.

(4) Ter Neptunus aquis cum torvo brachia vultu
Exſerere auſus erat; ter non tulit aëris æſtus.
Met. 2. ỳ. 271.

(5) ——Graviter commotus, & alto
Proſpiciens, ſummâ placidum caput extulit undâ.
Æn. 1. ỳ. 127.

VENUS in general has one of the prettieſt, as Minerva has ſometimes one of the handſomeſt faces, that can be conceived. Her look, as ſhe is repreſented by the antient artiſts and poets, has all the taking airs, wantonneſſes, and graces, that they could give it. Her ſhape is the moſt exact and elegant imaginable; all ſoft, and full of tenderneſs. The fineneſs of her ſkin and the beauty of her complexion were ſo exquiſite, that it was the maſter-piece, even of Apelles, to expreſs it as it ought to be. Her eyes were either wanton, or quick, or languiſhing, or inſolent, according to the occaſion; and her face and all her air agreed with them. She is very frequently deſcribed too, as having a treacherous inſulting ſmile on her face. But however ſhe appears, or whatever ſhe is doing, every thing about her, and every little motion of her, is all graceful, and bewitching, and charming.

THE Venus of Medici has often put me in mind of a paſſage in Statius;

Effulſere (6) artus, membrorumque omnis aperta eſt
Lætitia; inſigneſque humeri, nec pectora nudis
Deteriora genis; latuitque in corpore vultus:

For either the general tenderneſs and fine proportions of her whole make, ſeen thus all at once, take a great deal from the beauty of her face; or the head is really, (as has been ſuſpected by ſome) not of the ſame artiſt, who made the body. As to the latter, it will ever be the ſtandard of all female beauty and ſoftneſs. When one looks on it, one is apt to make the ſame exclamation, with the ſervant in Plautus; (were there not that mixture of drollery in it:)

(7) Proh, dii immortales, Veneris effigia hæc quidem eſt!
Ut in ocellis hilaritudo eſt! Eja, corpus cujuſmodi,
Subvolturium——(illud quidem ſubaquilum volui dicere)—
Vel papillæ cujuſmodi!——

ONE might very well, with him too, inſiſt particularly on the beauty of the breaſts; which in the ſtatue itſelf are the fineſt that can be conceived. They are ſmall, diſtinct, and delicate to the higheſt degree; with an idea of ſoftneſs, much beyond what any one can conceive, that has not ſeen the original: for all copies do her an injury; and prints more particularly. And yet with all that ſoftneſs, they have a firmneſs too; for as old Lucilius ſays, (on what occaſion does not appear, as we have only a piece here and there of his poems;)

Hic corpus ſolidum invenies: hic ſtare (8) papillas
Pectore marmoreo.——

FROM her breaſts, her ſhape begins to diminiſh gradually down to her waiſt; which I remember to have heard an Engliſh lady, at Florence, criticiſing at firſt ſight, as not fine and taper enough. This, probably proceeded from our beauties in England carrying this nicety generally too far; as ſome of the Grecian (9) beauties did formerly too, at Athens.

(6) This is ſpoken of Parthenopæus, in Statius's Games: Theb. 6. ℣. 573. They admired his face, on his firſt appearance; but when he ſtripped for the race, the fine turn of his limbs in general, and the apparent ſtrength and exact proportions of his whole body, made them forget the particular beauties of his face:—Latuitque in corpore vultus.

(7) Rudens. Act. 2. Sc. 4.

(8) Fragm. of Lucilius's 28th ſatire. Stantia pectora, are mentioned by Statius too, as a great beauty. Sylv. Lib. 1. 2, 270. This circumſtance of beauty appears, very remarkably, in the Venus of Medici.

(9) The perſonages in Terence's plays are all Greeks; and conſequently the cuſtoms they talk of are Grecian cuſtoms. He mentions this affectation of the Ladies in thoſe times, of preſſing their waiſts into the ſmalleſt compaſs they could; (which, by the way, does much more harm to the conſtitution and complexion, than it ever did good to the ſhape:)

Haud ſimilis virgo eſt virginum noſtrarum; quas matres ſtudent
Demiſſis humeris eſſe; vincto pectore; ut gracilæ ſcient:
Si qua eſt habitior paulo, pugilem eſſe aiunt; deducunt cibum:
Tametſi bona eſt natura, reddunt curaturâ junceas.
Chærea in Eun. Act. 2. Sc. 3.

Athens. And I am the more perſuaded that this was the caſe, becauſe the ſame lady, (who one would think ſhould be a good judge of beauty, becauſe it is what ſhe muſt ſee, at leaſt, every time ſhe looks in her glaſs,) after having ſeen the Venus of Medici ſeveral times, had the grace to own herſelf in the wrong; and even to exclaim againſt the exceſs of this mode among us. The Venus of Medici, with all her fineneſs of ſhape, has what the Romans call (10) corpus ſolidum, and the French the embonpoint; (I do not know that we have any right word for it in Engliſh.) And her waiſt, in particular, is not repreſented as ſtinted by art; but as exactly proportioned by nature, to all the other parts of her body.

VENUS, in all attitudes, is graceful; but in no one more, than in that of the Venus of Medici; in which figure of her, if ſhe is not really modeſt, ſhe at leaſt counterfeits modeſty extremely well. Were one to deſcribe exactly what that attitude is, one might do it in two verſes of Ovid's.

Ipſa Venus pubem, quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur lævâ (11) ſemireducta manu.

THERE is a tenderneſs and elegance in all the reſt of her form, as well as in the parts I have mentioned. Her legs are neat and ſlender; the (12) ſmall of them is finely rounded; and her very feet are little, white, and pretty. So that one might very well ſay of this ſtatue, what one of the perſons in Plautus's Epidicus ſays of a complete beauty:

Ab unguiculo, ad capillum ſummum, eſt feſtiviſſima! (13)

TO return to the eyes and look of Venus; the poets are fuller as to the former, than any ſtatue can be. They had the painters to copy from, as well as the ſtatuaries; and could draw ſeveral ideas from the life, which are not to be expreſſed in marble. The ſculptor can only give you the proportions of things, and one ſingle attitude of a perſon in any one ſtatue or relievo. The painter can do the ſame, and add the natural colours as they appear on the ſurfaces of things; and by the management of lights and ſhades, may fling them into their proper diſtances. The poet can deſcribe all that either of the others expreſs by ſhape, or colours; and can farther put the figure into a ſucceſſion of different motions in the ſame deſcription. So that of the three ſiſter-arts of imitation, poetry (in this at leaſt) has the advantage over both the others; as it has more power, and can take a larger compaſs than either of them. This muſt have given the poets an advantage, in deſcribing the quick and uncertain motions of Venus's eyes; and occaſions our meeting with ſome expreſſions in them, which cannot be explained either from ſta-

tues,

(10) Hic corpus ſolidum invenies——
Lucil. Sat. 28.
Chær. Color verus; corpus ſolidum, & ſucci plenum.
Parm. Anni? Chær. Sedecim.
Parm. Flos ipſe! Hanc tu mihi, vi, clam, precariò,
Fac tradas!——
Teren. Eun. Act. 2. Sc. 3.

(11) Art. Am. 2. ℣. 614. The famous Venus of Cnidos, made by Praxiteles, was partly in this modeſt poſture. Επει δ' ικανως τοις φυτοις ετερφθημεν, εισω τω νεω παρηειμεν. Η μεν ων Θεος εν μεσω καθιδρυται· Παριας δε λιθω δαιδαλμα, καλλιστον, υπερηφανον· και σεσηροτι γελωι μικρον υπομειδιωσα. Παν δε το καλλος αυτης ακαλυπτον, ωδεμιας εσθητος αμπεχωσης, γεγυμνωται· πλην οσα τη ετερα χειρι την αιδω λεληθοτος επικρυπτειν. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 882. Ed. Blaeu.

(12) All thoſe leſſer beauties, which the poets have marked out in the female make, are eminently to be found in the Venus of Medici. As the teretes ſuræ, (Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 4. ℣. 21.) and the pes candidus, (Id. Lib. 4. Od. 1. ℣. 27.) and exiguus. (Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. 3. ℣. 7.)

As the foot was uncovered antiently, the Roman poets ſpeak of the beauty of their miſtreſſes feet.

Et Thetidi quales vix reor eſſe pedes.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 20. ℣. 60.

Nay, the antients were ſo much nicer in obſerving this part of the body, than we; that one of the Roman hiſtorians, in ſpeaking of an emperor, thinks it worth his while to acquaint us, in all future ages, that he had not handſome toes. Pulcher, & decens maximè in juventâ; & quidem toto corpore, exceptis pedibus; quorum digitos reſtrictiores habebat. Suetonius, of Domitian; §. 18.

(13) Plaut. Epidicus. Act. 5. Sc. 1.——Thus Venus ſays very juſtly of herſelf, in Lucian. Επισης ειμι πασα, και ομοιως καλη. Tom. I. p. 223. Ed. Blaeu.

tues, or paintings. Such is that epithet of (14) Pæta, in particular, which the Roman writers give to Venus; and which refers, perhaps, to a certain turn of her eye, and her catching it away again, the moment she is observed; as your favourite does, Philander, when she is kinder to you in her heart, than she would appear to be by her eyes.

The critics in statuary are perhaps as apt to find out imaginary beauties, in a favourite figure; as the critics in poetry are, in a favourite author. There are some that have practised this in regard to the figure before you. You see, her face is turned away a little from you. This single article has given several people occasion to observe, that there are three different passions expressed in the air of the head, of this Venus. At your first approaching her, as she stands in the fine apartment assigned to this figure in the Great Duke's gallery, you see aversion or denial in her look; move on but a step or two farther, and she has compliance in it: and one step more to the right, they tell you, turns it into a little insidious and insulting smile; such as any lady has, when she plainly tells you by her face, that she has made a sure conquest of you. The moral of all this may be very true and natural; but I think it is not justified by the statue itself: for tho' I have paid, perhaps, a hundred visits to the Venus of Medici in person; and have often considered her, in this very view; I could never find out the malicious sort of smile, which your antiquarians talk so much of.

But whether this sort of smile be really on the face of the Venus of Medici, or not; Venus certainly was represented smiling, in many of her figures of old. Such probably were the figures of the Venus Erycina, whom Horace calls (15) Erycina ridens; and such the Venus Appias, whom Ovid (16) frequently describes with a malicious sort of smile on her face, and as delighting in little mischiefs.

As far as I can find, says Mysagetes, you intend to favour us with as many different Venus's, as we had different Jupiters in your account of that god; but why have not you been so good, all this while, as to tell us what particular Venus this before us represents? I was somewhat inclined to have dropt that point, says Polymetis; but since you must have it, it is the Venus Marina, that Horace (17) speaks of. As this is the temple set apart by me, for the great celestial deities; it would have been more proper, to have had a figure of the Venus Cœlestis in it: but, to confess the truth to you, I am so much in love with the Venus of Medici, that I rather chose to commit this impropriety, than to prefer any other figure to hers. The thing perhaps is not quite so reasonable, as it should be; but when did lovers ever act with reason?

IN

(14) Non hæc res de Venere pætâ strabam facit.
Varro, in Octogesi.
Si pæta est, Veneri similis; si flava, Minervæ.
Ovid. Art. Am. Lib. 2. ℣. 657.

The general character of Venus's eyes is particularly well described by Silius, in his choice of Scipio between Virtue and Pleasure; where he says, of the latter:
—— Lascivaque crebras
Ancipiti motu jaciebant lumina flammas.
De Bello Punico. Lib. 15. ℣. 27.

There is something like this, I think, meant in a passage of Petronius. Oculorum nictu, meus innotuit amor Doridi; & mihi, "blandâ oculorum petulantiâ," Doris annuit: adeo ut hæc tacita loquela, linguam antecedens, quam animorum propensionem eodem momento senseramus, furtim expresserit. Petr. Arb. Satyricon. p. 12.

Et quos Deos? Si non strabones, at pætulos esse arbitramur. Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. §. 29. The difference of strabo & pætus is thus given us, by an old grammarian. Strabo dicitur, qui est distortis oculis; pætus, qui leviter declinatis, cujus huc & illuc tremuli volvuntur. Porph.

(15) Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 2. ℣. 33.

(16) There was a statue of the Venus Appias, near the Forum where the lawyers used to plead. Ovid often alludes to it; and its situation.
Illo sæpe loco, capitur consultus amore;
Quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi.
Illo sæpe loco, desunt sua verba diserto;
Resque novæ veniunt, causaque agenda sua est:
Hunc Venus è templis, quæ sunt confinia, ridet.
Art. Am. Lib. 1. ℣. 88.
Redde meum, clamant spoliatæ sæpe puellæ,
Redde meum! toto voce boante foro:
Has Venus e templis multo radiantibus auro
Læta videt lites. ——
Ib. Lib. 3. ℣. 452.
Turpe vir & mulier, juncti modò, protenus hostes;
Non illas lites Appias ipsa probat.
Rem. Am. V, 660.

(17) Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 11. ℣. 15.

IN the baſe of this ſtatue of Venus, I keep ſeveral drawings that relate to her attendants, as well as to herſelf. Her chief attendants are perſons very well adapted to ſuch a goddeſs; the Cupids, Nymphs, and Graces. As to the Cupids; they were ſuppoſed of old to be (18) very numerous: but there were two, which were the chiefs of all that number; and which may be the very ſame which you ſee playing about the dolphin, at the foot of this ſtatue. Hence it is, that Venus is called, "the mother of the (19) two Cupids." One of theſe chief Cupids was looked on as the cauſe of love; and the other, as the cauſe of its ceaſing. Accordingly, the antiquarians now at Florence uſually call the two little Cupids at the foot of the Venus of Medici, by the names of Eros and Anteros; and there is ſomething, not only in the air of their faces, but in their very make and attitudes, which agrees well enough with thoſe names: the upper one, being lighter, and of a more pleaſing look; and the lower one, more heavy and ſullen. Ovid calls the latter (20), Lethæus Amor; and Cicero (21), Anteros. Were we to follow a figure, that father Montfaucon gives us (22) for Anteros, we muſt make him an old man: his appearance in it is much more like that of a Hercules, than of a Cupid; and nothing I think but the likeneſs of the name of the artiſt, which happened, (in this caſe unluckily,) to be engraved upon the gem, could have induced that father to have placed it where he has. Ovid certainly ſpeaks of this very Cupid (23), as a boy; and I do not know any of the poets that ever ſpeak of any Cupid, as an old man. I formerly uſed to think, from his name, that Anteros was looked on by the antients as the cauſe of averſion; but that, I believe is a miſtake too: for Ovid, the great maſter in all affairs relating to love, repreſents him only as making the paſſion of love ceaſe, but not as creating averſion; where he ſpeaks (24) moſt fully of this deity: and in another of his poems, ſhews that love and averſion were then ſuppoſed to proceed, not from different Cupids, but from (25) different arrows of the ſame Cupid.

THERE are ſcarce any figures more common in the works of the antient artiſts than thoſe of Cupids, in general; and they always repreſent them, as young, pleaſing, and handſome. I remember a pretty ſtatue of one, at the Venerè, (a ſeat of the King of Sardinia, near Turin) in which he appears like a youth of about ſeventeen, or eighteen years old; and Raphael, (who may almoſt paſs for an authority, when we are ſpeaking of the Roman antiquities) repreſents him as of about the ſame age, in his marriage of Cupid and Pſyche. But the moſt common way of repreſenting Cupid, in the works of the antients themſelves, is quite as a child; of not above ſeven or eight years old: and

(18) ——Volucrumque exercitus omnis amorum.
Val. Flaccus, Arg. 6. ℣. 457.

Natorum de plebe putat; ſed non erat illi
Arcus, & ex humeris nullæ fulgentibus umbræ.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 4. ℣. 30. (of Earinus.)

It is in this ſenſe, that Venus is called Dulcium Mater Cupidinum, by Horace, (Lib. 4. Od. 1, 5.) and Tenerorum Mater Amorum, by Ovid. Amor. Lib. 3. El. 15. ℣. 1.

(19) ——Geminorum mater Amorum.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 1.

Diva, non miti generata ponto,
Quam vocat matrem geminus Cupido!
Impotens flammis ſimul & ſagittis
Iſte puer laſcivus, & acre nitens,
Tela quàm certo jaculatur arcu?
Hippol. Act. 1. Chor.

(20) Plus amat e natis mater plerumque duobus
Pro cujus reditu quòd gerit arma timet.
Eſt prope Collinam templum venerabile portam,
Impoſuit templo nomina celſus Eryx;
Eſt illic Lethæus amor: qui pectora ſanat,
Inque ſuas gelidam lampadas addit aquam;
Illic & juvenes votis oblivia poſcunt,
Et ſi quæ eſt duro capta puella viro.
Ovid. Rem. Am. ℣. 554.

(21) De Nat. Deor. p. 71, & 72. Ed. Ald.

(22) Montf. Vol. I. Pl. 118. Fig. 5.

(23) ——Placidum puerilis imago
Deſtituit ſomnum.——
Ovid. Rem. Amor. V; ℣. 576.

(24) Id. Ibid. 549, to 576.

(25) Impiger umbroſâ Parnaſſi conſtitit arce;
Eque ſagittiferâ promſit duo tela pharetrâ,
Diverſorum operum; fugat hoc, facit illud amorem:
Quod facit, auratum eſt, & cuſpide fulget acutâ;
Quod fugat, obtuſum eſt, & habet ſub arundine plumbum.
Hoc deus in nymphâ Peneïde fixit; at illo
Læſit Apollineas trajecta per oſſa medullas:
Protinus alter amat, fugit altera nomen amantis:
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 474.

and, ſometimes, even younger than that. His look is, almoſt always, like that (26) of a child: generally, pretty (27); and ſometimes, a little idle, or ſly; according to the occaſion. His hair, which is very ſoft and fine in the beſt ſtatues of him, is ſometimes (28) dreſt up too, in a very pretty manner; as particularly in that celebrated figure of him with Pſyche, in the Great Duke's gallery; a good copy of which begins now to be not uncommon in England. He is almoſt always (29) naked, and of a good ſhape; rather inclining to plumpneſs, but not too much: it being uſually only enough to expreſs the healthful and thriving air, that becomes his age. His wings, are ornamental as well as uſeful; and were probably ſometimes repreſented in the paintings of the antients, as of various (30) pleaſing colours. His bow, his quiver, and his darts, are ſpoken of ſo vulgarly among our poets to this day, that they ſcarce need be mentioned here. Beſide which, the antient poets ſometimes give him, (as well as Hymen,) a (31) lighted torch: and ſome of them ſeem to ſpeak of his arrows themſelves as all burning (32); or at leaſt, as tinged with fire.

THE antient artiſts and poets repreſent their Cupids in general two ſort of ways, that are very different from each other: either as idle, and playful; or as very powerful, and as governing all things. I have ſeveral inſtances of both among my drawings here.

IT is partly from the wanton or playful character of theſe little (33) fluttering beings, that they are almoſt always given us under the figures of children: as Ovid, (who underſtood the paſſion they repreſent, as well as any man,) teaches us:

Et puer es, nec te quicquam niſi ludere oportet;
Lude; decent annos mollia regna tuos (34):

Or, as a lady of our own country ſays, (in one of the poems ſhe has been ſo unkind as to keep in her cloſet, much beyond the term preſcribed by Horace:)

Thus let us gently kiſs, and fondly gaze!
"Love is a child; and like a child, it plays."

Hence

(26) ——Notos pueri puer indue vultus.
(Venus, to Cupid;) Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 682.

(27) Laudaret faciem Livor quoque; qualia namque
Corpora nudorum tabulâ pinguntur Amorum,
Talis erat.——
Ovid. Met. 10. ℣. 517. (of Adonis.)

(28) Tu, pennâ pulchros geminâ variante capillos,
Ibis in auratis aureus ipſe rotis.
Ovid. Am. Lib. 1. El. 2. ℣. 42.
Nec torquem collo, nec habens crinale capillis;
Nec bene compoſitas comtus, ut ante, comas.
Ovid. ex Pont. Lib. 3. Ep. 3. ℣. 16.

(29) Et puer eſt, & nudus amor. Sine ſordibus annos,
Et nullas veſtes ut ſit apertus habet.
Ovid. Am. Lib. 1. El. 10. ℣. 16.
Ovid's reaſons here are not general; but adapted to the occaſion. It is in a copy of verſes to one of his miſtreſſes, who had behaved artfully to him; and had been trying to wheedle him out of a preſent.

(30) Nec nos purpureas pueri reſecabimus alas;
Nec facer arte meâ laxior arcus erit.
Ovid. Rem. Am. ℣. 702.
Hæc ego. Movit amor gemmatas aureus alas;
Et mihi, propoſitum perfice, dixit, opus.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 40.

(31) Non ego Dulichias furiali more ſagittas,
Nec raptas auſim tingere in amne faces.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 700.
Per Venerem, nimiumque mihi facientia tela:
Altera tela, arcus; altera tela, faces.
Id. Heroid. Ep. 2. ℣. 40. (Phyllis, Dem.)
Et mihi cedet amor; quamvis mea vulneret arcu
Pectora, jactatas excutiatque faces.
Id. de Art. Am. 1. ℣. 22.

(32) Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipſa; rident
Simplices nymphæ; ferus & Cupido,
Semper ardentes acuens ſagittas
Cote cruentâ.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 8. ℣. 16.
Volucrem eſſe amorem fingit immitem Deum
Mortalis error, armat & telis manus;
Arcuſque ſacros inſtruit ſævâ face:
Genitumque credit Venere, Vulcano ſatum.
Octavia. Act. 2. Sc. 2.

(33) The fulleſt deſcription I have ever ſeen of the wantonneſs, and littleneſs of a Cupid, is in Longus's amours of Daphnis and Chloe, Lib. 2. The old ſhepherd there miſtakes him, at firſt, for a bird; as ſome of the old poets make his mother compare him, to a bee.

(34) Ovid. Rem. Am. V. . 24.

Hence in gems, and other pieces of antiquity, wherever you meet with Cupids, you almoſt always meet with them concerned in ſome little diverſion, or ſome little foolery or another. As in this drawing, for example, where you ſee ſome of them driving a hoop or playing with quoits, and others wreſtling or fighting in jeſt; in a little ſort of circus of their own: and this other, where they are got about their mother, (or perhaps ſome nymph,) by the water-ſide; and are diverting themſelves in their different manners. Here are two of them very ſeriouſly employed about the catching of a butterfly; and there another, as intent to burn one with the torch he holds in his hand. Tho' this indeed might be brought as an inſtance of their power, as well as of their idle tricks: for the butterfly is generally uſed by the Greek artiſts as (35) an emblem for the human ſoul; and a Cupid fondling or burning a butterfly, is juſt the ſame with them as a Cupid careſſing or tormenting the goddeſs Pſyche, or the ſoul. It is remarkable enough that in the Greek language, the ſame (36) word is uſed indifferently, for this little fluttering inſect, and the ſoul; (or the Animula vagula, blandula, as Adrian (37) called it:) and it is as remarkable that, tho' the old artiſts have repreſented Cupids playing with butterflies ſo many different ways, there is ſcarce any one of them, for which I could not produce ſome parallel in their repreſentations of Cupid and Pſyche.

PLATE, VI. FIG. 1.

PLATE, VI. FIG. 2.

PLATE, VI. FIG. 3, & 4.

PLATE, VI. FIG. 5, & 6.

OUT of the many inſtances I could mention, I remember to have ſeen an antique in which Cupid was repreſented in a car, drawn by two Pſyches (38); and another, in which a Cupid was drawn, in the ſame manner, by two butterflies. And this latter might have yet a farther meaning: for as the car denotes triumph, and the drawing any one in a car is a mark of the utmoſt ſubmiſſion; this might be principally intended by the artiſt to expreſs the abſolute power of love, over all the beings of the air. In like manner, they expreſs his dominion over all the other elements; thus in this drawing you ſee him riding on a lion; in this, on a (39) dolphin: and in this third, breaking the fiery bolt of Jove. His power over all things on earth is repreſented ſeveral other ways (40), beſide his riding on a lion; but I choſe to have a drawing of this preferably to any other, becauſe of the beautifulneſs and expreſſiveneſs of the thought contained under it. You ſee, this little Cupid is playing on a lyre; and the ſavage creature he rides on, looks as if he had quite forgot his nature, in liſtening to him. The moral of this gem is juſt the ſame with that of the known ſtory of Cimon and Iphigenia, in Boccace: and the artiſt here tells us, at the firſt ſtroke of the eye, what one muſt read ſo many pages thorough to learn from the author.—Do not think, Myſagetes, that I am getting into a new region of hieroglyphics, as obſcure as that of the old Egyptian prieſts. Theſe are of a far different kind. They are drawn, immediately from nature; and point, directly back to her again.

PL. VII. FIG. 1, 2, 3.

CUPID

(35) There might have been a great deal of good ſenſe, (and perhaps ſomething above good ſenſe,) in the fixing on this emblem. At leaſt, nothing I think, could point out the ſurvival and liberty of the ſoul after its ſeparation from the body, in a ſtronger and more argumentative manner; than an animal, which is firſt a groſs, heavy, creeping inſect; and which, after dropping its ſlough, becomes (by an amazing change) a light, airy, flying, free, and happy, creature.

(36) Ψυχη, Anima, Vita.—Item, Papilio, apud Plut. Symp. 2. Prob. 3. et Ariſt. Hiſt. An. l. 5. r. 9. Scapula.

(37) In the known verſes, recorded by Spartian; in his life of that emperor.

(38) Theſe are both, in Baron Stoſche's noble collection of drawings; at Florence.

(39) Thus Neptune's dominion over the ſea, is often denoted by his having a dolphin in his hand; and ſo was Cupid's ſometimes, in the ſame manner: according to that old inſcription under one of his ſtatues, which I have met with ſomewhere; and if I miſtake not, it was in an old Frankfort edition of Theocritus.

Γυμνος Ερως δια τυλο γελα, και μειλιχος εστι,
Ου γαρ εχει τοξου και πτεροεντα βελη·
Ουδε μαλην παλαμαις καλεχει δελφινα και ανθος,
Τη μεν γαρ γαιαν, τη δε θαλασσαν εχει.

(40) Sometimes he is riding on a Centaur, who has his hands tied behind him; ſometimes on a Chimæra, &c; to ſhew that love can conquer all the fierceſt monſters, that ever were ſuppoſed to have been upon the earth.

CUPID was so constant (41) an attendant of the figures of Venus, of old; that he may be almost looked upon as one of her attributes: as the Bambino is often considered only as an attribute of the virgin by the artists, (and perhaps by many of the vulgar (42),) in Italy now. The other chief attendants of Venus are (43) the Nymphs and Graces. The Graces were, most generally, represented naked; as you see them in this drawing: like three beautiful sisters, and connected together. The Roman poets take notice of all these (44) particulars; and so do even their (45) prose-writers too. Horace, in one place, speaks of their dancing (46) with the Nymphs; and, in another, of the Graces and Nymphs dancing (47), with Venus at the head of them. Ovid gives a mighty pretty description of the Nymphs, with the Horæ, (or Hours,) in the garden of Flora (48); of which I need say no more at present, because I shall be obliged to consider it a little more particularly, on another (49) occasion: and Statius employs them (50), with Cupid; to sprinkle flowers over a new-married couple. These I am sure would each have served to have made a very pretty picture, had either Raphael or Guido, been so kind as to have copied them from the poets: but I do not well know what to make of another passage in Statius, where he seems to allude to (51) a new way of representing the Graces in his time; under the figure of a woman, with three pair of hands. Such a Grace, (if ever there was such an one,) would methinks have been fitter to make a wife for Briareus, than an attendant for Venus.

PL. VII. FIG. 4.

PL. VII. FIG. 5.

I HAVE here a drawing of three Nymphs, dancing hand in hand; as a companion for that of the three naked Graces. The poets speak of these Nymphs, for the most part, only in general terms: but there is a half-poet, (or in other words, a romance-writer,) who describes them much in the same manner, as you see them here. The person I mean, is Longus; who thus speaks of them (52), in his amours of Daphnis and Chloë. "As Daphnis was in a deep sleep, there appeared to him the three Nymphs, in the shape

(41) ——Comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat dea picta sui.
(Paris; speaking of the ship, in which he carried off Helen.) Ovid. Her. Ep. 16. ℣. 114.
Proh Venus, & tenerâ volucer cum matre Cupido!
Id. Met. 9. ℣. 481.
——Veneremque, & illi
Semper hærentem puerum.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 32. ℣. 10.

(42) I fear this may be understood of the great vulgar, as well as the small. The child in the virgin's arms is as much a mark or characteristic only of her, as the serpent under her feet, or the crown of stars over her head. The seeing our Saviour most generally used as a mark only, or at best as a child wholly dependant on his mother, must be apt to give her worshippers higher notions of the mother than the son; and may partly have helped to lead them into the use of such strange petitions, as that of, Jure matris filio impera, and the like; even in their most authorised books of devotion.

(43) Fervidus tecum puer, & solutis
Gratiæ Zonis, properentque Nymphæ.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 30. ℣. 6.

(44) ——Gratiæ decentes.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 4. ℣. 6.
Solutis Gratiæ zonis.
Id. Ib. 30. ℣. 6.
Gratia nudis juncta sororibus.
Id. Lib. 3. Od. 19. ℣. 17.
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiæ.
Id. Ib. 21. ℣. 22.

(45) Num dicam; quare tres Gratiæ, & quare sorores sint, & quare manibus implexis; quare ridentes, juvenes, & virgines; solutâque, ac pellucidâ veste? Seneca. de Benif. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. He then gives the moral reasons for each of these particulars: under one of which, he calls them; Ille consertis manibus in se redeuntium chorus. Ibid.

(46) Gratia cum Nymphis, geminisque sororibus, audet
Ducere nuda choros.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 7. ℣. 7.

(47) Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Lunâ;
Junctæque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes
Alterno terram quatiunt pede.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 4. ℣. 7.

(48) Ovid. Fast. 5. ℣. 209, to 220.

(49) Dial. 15, posth.

(50) ——Nec blandus Amor, nec Gratia cessat,
Amplexum virides optatæ conjugis artus,
Floribus innumeris & olenti spargere nymbo.
Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 21.

(51) ——Hunc multo Paphie saturabat amomo;
Hunc nova tergeminâ pectebat Gratia dextrâ.
Id. de com. Earini. Lib. 3. Sylv. 4. ℣. 83.

(52) Lib. 2.

ſhape of women; beautiful, and of a fine ſtature. They had only a ſlight robe about them; their feet were bare; and their hair plaid looſely in the wind. In a word, they were in every particular juſt like the ſtatues he had ſo often worſhipped in the grotto of the Nymphs." If you ſhould rather be inclined to think, that the drawing in my hand may relate to the Graces themſelves, as well as the former; I would not diſpute with you at all, on that head. For it is certain that the Graces were repreſented ſometimes with juſt ſuch looſe flying robes; and, perhaps, dancing too: as one would imagine from ſome expreſſions in Seneca, relating to the Graces; which agree with the repreſentation of theſe three ladies here as exactly (53), as if they had been wrote on purpoſe for it.

BUT it is high time to quit theſe attendants of Venus; that we may return to the goddeſs herſelf.——As I obſerved to you, that Venus had a little inſidious ſmile in ſome of her figures; ſo is ſhe repreſented in a wheedling poſture, in others. Such is the deſign on the reverſe of a medal of Marcus Aurelius; in which Venus is begging ſome favour of Mars. It is inſcribed, Veneri Victrici; and ſo may teach us, by the way, that this goddeſs carries her point, whenever ſhe condeſcends to wheedle even the rougheſt of her admirers. There is a ſtatue of Venus with Mars, in the Great Duke's gallery at Florence, exactly in the ſame attitude; and ſo, probably, were the figures of theſe two deities, which ſtood antiently (54) before the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. The goddeſs holds one hand round his neck, and the other on his breaſt; and ſeems enticing him to grant her requeſt: as the god, amidſt all his ſternneſs, has an air of complying with her. She is repreſented in the ſame manner, with other people, as well as Mars; both by the (55) poets, and in the remains of the (56) antient artiſts. PL. VIII. FIG. 1.

THERE is another way of repreſenting Venus, not much to her honour, tho' very common among the antients. This one might call, the Venus Deſidioſa; and poſſibly ſome of the figures of this kind, which paſs now with every body for Venus, were originally meant for the goddeſs Deſidia. At leaſt that goddeſs might be more eaſily miſtaken for a Venus, than for the ſon of Venus; as ſhe was (57) apt to be, among the antients themſelves. However that be, the Venus I am ſpeaking of, is repreſented as the Genius of indolence: laying, in a languid poſture, on a bed; and generally attended by

(53) Ille, conſertis manibus, in ſe redeuntium chorus. Seneca. de Ben. See Note 45, anteh.

(54) Stat Venus Ultori juncta viro ante fores.
Ovid. Triſt. Lib. 2. ℣. 296.

The medal, above mentioned, calls the goddeſs Victrix; which would agree very well with Venus on that occaſion: ſhe being repreſented there, as deſiring Mars to revenge the death of Julius Cæſar; which was granted her ſo fully, in the ſucceſs of the ſecond battle of Philippi. It is poſſible that both the medal, and the ſtatue of Mars and Venus in the Florentine gallery, were copies of the Mars and Venus before the temple of Mars Ultor.

Venus embracing and wheedling Mars, juſt in the ſame manner as in the ſtatue and medal juſt mentioned, was an idea very generally followed. It is on a gem, in the Great Duke's collection; and on a relievo, in the court of the Juſtiniani palace at Rome. As it appears ſo often, there certainly was ſome celebrated figure which the different artiſts copied from: as we ſee they uſed to do, by the various antient copies of the Venus of Medici, the Hercules Farneſe, and the Apollo Belvidere.

Statius gives a like view of Venus and Mars; on another occaſion.

Viderat hanc cœli jamdudum in parte remotâ
Gradivum complexa Venus; dumque anxia Thebas
Commemorat, preſſum tacito ſub corde dolorem
Tempeſtiva movet. ———
Deſiluit juſtis commotus in arma querelis
Bellipotens. ———
Theb. 9. ℣. 832.

(55) Thus, Virgil deſcribes her, when ſhe is wheedling her huſband.

——Niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
Cunctantem molli amplexu fovet: ille repente
Accepit ſolitam flammam. ——
Senſit læta dolis & formæ conſcia conjux.
Æn. 8. ℣. 394.

(56) There is a relievo in the court of the univerſity at Turin, in which Venus is repreſented careſſing Jupiter; in the ſame manner as ſhe does the Mars in the Florentine gallery.

(57) Ergo deſidiam quicunque vocabit amorem,
Deſinat. ———
Ovid. Am. Lib. 1. El. 9. ℣. 32.

——Namque hæc, quoties chelyn exuit ille,
Deſidia eſt; hic Aoniis Amor avocat antris.
Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 6. ℣. 31.
(Speaking of his friend's ſkill, in diſtinguiſhing figures.)

by Cupids, as ready to receive her orders, and bring her every thing that ſhe wants; that ſhe may not be put to the intolerable fatigue of ſtanding up upon her feet. It is this Venus which makes her appearance in one of the fineſt-colour'd pictures that is left us of the antients; that in the Barbarini palace at Rome: the air of whoſe head, may be compared with Guido's; as the colouring of the fleſh, puts one in mind of Titian. Part of this picture you know is loſt, and part reſtored by Carlo Marat. Marat has painted ſome Cupids about her, (as there might, perhaps, have been the traces of ſome in the original piece;) which however look but clumſily when compared with their mother: and which, if Marat be really ſo great a painter as I think he is generally eſteemed to be at preſent, may ſerve to do a great deal of honour to the painting of the antients. Venus is deſcribed (58) by Statius, much in the ſame manner as ſhe is repreſented in the Barbarini picture.

I HAVE ſeen a very pretty repreſentation of Venus, yet more indolent than this. It is on an antient ſepulchral lamp, of which this is a drawing. You ſee, not only Venus herſelf, but the Cupids about her are all faſt aſleep. As it was found in a ſepulchre; we may juſt obſerve by the way, that it probably related to ſome fine lady who was interred there, with ſeveral of her children: and ſo were all in that ſtate, which in its beginning looks ſo like ſleep, that it has been generally compared to it; not only by the poets, but even by the proſe-writers, of all ages.

Pl. VIII. Fig. 2.

INDOLENCE is the mother of love, in a moral ſenſe; as Venus is the mother of Cupid, in the allegorical. It was therefore a very juſt thought to repreſent Venus under this indolent character.

Otia ſi tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus;
Contemptæque jacent, & ſine luce, faces:
Quàm Platanus rivo gaudet, quàm Populus undâ,
Et quàm limosâ Canna paluſtris humo;
Tam Venus otia amat.—— (59)

IT is for this reaſon that Venus is ſo often oppoſed to Minerva, and Virtus; the two deities which preſided over an active and ſtirring life: as might be ſhown, very fully, both from the poets and artiſts of old. But as I chuſe always to put things of a kind together; I may ſay ſomething (60) more of this, when we are taking our round of the ſtatues on the outſide of this temple.

WE meet with a character of Venus, on ſome particular occaſions, quite oppoſite to this; and which ſeems to regard her rather as the goddeſs of Jealouſy, than as the goddeſs of Love. I do not remember ever to have ſeen any figure of her under this character; and I believe there is not any deſcription of it to be found in any of the Roman poets, before thoſe of the third age: in which Valerius Flaccus, and Statius, have drawn two very (61) terrible pictures of her. It is remarkable enough, that theſe horrid deſcriptions

(58) Alma Venus thalamo pulsâ modò nocte jacebat;
Amplexu duro Getici reſoluta mariti:
Fulcra toroſque deæ tenerum premit agmen Amorum.
Signa petunt, quas ferre faces, quæ pectora figi
Imperet.——
Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 56.

(59) Ovid. Rem. Am. ℣. 143.

(60) See Dial. 10.

(61) ——Neque enim alma videri
Jam tumet; aut tereti crinem ſubnectitur auro,
Sidereos diffuſa ſinus. Eadem effera, & ingens,
Et maculis ſuffecta genas; pinumque ſonantem
Virginibus Stygiis, nigramque ſimillima pallam.
Val. Flaccus. Argon. 2. ℣. 106.
Illa Paphon veterem centumque altaria linquens,
(Nec vultu nec crine prior,) ſolviſſe jugalem
Ceſton, & Idalias procul ablegaſſe volucres
Fertur. Erant certè, mediâ qui noctis in umbrâ
Divam, alios ignes majoraque tela gerentem,
Tartareas inter thalamis volitaſſe ſorores
Vulgarent: utque implicitis arcana domorum
Anguibus, & ſævâ formidine cuncta replevit
Limina.——
Statius. Theb. 5. ℣. 69.

deſcriptions of Venus are given by both theſe poets, on one and the ſame occaſion; they being introduced by each of them, in their account of the women of Lemnos killing their huſbands, and taking the government into their own hands. The ſtory is this. The Lemnians had made an expedition into Thrace; conquered their enemies there; brought off a great booty; and among the reſt, a great number of Thracian women. Venus, who was enraged againſt the men of Lemnos for neglecting her temples, (on her ſcandalous infidelity to her huſband, their great tutelar god;) raiſes a ſtrong report in Lemnos, that the ſoldiery in general were ſo much enamoured of their Thracian captives, that they had a deſign on their return to diſcard their former wives and children; or at leaſt, to make them ſerve the new-comers. The Lemnian women were ſo full of this perſuaſion, and ſo poſſeſſed with jealouſy and rage; that on the night of their return, (when every body was buried in ſleep after the rejoicings and debauches of the day,) they fell on the men, and murthered them in their beds. Their king, Thoas, was the only man that was left alive. He was concealed, and ſent away to Pontus in a diguiſe; by his daughter Hypſipile; and Hypſipile, as the firſt of the blood-royal, was made queen of the iſland by the women. Jaſon, in his expedition to Colchos, ſtopped at Lemnos, with the Argonauts; who found out the means of reconciling the ladies there ſo far to men again, that their queen herſelf had twins by their leader. It is on occaſion of this cruel maſſacre, committed by the women of Lemnos on their huſbands, that we ſee Venus deſcribed, both in Flaccus and Statius, more like an infernal Fury than the goddeſs of the ſofter paſſions. Her very ſhape, as well as her look, is totally changed by them. She appears large, and ſtrong; with a diſturbed and furious air; in black funeral robes; and armed (62) with a torch, with a ſword, and with ſerpents; the diſtinguiſhing attributes of the Furies. Indeed ſhe is ſo like them, and ſo unlike herſelf; that were one to find her in this character on a relievo, one ſhould moſt probably miſtake her for an Alecto, or a Tiſiphone. Who would think of the goddeſs, that poliſhes ſavages, and ſoftens all the world, under ſo ſtrange and ſo horrid a diſguiſe?

THE Romans had certainly a bad Cupid, as well as a good one; and ſo might very well have a bad Venus too, as well as a good one. I do not remember, that any of their poets of the two firſt ages mention a bad Venus; but one of the third age, ſpeaks expreſly of (63) the Venus Improba.

IF the Venus Improba be not to be underſtood of this furious Venus, there is another character of the ſame goddeſs with which it might ſuit very well: what I mean is, the Vitious Venus. Her infidelities to her poor huſband are notorious; and have been ſtrongly

(62) ——Nudo ſtabat enſe videri
Clara mihi, ſomnoſque ſuper. Quid proditis ævum?
(Inquit) age, averſis thalamos purgate maritis!
Dixit: & hoc ferrum ſtratis, hoc (credite!) ferrum
Impoſuit. ——
Statius. Theb. 5. ℣. 140.

Hic ſanxere fidem. Tu martia teſtis Enyo,
Atque inferna Ceres; Stygiæque Acheronte recluſo
Ante preces venere Deæ: ſed fallit ubique
Mixta Venus; Venus arma tenet, Venus admonet iras.
Ibid. ℣. 158.

Stat funeſta Venus; ferroque accincta furentes
Adjuvat. Unde manus? unde hæc Mavortia Diræ
Pectora? ——
Ib. ℣. 283.

Ipſa Venus quaſſans undantem turbine pinum
Adglomerat tenebras; pugnæque accincta, frementem
Proſilit in Lemnon: nimbiſque & luce fragosâ
Proſequitur polus, & tonitru pater auget honoro.
Inde novam pavidas vocem furibunda per auras
Congeminat: quâ primus Athos, & Pontus, & ingens
Thraca palus; pariterque toris exhorruit omnis
Mater; & adſtricto riguerunt ubere nati.
Adcelerat Pavor; & Geticis Diſcordia demens
E ſtabulis; atræque genis pallentibus Iræ;
Et Dolus, & Rabies, & Leti major imago
Viſa truces exſerta manus; ut prima vocatu
Intonuit, ſignumque dedit mavortia conjux.
Flaccus. Argon. 2. ℣. 208.

There is no need, I think, of obſerving how much Flaccus exceeds Statius here; it muſt appear ſo evidently, to every body that only runs over theſe deſcriptions from both. What I admire him for, more particularly, is the propriety he ſhews in calling Venus, Mavortia conjux, on this occaſion; and in making her ſet out with the very ſame attendants that the poets uſually give to Mars, when he is going on any great expedition.

(63) ——Mox in varias mutata novaris
Effigies. Hoc ære Ceres; hoc lucida Gnoſſis;
Illo Maia tholo; Venus hoc, non Improba, ſaxo.
Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. ℣. 235.

ſtrongly marked out, ever ſince the earlieſt ages of the world. The poets, in particular, have never ſpared her; they paint her faults of this kind but too glaringly; and ſpeak often of the public ſhame ſhe was brought to, by her amours with Mars. There is a mighty pretty gem, on this piece of penal juſtice executed on adultery in the heathen heaven, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. It repreſents this vitious goddeſs, and her paramour the captain among the heathen gods, caught in the net made by Vulcan; juſt as Ovid (64) deſcribes this affair: where he adds, that all the other gods were called in to be witneſſes of their crime, and to oppreſs them with ſhame. There is a relievo on the ſame ſubject at Rome (65), in which Venus has her hands only chained: it omits the net; but repreſents Sol in his chariot, as the perſon who firſt diſcovered them: agreeably to what Ovid ſays of this affair; and indeed agreeably to the ſtory, as it is generally told by the old Mythologiſts. And perhaps there never was a ſtory that has been told (66) oftner; for there is ſome reaſon to imagine, that it was one of the moſt common ſubjects for an (67) old kind of romances; which ſeem to have been in faſhion much earlier, than any Monſieur Huet has made mention of, in his pretty treatiſe on that ſubject.

IT is on the account of this old ſtory, that I choſe to place Mars rather than Vulcan, next to Venus; in the circle of ſtatues before you: for, in ſpite of all the public ſhame they

(64) Primus adulterium Veneris cum Marte putatur
Hic * vidiſſe deus; videt hic deus omnia primus.
Indoluit facto; Junonigenæque marito * Sol.
Furta tori, furtique locum monſtravit: at illi
Et mens, & quod opus fabrilis dextra tenebat,
Excidit. Extemplo graciles ex ære catenas,
Retiaque & laqueos quæ fallere lumina poſſunt,
Elimat. Non illud opus tenuiſſima vincant
Stamina; non ſummo quæ pendet aranea tigno.
Utque leves tactus, momentaque parva ſequantur,
Efficit; & lecto circumdata collocat aptè.
Ut venere torum conjux & adulter in unum;
Lemnius extemplo valvas patefecit eburnas,
Admiſitque deos. Illi jacuere, ligati
Turpiter.——
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 188.

This paſſage in Ovid is but too much explained, by Lucian's dialogue between Mercury and Apollo. Tom. I. p. 214. Ed. Blaeu.

Fabula narratur toto notiſſima cœlo;
Mulciberis capti Marſque Venuſque dolis.
Indicio Solis, (quis Solem fallere poſſit?)
Cognita Vulcano conjugis acta ſuæ.
Mulciber obſcuros lectum circaque ſupraque
Diſponit laqueos: lumina fallit opus.
Fingit iter Lemnon; veniunt ad fœdus amantes;
Impliciti laqueis nudus uterque jacent.
Convocat ille deos; præbent ſpectacula capti;
Vix lacrimas Venerem continuiſſe putant:
Non vultus texiſſe ſuos, &c.
Art. Am. 2. ℣. 590.

(65) In the Admiranda. Pl. 3.

(66) Virgil mentions this, as the moſt noted among all the ſtories, told by the water-nymphs in Cyrene's grotto.

Inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
Vulcani, Martiſque dolos & dulcia furta;
Aque Chao denſos divûm numerabat amores.
Georg. 4. ℣. 347.

The water-nymphs telling this kind of ſtories together, was ſo known a thing, that it was a ſubject even for ſtatuary too.

Illic adſpicias ſcopulis hærere ſorores;
Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
Ut Semele eſt combuſtus, ut eſt deperditus Iö;
Denique ut ad Trojæ tecta volarit avis.
Propertius. Lib. 2. El. 23. ℣. 20.

Leuconoe, and her ſiſters, divert themſelves in the ſame manner, whilſt they are at work; and Leuconoe, in particular, tells this very ſtory of Mars and Venus. Ovid often calls it, "The moſt trite ſtory among the gods." Met. 4. ℣. 189.—Art. Am. 2. ℣. 563.—Amor. Lib. 1. El. 9. ℣. 40.

(67) Both Virgil and Propertius call the ſubjects of theſe ſtories, Dulcia: and the latter uſes the word, canere, for the manner of telling them; as the former ſays, Carmine quo captæ. The ſubjects in general agree with thoſe moſt uſed in our novels and romances: and they were told, either in verſe, or in an affected poetical kind of proſe; for carmen is uſed indifferently for the one or the other. Propertius might have an eye to this affected ſtyle, in thoſe expreſſions of his relating to Jupiter's amours:

Ut Semele eſt combuſtus, ut eſt deperditus Iö.

Apuleius makes uſe of this affected, lulling ſtyle, in his romance: as one may ſee, by his very propoſition itſelf; which ought to be plain and eaſy, even in a poem. He begins thus. At ego tibi, ſermone iſto Mileſio, varias fabulas conſeram; aureſque tuas benevolas lepido ſuſurro permulceam: mox, ſi papyrum Ægyptiam argutiâ Nilotici calami inſcriptam non ſpreveris inſpicere, figuras fortunaſque hominum in alias imagines converſas, & in ſe rurſum mutuo nexu refectas, ut mireris exordior. Which, (to pleaſe any of our ladies, that may happen to be particularly fond of romances,) I have endeavoured to turn into Engliſh, as juſtly as I could, in the following manner. "Now will I weave together ſeveral ſtories for you, in that known Mileſian ſtyle; and ſooth your benevolent ears, with a pleaſing reſt-inviting ſound. Then, if you diſdain not to caſt one regard on my Egyptian manufacture, marked with the cunning of a pen from Nile; thus do I begin to lay out before your wondering eyes, the ſhapes and fates of men, changed into various figures, not their own; and ſtrangely turning to their own again." Exordium, to Apuleius's Aſinus Aureus.

they had been brought to, ſhe ſeems always to have perſiſted in loving this gallant of her's better than her huſband.

You ſee Mars here has his uſual attributes, his helmet, and his ſpear; and indeed they were ſo attached to him, that he does not quit them, even when he is going on his amours. This military god had ſeveral, you know; and was no more conſtant to Venus, than ſhe was to Vulcan. His amour with Rhea was one of the moſt celebrated among the Romans. In a known relievo, (in poſſeſſion of the Mellini family, at Rome,) relating to the birth of Romulus and the founding of that city, you ſee Mars deſcended on the earth, and moving toward Rhea who lies aſleep on it. On the reverſe of this medal in my hand, he is repreſented in an earlier point of time; in the air, as deſcending down to her. It was by the help of this medal that Mr. Addiſon has ſo finely and ſo fully explained a paſſage in Juvenal, which had been ſtrangely miſunderſtood before his time. As I always keep the works of Mr. Addiſon in this temple, and as no words can be ſo proper as his own; if you will give me leave, I will read the whole paſſage to you from him: not as a thing new to you; but as one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances I know of, to ſhew how uſeful the works of the old artiſts might be made, towards explaining the old poets.

PL. VIII. FIG. 3.

PL. VIII. FIG. 4.

The paſſage from Juvenal, is this.

Tunc rudis & Graias mirari neſcius artes,
Urbibus everſis, prædarum in parte reperta
Magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
Ut phaleris gauderet equus: cælataque caſſis
Romuleæ ſimulacra feræ manſueſcere juſſæ
Imperii fato, & geminos ſub rupe Quirinos;
Ac nudam effigiem clypeo fulgentis & haſtâ,
Pendentiſque dei, perituro oſtenderet hoſti. (68)

"JUVENAL here, (ſays (69) Mr. Addiſon,) deſcribes the ſimplicity of the old Roman ſoldiers; and the figures that were generally engraven on their helmets. The firſt of them was the wolf, giving ſuck to Romulus and Remus. The ſecond, which is comprehended in the two laſt verſes, is not ſo intelligible. Some of the commentators tell us, that the god here mentioned is Mars; that he comes to ſee his two ſons ſucking the wolf; and that the old ſculptors generally drew their figures naked, that they might have the advantage of repreſenting the different ſwelling of the muſcles, and the turns of the body: but they are extremely at a loſs, what is meant by the word, pendentis. Some fancy it expreſſes only the great emboſſment of the figure: others believe it hung off the helmet.—Lubin ſuppoſes that the god Mars was engraven on the ſhield; and that he is ſaid to be hanging, becauſe the ſhield which bore him hung on the left ſhoulder. One of the old interpreters is of opinion, that by hanging is only meant a poſture of bending forward to ſtrike the enemy: another will have it, that whatever is placed on the head may be ſaid to hang, as we call hanging-gardens ſuch as are planted on the top of the houſe. Several learned men, who like none of theſe explications, believe there has been a fault in the tranſcriber; and that pendentis, ought to be perdentis: but they quote no manuſcript in favour of their conjecture. The true meaning of the words is certainly, as follows. The Roman ſoldiers, who were not a little proud of their founder and the military genius of their republic, uſed to bear on their helmets the firſt hiſtory of Romulus; who was begot by the god of war, and ſuckled by a wolf. The figure of the god was made as if deſcending on the prieſteſs Ilia; or as others call her, Rhea Sylvia.—As he was repreſented deſcending, his figure appeared ſuſpended in the air over the veſtal virgin;

(68) Juvenal, Satire II. ℣. 107.

(69) Addiſon's Travels, p. 182.

virgin; in which ſenſe the word, pendentis, is extremely proper and poetical. Beſide the antique Baſſo Relievo that made me firſt think of this interpretation, I have ſince met with the ſame figures on the reverſes of a couple of antient coins, which were ſtamped in the reigns of Antoninus Pius."

THUS far Mr. Addiſon: who, by a caſual hint from a Relievo, and afterwards by the plain evidence of a medal, has at laſt fixed ſo doubtful an expreſſion to ſo clear and poetical an idea, as it may now give every body who reads this paſſage.

THERE is another Relievo at Rome, (to go from a very evident point, to one that is altogether as obſcure,) which has puzled all the antiquarians a great deal. It is very full
PL. IX. of perſonages; among whom Mars evidently makes the moſt conſiderable figure. He is attended by a number of other gods; and among the reſt by a Cupid, who is endeavouring to wheedle his ſpear out of his hand. Juno, the goddeſs of marriage, is ſeated on an eminence; as preſiding over the aſſembly. Mars directs his ſteps to the figure of a beautiful nymph lying on the ground; who is repreſented as Eve might be, when juſt created. Who this perſon ſhould be, is what has made the great difficulty. Several of the Roman poets of the firſt age ſpeak of a wife of Mars, called (70) Neriené; of whom we find no traces at all in their later poets. There is one of the (71) old critics however, who has given us ſome lights relating to her: without whoſe aſſiſtance it is no wonder if ſhe had been quite unknown to us; ſince, as he tells us, many of the Romans themſelves knew nothing of her, in his time. We learn from him, that ſhe was originally a goddeſs of the Sabines; and that people ſeem to have ſhewn a very pretty kind of imagination, in making this new deity. They had a Mars, who ſignified brutal courage: and as they thought that even war itſelf ought to be in ſome degree poliſhed and civilized, they gave their Mars this Neriene, (who, according to ſome, ſignifies mildneſs,) for his conſort; to ſoften and humanize the roughneſs of his temper. Should one apply the ſtory on the Relievo to this account of Neriene, there is nothing in them I believe that would not agree very well together. But there are many keys will open a lock they were not made for; and I have promiſed not to build any thing ſolely on the authority of the oldeſt Roman poets. It is therefore that I ſhall ſtill call it obſcure: and indeed we are very much in the dark as to the whole hiſtory of Neriene. Who knows whether the Romans had not ſome account, and perhaps ſome Relievo's too, of Mars returning in triumph to his Neriené, after the atchievement of ſome great conqueſt? If there was any ſuch thing, it might add a great deal of force to a (72) paſſage in Plautus's Truculentus,

(70) ——— Neriene Mavortis.
Ennius. An. Lib. 1.
Martis Neriene.
Varro. Sat. Menip.
Nolo ego Neæram te vocent, ſed Nerienem;
Cum quidem Marti es in connubium data.
Licinius Imbrex. In Neærâ, Com.

(71) Aulus Gellus has a whole chapter on this goddeſs; from which one learns,

1. That ſhe was a great deal unknown among the Romans themſelves, in his time. He quotes a paſſage from Plautus, in which that poet mentions Neriene; and then adds: Super eâ re audivi non incelebrem hominem dicere, nimis comicè Plautum imperito & inconditomiliti falſam novamque opinionem tribuiſſe, ut Nerienem conjugem eſſe Martis putaret. Gellius adds, that the critic was miſtaken; and that Plautus had uſed thoſe expreſſions, from his knowledge, and not out of ridicule.

2. That ſhe was called Neria, and Nerio, as well as Neriene. Nerio was probably the old name for her, in the Sabine language: for Gellius ſays, ſhe was of Sabine extraction; and that one of the anceſtors of the Claudii, (a Sabine family,) had the ſurname of Nero, from this goddeſs.

3. Among ſeveral etymologies of her name, he mentions one from an author; poſſibly, of this very family. In commentario Servii Claudii ſcriptum inveni, Nerio dictum quaſi Neirio, hoc eſt, ſine irâ & cum placiditate; ut eo nomine mitem tranquillumque fieri Martem precemur. And ſo is ſhe invoked by Herſilia, in her ſpeech to Tatius, the general of the Sabines; to entreat him to make a peace with the Romans. In the end of that ſpeech, ſhe addreſſes herſelf to this goddeſs; and begs of her, "that they may obtain peace: and that the Sabine wives may live as happily with their Roman huſbands, as ſhe does with her huſband, Mars." Aulus Gellius. Noct. Att. Lib. 13. C. 21.

(72) Stratophanes is an arrogant boaſting captain, that talks and looks very big in one of Plautus's plays. On his return from making a campaign, he goes immediately to ſee his miſtreſs, Phroneſium; who pretends

culentus, which reads rather languiſhingly at preſent: perhaps more for want of knowledge in us; than for any want of ſpirit, in the author.

IT may however ſurprize you, to ſee how far the ſtory, in the Relievo before us, might tally with the account of Neriene, which I have given you from Aulus Gellius. Neriene, you ſee here, (for give me leave, if you pleaſe, to call her ſo,) is lying on the ground; as juſt formed, but not yet animated: and Mars approaches her with an attentive and ſoftened air on his face. He has a lion at his feet, to ſhew his character of fierceneſs; and ſhe a young kid by her, (the idea of which in Italy, is much the ſame as that of a lamb among us,) to ſhew her mildneſs. There is a grave elderly man, near her, and regarding her ſtedfaſtly; (in an odd ſort of veſſel, which as I remember in the original ſeemed to have more of the air of a boat, than it has in my copy.) This I take to be Prometheus, coming to animate her; from his likeneſs to the Prometheus in another Relievo repreſenting this ſtory: in which, he is actually applying the heavenly fire (73) to the figure, that anſwers Neriene here.—On one ſide are two water-deities, with a great deal of dignity in their looks; (ſo that poſſibly, they may be Neptune and Oceanus:) on the other ſide, is Tellus, reclined; and with her head turned, as regarding Neriene. Theſe, with Juno, on the right hand above Tellus; and Vulcan, placed yet a little higher than Juno; may be meant, partly, to ſignify the four elements: the fineſt parts of which, we may ſuppoſe, were ſelected to compoſe the body of this new goddeſs; (for the deities of the heathens were ſuppoſed to have corporeal vehicles, or bodies only of a finer make;) and it is uſual with the antient artiſts to introduce the deities preſiding over the four elements, wherever they repreſent any thing relating to the creation (74), or rather to the new formation, of any perſon. Juno, (as I ſaid before,) may have a farther meaning here; and is ſeated with dignity, and in ſo eminent a place, as preſiding over the ceremony; which is to end in a marriage, between Mars and the new-made goddeſs. Near Juno, is Minerva; and Bacchus: and juſt behind Mars, are Apollo, Diana, and Mercury, in the order they are named. At the end, is a fine figure of Victory, a very proper attendant of Mars; and, juſt over her head, appears part of the zodiac. It is remarkable, that only two of the ſigns are wrought upon it; thoſe of Scorpius, and Libra: the former, perhaps, to ſignify the fiery temper of Mars; and the latter, the moderating and ballancing of it, by this conjunction of him with Neriene. Beſide theſe, there are ſeveral little Cupids about the piece; (one of which, as I ſaid before, is endeavouring to wheedle Mars's ſpear out of his hand; a circumſtance, very proper to the occaſion;) and two or three heads of deities, who are not diſtinguiſhed enough to ſay who they are: but they are there, at leaſt, to grace this great ceremony; and ſeem all very attentive to it. Every thing elſe in this piece I have accounted for to you; I think, in no forced manner: I am ſure at leaſt, in that, which ſtruck me naturally, and at the firſt ſight; after

Pl. IX.

tends to be much out of order. He is received firſt by the waiting-maid; and is introduced by her, to her miſtreſs. The maid walks before him; and he ſtruts after her. This little piece of ceremony immediately puts him in mind of the pompous returns of Mars from foreign conqueſts; which, no doubt, he muſt have often ſeen in Relievo's and pictures. This makes him change his ſtyle all of a ſudden, to this elevated idea: and methinks one ſees him, in Plautus, ſtrutting along, with the air and gait of Mars Gradivus.

Before it was;

——Peperitne obſecro Phroneſium?

Anc. Peperit puerum, nimiùm lepidum:—Strat. Ecquid mihi ſimili' eſt?

But afterwards, he heightens and ſtiffens his ſtyle.

Anc. Conſequere; atque illam ſaluta, & gratulare illi.—Str. Sequor.

Phron. Ubi illa obſecro eſt, quæ me hic reliquit, atque abſtitit?

Anc. Aſſum. Adduco tibi exoptatum Stratophanem.—Phron. Ubi is eſt, obſecro?

Strat. Mars, peregrè adveniens, ſalutat Nerienem, uxorem ſuam.

Cum tu rectè proveniſti, cumque es aucta liberis,
Gratulor: cum mihi, tibique, magnum dediſti decus.

A little after, he talks of the victories he is returned from; and the ſpoil and the captives that follow this imaginary triumph of his.

——Adduxi ancillas tibi, eccas! ex Suria, duas:
Iis te dono. Adduce huc tu iſtas! Sed iſtæ reginæ, domi
Suæ, fuere ambæ; verùm patriam ego excidi manu.

See Plautus. Truculentus. Act. 2. Sc. 6.

(73) See, Adm. Pl. 22.

(74) See Adm. Pl. 22, & 66. In which latter, by the way, there are two figures repreſented juſt like Adam and Eve.

after I had once found out a key for this inexplicable ſtory, as Bellori in his (75) notes on Bartoli ſeems to call it.

And ſince I have mentioned Bartoli here; I muſt juſt add, that one may very well be ſurprized at his choice in this ſubject. There are two Relievo's relating to it, in the ſame palace at Rome, the Palazzo Mattei: one, on the ſtair-caſe; and the other, placed pretty high againſt the houſe, in the court. The former, is very bad work; very ill preſerved; and patched up, in ſeveral parts, with Stucco-work by ſome modern artiſt: the other, is very fine work; and particularly well preſerved: yet when Bartoli collected his Relievo's for the Admiranda, he choſe to inſert the former rather than the latter, in that noble work. And why do you think he did ſo? Why, truly, becauſe there was eaſy ſitting, to copy the bad one; and he muſt have had a ſcaffold erected, to take the good one: as my deſigner was forced to have; and for which, the Duke of Mattei was ſo good as to grant his permiſſion. A favour, which tho' great in itſelf, was much the greater; becauſe his Grace was then actually engaged, himſelf, in the deſign of publiſhing all the fine remains of antiquity; not only in this palace, but at his Villa too in Rome: which, when put together, will make one of the nobleſt treaſures of antiquities in the whole world.

I Could never yet meet with any Relievo of Mars going out to war. The poets deſcribe this with a great deal of parade, and give him a number of attendants on that occaſion; who are very well adapted to the god of ſlaughter and deſtruction, or (as it is more handſomly ſtyled) of the art of war. Theſe (76) deſcriptions are ſo very pictureſque, that I doubt not it was a ſubject common enough among the artiſts, as well as the poets, of old.

Plate, X. Fig. 1. That god, next to Mars, you ſee is Vulcan: whom all the old poets, (perhaps ever ſince Homer's days,) agree in deſcribing (77) as a meer mortal blackſmith; only with the addition, of his being (78) a lame one. The few figures I have ſeen of this god in marble, agree entirely with their low deſcriptions of him; excepting only a Relievo in Cardinal Polignac's collection at Paris; where he is repreſented as ſitting with ſome dignity, and attended

(75) Quamvis marmoris hujus lateat argumentum, aliqui tamen ad imperatorem Gallienum referunt proficiſcentem in Orientem; cujus eſt typus Sol in quadrigis; & cum facies integra non ſit, quandam adhuc retinet Gallieni ſimilitudinem.——In alio ſimili marmore, quod in earundem ædium atrii ſummitate ſpectatur, conveniunt alii dii; Apollo, Bacchus, Mercurius. Nos utrumque feliciori Oedipo relinquimus. Bellori's note to Adm. Pl. 22.

(76) Qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
Sanguineus Mavors clypeo increpat, atque furentes
Bella movens immittit equos: illi æquore aperto
Ante Notos Zephyrumque volant. Gemit ultima pulſu
Thraca pedum: circumque atræ Formidinis ora,
Iræque, Inſidiæque, dei comitatus, aguntur.
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 337.

Et jam noctivagas inter deus armiger umbras
Deſuper Arcadiæ fines Nemeæaque rura
Armorum tonitru ferit; & trepidantia corda
Implet amore ſui. Comunt Furor Iraque criſtas:
Fræna miniſtrat equis Pavor armiger. At vigil omni
Fama ſono, varios rerum ſuccincta tumultus,
Ante volat currum; flatuque impulſa gementum
Alipedum, trepidas denſo cum murmure plumas
Excutit; urget enim ſtimulis auriga cruentis
Facta infecta loqui; curruque infeſtus ab alto
Terga comaſque deæ Scythicâ pater increpat haſtâ.
Statius. Theb. 3. ℣. 431.

(77) ——At illi
Et mens, & quod opus fabrilis dextra tenebat,
Excidit.——
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 175.

Inde ubi prima quies, medio jam noctis abactæ
Curriculo, expulerat ſomnum: cum fœmina primùm,
Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minervâ,
Impoſitum cinerem & ſopitos ſuſcitat ignes
Noctem addens operi; famulaſque ad lumina longo
Exercet penſo; caſtum ut ſervare cubile
Conjugis, & poſſit parvos educere natos:
Haud ſecus Ignipotens, nec tempore ſegnior illo,
Mollibus e ſtratis opera ad fabrilia ſurgit.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 415.

(78) Catullus calls Vulcan, "the hobling god;" tardipedem deum. In Annal. Voluſi.

It was reckoned an excellence, in one of the fineſt ſtatues of this god, that his lameneſs was expreſſed; but not groſly expreſſed in it. Tenet viſentes Athenas Vulcanus, Alcamenis manibus fabricatus: præter cætera enim perfectiſſimæ artis in eo præcurrentia indicia, etiam illud mirantur; quòd ſtat diſſimulatæ claudicationis ſub veſte leviter veſtigium repræſentans; ut non tanquam exprobratum vitium, ita tamen certam propriamque dei notam, decorè ſignificans. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 8. Cap. 11. This is rather over-done Pl. 10. Fig. 1. where the artiſt, by repreſenting Vulcan ſitting, quite conceals his lameneſs indeed; but, at the ſame time, loſes one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing attributes of this god.

attended by Fauns, inſtead of the Cyclops. The ſtory ſeems to be of modern invention; and the work itſelf carries a ſuſpicious air with it: ſo that we may very fairly drop it, as of no authority; and conſider him only in the meaner character, that is given him by the general conſent of antiquity. The poets deſcribe him as blackened and hardened, from the forge: with a face, red and fiery whilſt at his work; and tired and heated, after it. Some of their deſcriptions of his look, on theſe occaſions, ſeem (79) to have been copied from ſome antient paintings.

I SHOULD be very glad to meet with any Relievo of Vulcan after his fall from heaven; repreſented in the ſame manner as he is deſcribed (80) by Valerius Flaccus. He has juſt recovered himſelf a little, by reſting againſt a rock; and is hobling on, with ſome of the good people of Lemnos; who found him in his diſtreſs, and are very officious to ſupport him and help him along. This poor god is almoſt always (81) the ſubject, either of pity, or ridicule. He is the great cuckold of heaven: and his very lameneſs ſerves to fling all the gods into a violent fit of laughing, when they have a mind to divert themſelves after ſome accident that has chagreened them. Ovid makes his own wife (82) mimic his lameneſs, to entertain her gallant. In ſhort, the Great Celeſtial Deities ſeem to have admitted Vulcan among them only, (as great men formerly uſed to keep a fool at their tables) to make them laugh, and to be the butt of the whole company.

I HAVE not yet got any ſtatue of Veſta; who, if ever ſhe ſhould honour my collection with her preſence, ought to ſtand here next to Vulcan. To tell you the truth, I have ſome doubts whether the figures, that are generally looked upon as Veſta's, do really repreſent that goddeſs or not. There is nothing I think about ſuch as I have ſeen, which would not be as proper for one of the Veſtal Virgins, as for the goddeſs who preſided over them; and who knows whether the figures that are called Veſta's, even in the inſcriptions of the artiſts who made them (83), may not ſignify only one of the virgins, who

(79) ——Nec major ab antris
Lemniacis fragor eſt; ubi flammeus Ægida cælat
Mulciber.——
Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ℣. 133.
——Adhuc feſſum, Siculâque incude rubentem.
Id. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. ℣. 8.
Lemnos, ubi igniferâ feſſus reſpirat ab Ætnâ
Mulciber.——
Id. Theb. 5. ℣. 51.

(80) ——Prærupti Vulcanum vertice cœli
Devolvit. Ruit ille polo noctemque diemque,
Turbinis in morem; Lemni cum litore tandem
Inſonuit. Vox inde repens ut perculit urbem,
Adclinem ſcopulo inveniunt: miſerentque, foventque,
Alternos ægro cunctantem poplite greſſus.
Flac. Argon. 2. ℣. 93.

(81) Where Minutius Felix is ridiculing the appearance of ſome of the heathen gods, Vulcan is the very firſt that he falls upon.——Quid formæ ipſæ & habitus, nonne arguunt ludibria & dedecora deorum veſtrorum? Vulcanus claudus deus & debilis: Apollo, tot ætatibus lævis; Eſculapius, bene barbatus, etſi ſemper adoleſcentis Apollinis filius: Neptunus, glaucis oculis; Minerva, cæſiis; bubulis, Juno: pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan ungulatis, Saturnus compeditis: &c. Min. Fel. §. 21. p. 107. Ed. Daviſ.

(82) Nec Venus oranti (neque enim dea mollior ulla eſt.)
Ruſtica Gradivo, difficiliſve fuit.
Ah, quoties laſciva pedes riſiſſe mariti
Dicitur! et duras igne, vel arte, manus.
Marte palam, ſimulat Vulcanum: imitâta decebat;
Multaque cum formâ gratia mixta fuit.
Ovid. de Arte Am. 2. ℣. 570.

(83) I do not remember to have ſeen any ſtatue of the better ages, which is called Veſta in the inſcription: but this is a common thing in medals. When we find any figure thus fixed to a particular deity, by the inſcription; we ſhould naturally acquieſce in it, without looking any farther: but one of the Roman authors having ſaid ſo expreſly, that they had no figures at all of this goddeſs, may very well raiſe ſome doubt in the preſent caſe. It is true that on the reverſes of ſeveral medals there are figures called VESTA: but as one meets with the ſame ſort of figures, on other reverſes, with the inſcription VESTALIS; poſſibly the former are Veſtals too: and ſo the goddeſs, who could not be repreſented in perſon, may be thus repreſented under the figure of one of her chief miniſters, or ſubſtitutes. (Compare Fig. 2, and 3. Pl. X.)

On one of theſe medals inſcribed with the name of Veſta, you have a perſon dreſſed in the habit of the Veſtal Virgins, and repreſented as offering ſacrifice in the temple of Veſta: which agrees very well with the prieſteſs, and cannot agree at all with the goddeſs herſelf. See Pl. X. Fig. 4.

There is a lamp in Monſieur Girardon's collection at Paris, inſcribed VESTA; tho' there is no figure on it, at all. (See Pl. X. Fig. 5.) How much more natural would it be, to give her name to one of the Veſtal Virgins, or, (at leaſt, to the chief of the Veſtals) as her viſible repreſentative upon earth?

who kept her eternal fire? What firſt led me ſo far out of the common road of thinking, was a paſſage in Ovid, which expreſly ſays, they had no perſonal repreſentations of this goddeſs. To which I may add a thing, which would otherwiſe have appeared very unaccountable to me. I have formerly I think told you, that I took the pains to read over all the Roman poets, from the fragments of Livius Andronicus to the ſatires of Juvenal; and to mark down the moſt ſtriking paſſages in them, which any way related to the figures and appearances of any of the imaginary beings, received as gods among the Romans. When I came to put theſe collections in order, and to range them under their proper heads; I found I had but one ſingle paſſage, out of all of them, relating to Veſta. This ſingle paſſage was from Ovid; and from that very poem of Ovid's, in which he ſays afterwards:

Eſſe diu ſtultus Veſtæ ſimulacra putavi:
Mox didici curvo nulla ſubeſſe tholo.
Ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo:
Effigiem (84) nullam Veſta nec ignis habent.

I Would not hence abſolutely aſſert that the ladies which are called Veſta, in ſeveral pieces of antiquity, are only ſo many repreſentations of this goddeſs by proxy; by one of her great miniſters, the Veſtal Virgins; but it is enough to make one doubt, whether there may not be ſome ſuch thing at the bottom. And as I am ſtill in ſome doubt about it, I have not yet placed any figure of her in this line of the other Great Deities, her companions.

It was Numa, who introduced the worſhip of Veſta and the Eternal Fire, into Rome. A prince, who was too philoſophical, to admit of any (85) ſtatues at all; either as the objects of devotion, or as helps to it. He thought that method muſt debaſe the gods, more than it could aſſiſt men. I ſhall not pretend to determine whether he owed this juſtneſs and refinement of thinking to his own good ſenſe, or to the leſſons of Pythagoras; to whoſe acquaintance, one of the beſt writers of this age, (and whoſe friendſhip we have each of us the happineſs, to have ſome ſhare in,) has lately (86) reſtored him. Pythagoras was learned in the doctrine of the Brachmans, and the precepts of Zoroaſter; who admitted of no viſible object of devotion, except fire; which they conſidered as the propereſt emblem of the Great Inviſible Being, in the whole material world. The traces of this eaſtern doctrine ſeem to have been preſerved, by Numa; in the ceremonies and worſhip he ordained to Veſta. But that I may not run out of my depth, in points that I know very little of, let us (if you pleaſe) take a turn or two about the garden; after which we may come back hither; and finiſh our view of the figures in the inſide of this temple.

(84) Ovid. Faſt. 6, ℣. 298.

The paſſage where Ovid ſpeaks of a figure of Veſta, is before; in the third book of his Faſti, ℣. 46.

Sylvia fit mater: Veſtæ ſimulacra feruntur
Virgineas oculis oppoſuiſſe manus.

It may be obſerved here; 1. That Ovid uſes the word, feruntur. There were ſome ſtories, in the Roman mythology, which were looked on, as certain; and others, as doubtful. The doubtful ſtories are introduced by the Roman poets in general, (and more particularly by Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid,) with an, Ut fama eſt; ut perhibent; ut ferunt, or feruntur; as in the preſent caſe.

2. This paſſage does not ſpeak of any figures of Veſta, vulgarly expoſed; (as thoſe on medals, for example, muſt have been;) but of a figure of the goddeſs, ſuppoſed to have been concealed in her moſt ſacred temple at Rome.

3. Even that was ſuppoſed without grounds: for there was no figure of her concealed there; as Ovid ſays, he learnt afterwards: that is, probably, when he was initiated into the myſteries. That Ovid was initiated, appears from many paſſages in his works; where, when he is telling any of the ſtories that have regard to the myſteries, it is uſual with him to ſay; "This I am not allowed to tell you; Thus far I may tell you;" &c.

(85) See Dial. 5. Note 7.

(86) See Mr. Hooke's Roman Hiſtory; Vol. I. p. 125, and 126.

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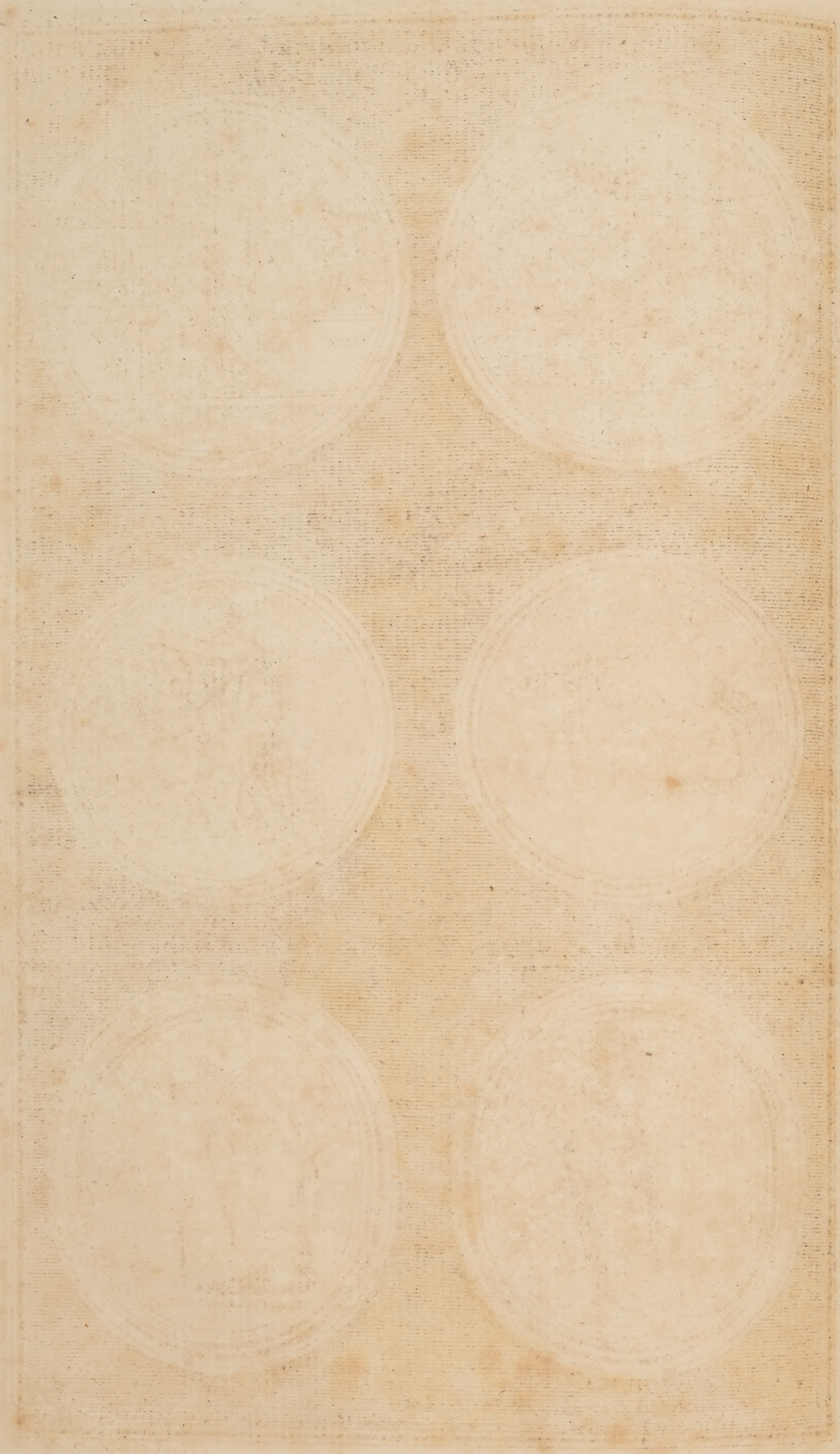

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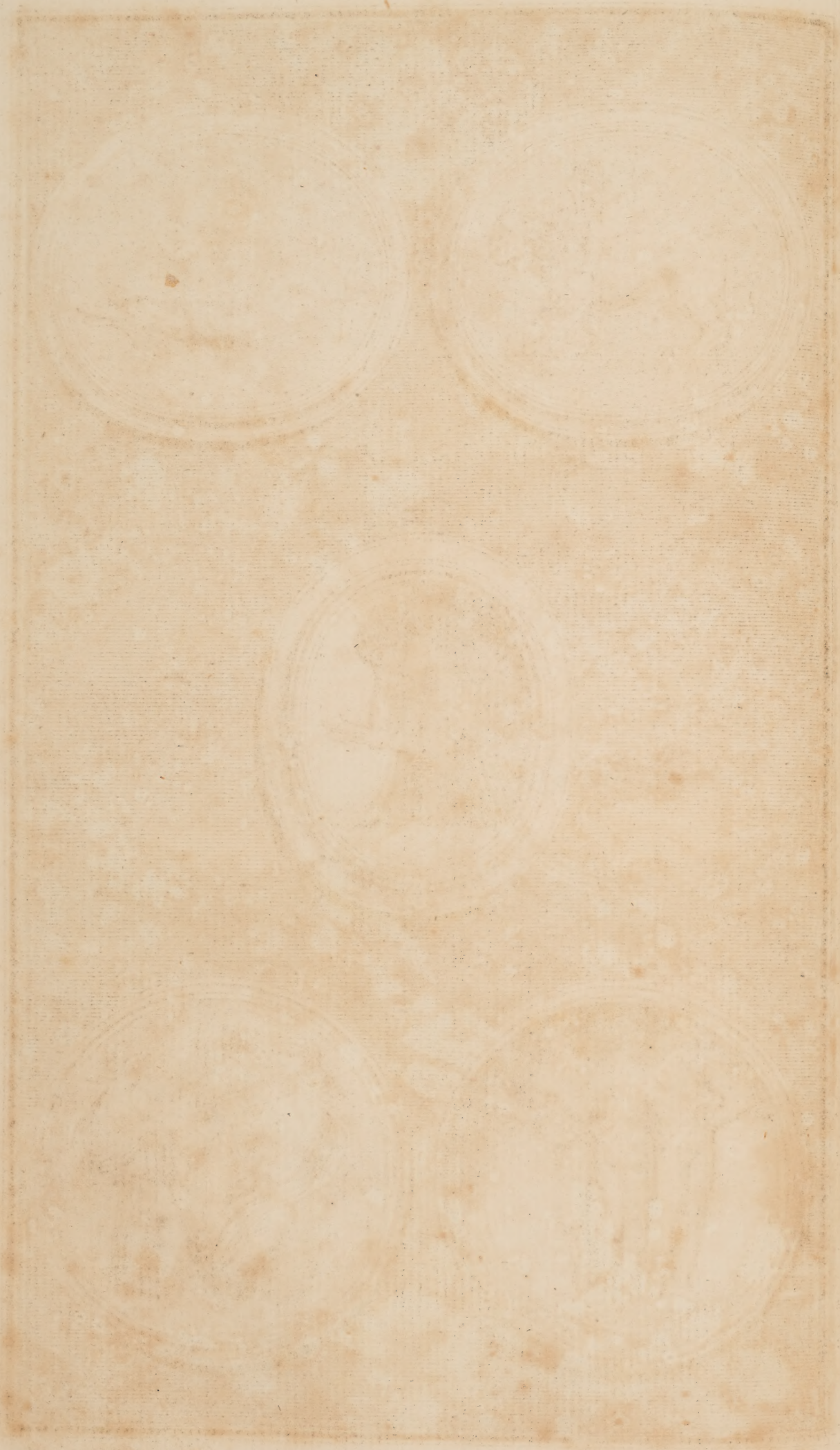

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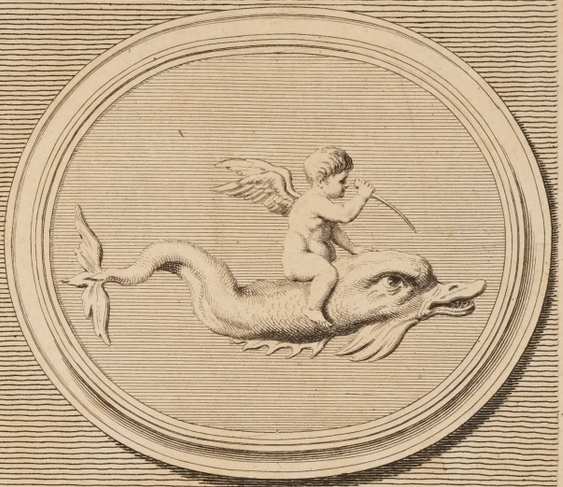

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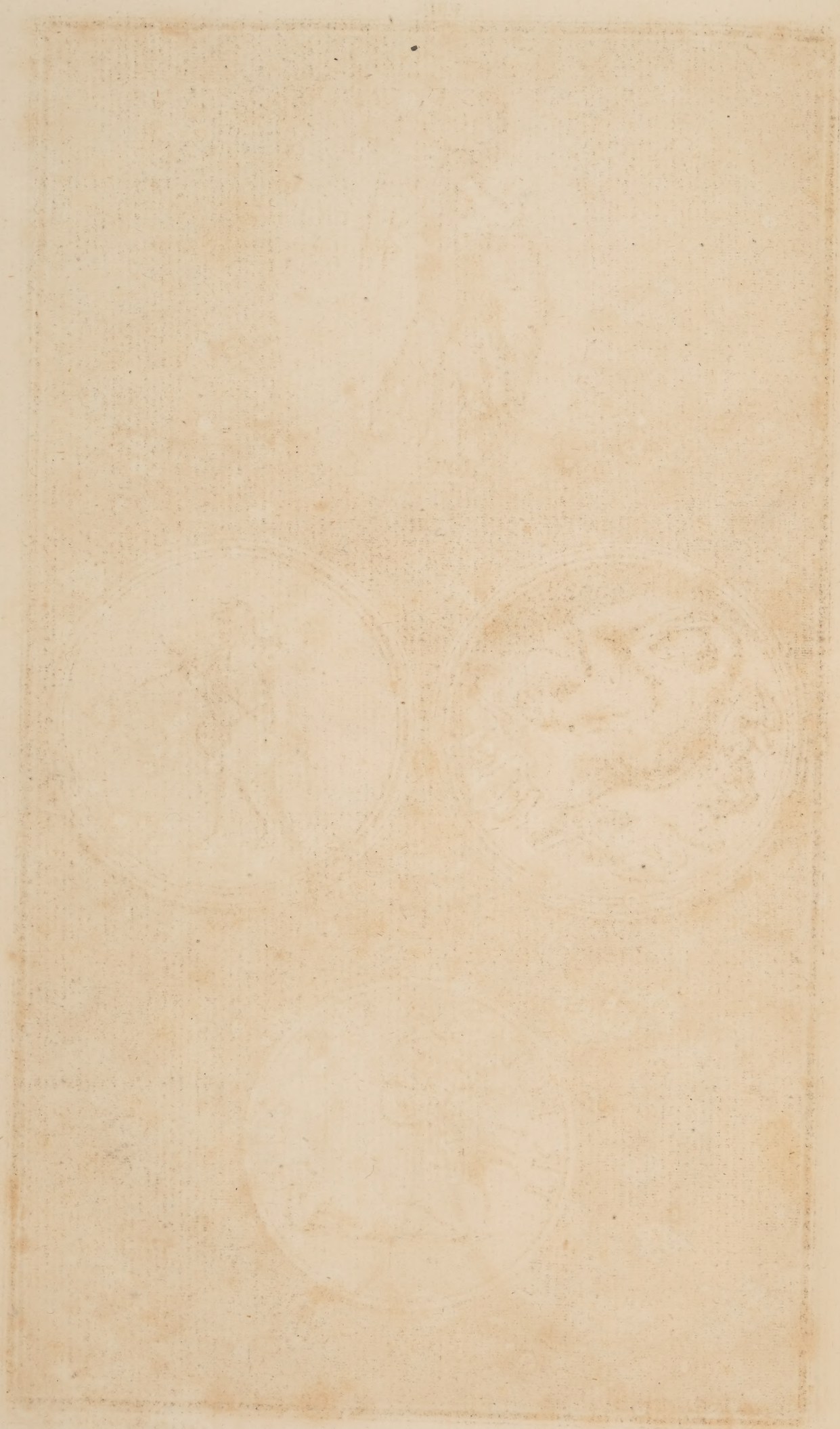

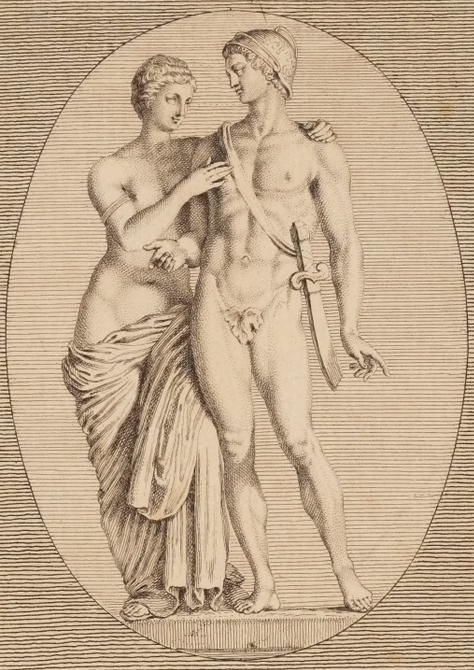

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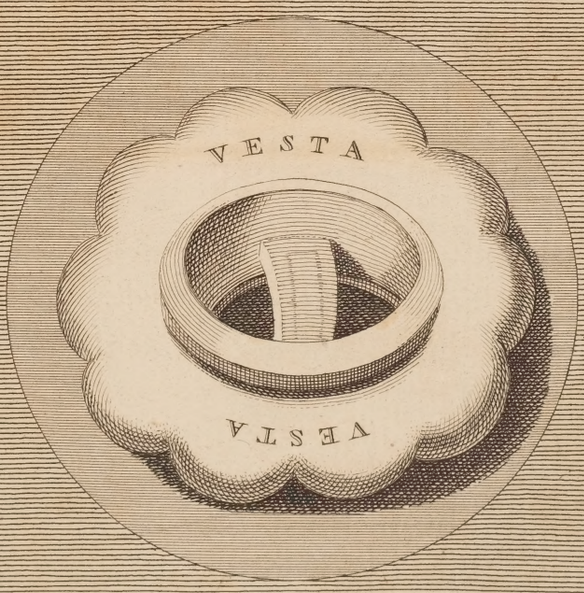

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DIAL. VIII.

Apollo; Diana; Ceres; and Mercury.

ON their return to the Rotonda, Polymetis led his friends directly to the ſtatue of Apollo; who ſtands ſo gracefully, in the act of ſhooting off his bow. They PL. XI. eaſily knew it to be a copy of the Apollo Belvedere. Among all the ſtatues of the antients, (ſays Polymetis,) which the moderns have as yet diſcovered, there are about twenty that might be placed in the firſt claſs; each as the chief beauty, in its kind. For example, there is nothing in marble equal to the Venus of Medici, for ſoftneſs and tenderneſs; as there is nothing ſo ſtrong and nervous, as the Hercules Farneſe. The face of the dying gladiator, is the moſt expreſſive of a human paſſion; and the air of the Apollo Belvedere, gives us an idea of ſomething above human; more ſtrongly, than any figure among the great numbers that remain to us. Theſe are all therefore conſtantly reckoned in this ſuperior claſs: and as the excellence of the Apollo Belvedere conſiſts in the expreſſion of ſomething divine, whereas the reſt excel only in things that are common to men; this ſtatue may, perhaps juſtly enough, claim the preference, even in this diſtinguiſhed claſs of the beſt remains of all antiquity.

ANY one, who has been much uſed to ſee collections of antient ſtatues, may remember that the firſt and chief thing by which he uſed to diſtinguiſh an Apollo, (at a diſtance, or in a croud of other figures,) was the beauty of his face. He is handſomer than Mercury; and not ſo effeminate as Bacchus; his two chief rivals for beauty, among all the deities of his own ſex. And it is remarkable, by the way, that the Roman poets, when they are ſpeaking of the ſofter beauties or fine air of any prince, or hero, generally compare them (1) to one or other of theſe three gods; and oftner to Apollo, than to either of the other. This moſt uſual compliment of theirs is a very high one; for indeed nothing can be conceived finer than the face of Apollo. His features are all extremely beautiful, according to our common ideas of beauty; beſide which, his face has ſometimes an air of divinity diffuſed over it, (and particularly in the Apollo Belvedere,) of which

(1) Inſtances of perſons compared for beauty, to Apollo.

Aut quis Apollineo pulchrior ore fuit?
Martial. Lib. 6. Ep. 29.

Sic Phœbum ſumtis jurabat ſtare ſagittis.
Ovid. Met. 8. ℣. 31.

Nec tales humeros pharetramque gerebat Apollo.
V. Flaccus. Argonaut. 2. ℣. 492.

Tranquillæ faces oculis, & plurima vultu
Mater ineſt: qualis Lyciâ venator Apollo
Cum redit, & ſævis permutat plectra ſagittis.
Statius. Achill. 1. ℣. 166.

——Ipſe ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Infert ſe ſocium Æneas, atque agmina jungit.
Qualis ubi hybernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
Deſerit, ac Delum maternam inviſit Apollo,
Inſtauratque choros; mixtique altaria circum
Creteſque Dryopeſque fremunt pictique Agathirſi.
Ipſe jugis Cynthi graditur; mollique fluentem
Fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro:
Tela ſonant humeris. Haud illo ſegnior ibat
Æneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 150.

Bacchus is ſet almoſt on a level with Apollo for beauty; in this ſort of poetical compariſons.

Et dignos Baccho, dignos & Apolline crines.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 421.

Formoſæ periere comæ; quas vellet Apollo,
Quas vellet capiti Bacchus ineſſe ſuo.
Id. Amor. Lib. 1. El. 14. ℣. 32.

Non vinces * rigidas Hippoliti comas; [* Speaking
Phœbo colla licet ſplendida compares. of Bacchus.]
Illum cæſaries, neſcia colligi,
Perfundens humeros, ornat & integit: &c.
Hippolitus. Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 755, & 800.

Cedent Æſonio duci
Si forma velit aſpici,
Aptat qui juga tigribus;
Necnon qui tripodas movet.
Medea. Act. 1. Chor. ℣. 86.

Sume fidem & pharetram, fies manifeſtus Apollo;
Accedant capiti cornua, Bacchus eris.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 15. ℣. 24. (Sappho, to Phaon.)

Mercury, tho' much inferior to either of theſe, is uſed too by the poets as an inſtance of youth and beauty.

Sive mutatâ juvenem figurâ
Ales in terris imitaris almæ
Filius Maiæ.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 2. ℣. 43. (of Auguſtus.)

——Membraque, & vultus Deo
Similes volanti.——
Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 3. ℣. 173. (of Britannicus.)

which we ſhould have had no idea at all, without the help of the artiſt. He is always young and beardleſs; and his long beautiful hair, when unconfined, falls in natural eaſy waves, all down his ſhoulders; and ſometimes over his breaſt. His ſtature is free and erect. His limbs, are exactly proportioned; with as much of ſoftneſs in all of them, as is conſiſtent with ſtrength: and with a grace reſulting from the whole, which is much more eaſily felt than deſcribed; and which indeed it would be very impertinent to pretend to deſcribe, to any one who has ſeen the Apollo Belvedere.

If we have ſo high ideas of the beauty of Apollo from the ſtatues we ſee of him; what ideas muſt the old Roman poets have had, who ſaw him ſo much oftner, both in marble and in colours; and who ſet their own imaginations to work, to form the fineſt notions of him that they could? It is hence that they ſpeak ſo very highly of his beauty. Virgil calls him (2), the Beautiful; and (3) Tibullus, the Well-ſhaped God. Tibullus ſays this in a full deſcription of his perſon, which I muſt read to you; the rather, becauſe I ſuſpect it contains ſeveral ſtrokes taken from ſome very celebrated pictures; which might be generally known and admired at Rome in his time, tho' they are loſt to us.

Hîc juvenis caſtâ redimitus tempora lauro
  Eſt viſus noſtrâ ponere ſede pedem:
Non illo quicquam formoſius ulla priorum
  Ætas, humanum nec videt illud opus.
Intonſi crines longâ cervice fluebant;
  Stillabat Tyrio myrtea rore coma.
Candor erat, qualem præfert Latonia Luna;
  Et color in niveo corpore purpureus:
Ut (4) juveni primùm virgo deducta marito
  Inficitur teneras ore rubente genas;
Ut quum contexunt amaranthis alba puellæ
  Lilia, & Autumno candida mala rubent.

Nothing was looked upon as more eſſential to the beauty of any young perſon among the Romans, than (5) a long fine head of hair. This is one of the diſtinguiſhing things, in the heads of Apollo in old gems; and is extremely well expreſſed in this deſcription. One meets with it often too in the ſtatues of this god; and particularly, in a very fine one (6), in the Great Duke's gallery: which the modern artiſts have endeavoured to change into a Prometheus; and which they uſed, ſome time ago, to call by that name. The Romans had a cuſtom of cutting their hair ſhort, at a certain age; and of keeping it ſo

(2) Pulcher Apollo.
Virgil. Æn. 3. ℣. 119.

(3) Formoſus Apollo.
Tibullus. Lib. 2. El. 3. ℣. 11.

(4) This is one of the ſtrokes which ſeems to me to have been borrowed from ſome painting in Rome; in which the mixture of the colours here mentioned to be blended together, was remarkably well executed. Pliny, in ſpeaking of the beſt pieces by Echion there, inſtances in one on this very ſubject. Nova nupta, verecundiâ notabilis. (Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 35. c. 10. p. 433. Ed. Elz.) The famous picture at the Aldobrandine palace in Rome is on the ſame ſubject: and the air of the new bride in it is remarkably modeſt. As that is ſo good, tho' done when the art of painting was extremely fallen at Rome; it was very probably copied from ſome celebrated picture there: and poſſibly, from this piece of Echion's. The colours are all ſo faded in it, (as one may very well expect, after the courſe of almoſt ſeventeen hundred years,) that we can ſee nothing now of the beautiful bluſh, that was probably on the face of the bride.

(5) ——Quid das ut Coſſum aliquando ſalutes?
Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati.
Juvenal. Sat. 3. ℣. 186.

Inſperata tuæ cum veniet bruma ſuperbiæ;
Et, quæ nunc humeris involitant, deciderint comæ.
Horat. Lib. 4. Ode 10. ℣. 3.

Spiſsâ te nitidum comâ,
  Puro te ſimilem, Telephe, Veſpero,
Tempeſtiva petit Chloe.
Id. Lib. 3. Ode 19. ℣. 27.

Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis: namque ipſa decoram
Cæſariem nato genetrix, &c.
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 590.

(6) There are two different views of this figure, in the Muſæum Florentinum. Vol. III. Pl. 8, & 9.

ſo ever after. This ceremony, (for they made a great ceremony of it,) was performed in their youth; when they were about ſeventeen, or eighteen: and this is one reaſon of their poets taking ſo much notice of (7) the long hair of Apollo, and of their giving him ſo frequently the (8) titles of Crinitus, and Intonſus. When they ſaid he had always long hair, it was the ſame as if they had ſaid he was always young. In ſeeing the collections of antient ſtatues one is apt now and then to take a Bacchus for Apollo, on this very account: for Bacchus in the beauty of his face, and the length of his hair, comes the neareſt to Apollo of all the other deities; and they are often ſpoke of together by the poets, as diſtinguiſhed from all the other gods, and as the only rivals for excellence (9), in this point of beauty.

THERE is one thing however which ſeems peculiar to Apollo; and of which we might have had as ſtrong an idea from the painters of old, as we have of his fine hair from the ſtatuaries, had the works of the former been ſo durable as thoſe of the latter. All one can ſay of it now is, that there was probably, in the old pictures of Apollo, a certain brightneſs beaming from his eyes; and, perhaps, diffuſed all over his face; in the ſame manner, as the body of the principal figure is all luminous and reſplendent, in the famous nativity by Correggio; or the transfiguration, by Raphael. What made me firſt ſuſpect this, was the antient poets ſpeaking ſo often of the brightneſs of Apollo's face, and (10) the beaming ſplendour of his eyes. And there is a paſſage in one of the Roman hiſtorians that confirmed me very much in this conjecture; and which, at the ſame time, may ſerve to mark out one of the moſt inconceivable pieces of vanity, that perhaps was ever heard of; even in a Roman emperor. I am ſorry the emperor I muſt inſtance in, ſhould happen to be Auguſtus. It appears from the medals and other repreſentations of this emperor, that his face is what the Romans called an (11) Apollinean face. Nature perhaps had given him ſome reſemblance of Apollo; and the artiſts no doubt underſtood flattery well enough to help it out, and to repreſent him more like than he really was. Whatever the artiſts have done in this caſe, the poets you may be ſure did not let ſo fine a topic for flattery miſs them. Accordingly Ovid calls Auguſtus (12), the handſomeſt of all

(7) Utque meum intonſis caput eſt juvenile capillis.
Ovid. Met 1. ℣. 564. (Spoke by Apollo.)
Phœbe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines.
Horat. Lib. 4. Ode 6. ℣. 26.
Qui rore puro Caſtaliæ lavit
Crines ſolutos.
Id. Lib. 3. Od. 4. ℣. 62.
——Longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phœbus.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 451.

This was ſo known a point among the Romans, that it was even grown into a ſort of proverbial way of ſpeaking with them.

Dum pecori lupus & nautis infeſtus Orion
Turbaret hybernum mare;
Intonſoſque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos;
Fore hunc amorem mutuum.
Horat. Epod. 15. ℣. 10.

(8) Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 638.——Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 21. ℣. 2.——Ovid. Met. 12. ℣. 585.

(9) Et dignos Baccho, dignos & Apolline crines.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 421.
Perpetuo ſic flore mices; ſic denique non ſint
Tam longæ Bromio quàm tibi, Phœbe, comæ.
Martial. Lib. 1. Ep. 125.
Solis æterna eſt Phœbo Bacchoque juventa;
Nam decet intonſus crinis utrumque deum.
Tibullus. Lib. 1. El. 4. ℣. 33.

(10) Tranquillæque faces oculis——
Statius. Achil. 2. ℣. 164.
Radiantibus oculis——
Catullus, de At. ℣. 40.
——Quid nunc, Hyperione nate,
Forma colorque tibi, radiataque lumina proſunt?
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 193.

Ovid ſpeaks, in the ſame poem, of the ſplendour of Apollo's face; (ibid. ℣. 231.) and calls his head illuminated, even after he has laid aſide his crown of rays.

Dixerat: at genitor circum caput omne micantes
Depoſuit radios, propiúſque accedere juſſit.——
Pœnituit juraſſe patrem; qui terque quaterque
Concutiens illuſtre caput; &c.——
Met. Lib. 2. ℣. 40, to 50.

(11) Aut quis Apollineo pulchrior ore fuit?
Martial. Lib. 6. Ep. 29.

Nero affected to have this ſort of face too, as well as Auguſtus; as appears from the flattery paid him by the common people, when they cried out to him: "The Beautiful Cæſar! The Apollo! As like him, as Auguſtus was! nay, as like him, as Apollo is to himſelf!" Ὁ καλὸς Καισαρ· ὁ Ἀπολλων· ὁ Αυγουστος· εἰς, ὡς Πυθιος. Xiphilin. ex Dione.

(12) Ergo erit ille dies quâ tu, pulcherrime rerum,
Quatuor in niveis aureus ibis equis?
Ovid. de Art. Am. 1. ℣. 214.

all created beings; and Virgil does not only compare his Æneas, (under whom he is ſuppoſed generally to mean Auguſtus,) (13) to Apollo, for beauty; but in another place ſeems to call Auguſtus himſelf, directly, by the name (14) of this god. The hiſtorians tell us that Auguſtus (15) was really very beautiful; and that there were ſtories ſpread about of his being the (16) ſon of Apollo, in a litteral ſenſe. It is (17) ſaid by one of the old commentators, that there were ſtatues of him at Rome under the character and with the attributes of Apollo; and in a certain (18) infamous feaſt made by Auguſtus, (in which he and five of his courtiers repreſented the ſix Great Celeſtial Gods, as ſome of the ladies of his court repreſented the ſix Great Goddeſſes,) he himſelf choſe to appear with the attributes of Apollo. All theſe circumſtances put together ſhew, but too plainly, that he gave into the flattery that was paid him; and that he thought himſelf, or at leaſt loved to be thought by others, like Apollo in general. But the greateſt abſurdity of all was his puſhing it ſo far, that becauſe Apollo was uſually repreſented with a particular flow of light beaming from his eyes, he muſt needs have it ſuppoſed that his eyes beamed forth a brightneſs too; and that ſo ſtrongly, as to dazzle thoſe who looked upon them too nearly, or too ſteadily. His eyes, it ſeems, were really very good ones; they were particularly clear and bright: and "he affected, ſays (19) my hiſtorian, to have it "thought that there was ſomething like a divine irradiation from them: and was mightily "pleaſed, when he looked full upon any body; if they held down their eyes, as people "are apt to do when the ſun glares too ſtrong upon them."

THIS prepoſterous piece of pride in Auguſtus, may help toward explaining a paſſage in Virgil; which I have formerly thought fitter for the affectation of an Italian epic poem, than for the propriety which generally reigns thro' the Æneid. It is in a repreſentation of the battle of Actium; where the poet is ſpeaking of Auguſtus's appearance, on that great occaſion.

Hinc Auguſtus agens Italos in prælia Cæſar,——
Stans celsâ in puppi: geminas cui tempora flammas
Læta vomunt; patriumque aperitur vertice ſidus (20).

Propertius

(13) ——Ipſe ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Infert ſe ſocium Æneas atque agmina jungit.
Qualis ubi hybernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
Deſerit, ac Delum maternam inviſit Apollo, &c.
See Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 140, to 150.

(14) ——Tuus jam regnat Apollo.
Virgil. Ecl. 4. ℣. 10.

(15) Formâ fuit eximiâ; &, per omnes ætatis gradus, venuſtiſſimâ. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 79.

(16) In Aſclepiadis Mendetis Λεγομενων libris lego; Atiam, cum ad ſolemne Apollinis ſacrum mediâ nocte veniſſet, poſitâ in templo lecticâ, dum cæteræ matronæ dormirent obdormiſſe: draconem repentè irrepſiſſe ad eam, pauloque poſt egreſſum: illamque expergefactam, quaſi a concubitu mariti purificaſſe ſe:——Auguſtum natum menſe decimo; & ob hoc Apollinis filium exiſtimatum. Suetonius in Aug. §. 94.

Tho' this ſtrange ſtory be almoſt generally forgot now, the memory and belief of it continued down for ſeveral ages; as appears from a paſſage in Sidonius Apollinaris, who wrote about the middle of the fifth century:

Magnus Alexander nec non Auguſtus habentur
Concepti ſerpente deo: Phœbumque Jovemque
Diviſere ſibi. Namque horum quæſiit unus
Cyniſiâ ſub Syrte patrem: maculis genetricis
Alter Phœbigenam ſeſe gaudebat haberi;
Pæonii jactans Epidauria ſigna draconis.
Sid. Apol. Carmen 2. ℣. 126.

(17) Servius on Virgil's, Tuus jam regnat Apollo. Ecl. 4. ℣. 10.

(18) Cœna quoque ejus ſecretior in fabulis fuit; quæ vulgò Δωδεκαθεος vocabatur. In quâ deorum dearumque habitu diſcubuiſſe convivas, & ipſum pro Apolline ornatum, non Antonii modò epiſtolæ ſingulorum nomina amariſſimè annumerantis exprobrant; ſed & ſine auctore notiſſimi verſus.

Cum primum iſtorum conduxit menſa choragum;
Sexque deos vidit Mallia ſexque deas:
Impia dum Phœbi Cæſar mendacia ludit;
Dum nova divorum cœnat adulteria:
Omnia ſe à terris tunc numina declinarunt,
Fugit & auratos Jupiter ipſe tholos.

Auxit cœnæ rumorem ſumma tunc in civitate penuria & fames; acclamatumque eſt poſtridie, "Frumentum omne deos comediſſe:" Et, "Cæſarem eſſe planè Apollinem, ſed Tortorem." Quo cognomine is deus quâdam in parte urbis colebatur. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 70.

(19) Oculos habuit puros ac nitidos: quibus etiam exiſtimari volebat ineſſe quiddam divini vigoris; gaudebatque ſi quis ſibi acriùs contuenti, quaſi ad fulgorem ſolis, vultum ſubmitteret. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 79.

(20) Æn. 8. ℣. 678.

Propertius has (21) ſome very difficult lines in ſpeaking of the very ſame ſubject, which as well as Virgil's ſeem to me to have ſome reference to this affectation in Auguſtus; of having his eyes thought to beam light, like thoſe of his ſuppoſed father, Apollo: and there are a few other expreſſions in (22) Virgil, which may poſſibly have a ſide view to the ſame extravagant imagination of this emperor.

To return to my collection: The Apollo, before you, is not perhaps the propereſt I could have found out for this place; but as it is the nobleſt Apollo, (and, probably, the nobleſt ſtatue in the world,) I have done in this caſe, as in that of the Venus of Medici; and have choſen to commit a ſmall impropriety, rather than loſe ſo great a beauty. As to his particular character, you ſee it is the Apollo Venator. But tho' he preſides over the chace, and ſeems actually engaged in it, he is dreſſed rather fine for his character. His hair is in ſome ſort dreſſed; and collected together a little above his forehead. His Chlamys, which is only faſtened with a gem over his breaſt, falls looſely down his back, and is toſſed over his arm. His feet are in one ſort of the fine buſkins, which they uſed antiently for the chace. All the reſt of his body is naked. In ſhort he is, in every thing, juſt as Maximus Tyrius has deſcribed him (23): "The god, in the bloom of youth; al-"moſt all naked, tho' he has a Chlamys over his ſhoulders: holding his bow; and ſeem-"ing not only going to move on, but to move on rapidly." He may be thus far adorned, as the Apollo who is ſo often deſcribed in the poets, quitting (24) Lycia his great hunting-ſeat, to go to Delos where he always appeared in more ſtate; and much as Virgil in particular deſcribes him, where he compares Æneas, (when going a hunting,) to this god.

——Ipſe ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
Infert ſe ſocium Æneas, atque agmina jungit:
Qualis ubi hybernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
Deſerit, ac Delum maternam inviſit Apollo,
Inſtauratque choros; mixtique altaria circum
Creteſque, Dryopeſque fremunt, pictique Agathyrſi.
Ipſe jugis Cynthi graditur; mollique fluentem
Fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro:
Tela ſonant humeris. Haud illo ſegnior ibat
Æneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore (25).

I WOULD not aſſert that Virgil had this very figure of the Apollo Belvidere in his eye, in writing this compariſon; but thus much is plain: that they both relate to the Apollo Venator, ſet off more than he is uſually in that character; that, both in the poet, and in the marble, this god is repreſented as the ſtandard of beauty; that this divine beauty of his,

(21) Cum Phœbus linquens ſtantem ſe vindice Delon,
(Nam tulit iratos mobilis una notos)
Aſtitit Auguſti puppim ſuper; & nova flamma
Luxit in obliquam ter ſinuata facem.
Propertius, Lib. 4. El. 6. ℣. 30.

This laſt line is difficult enough to be underſtood: but I imagine it may refer to the rays of light beaming from Apollo's eyes, and thoſe from Auguſtus's, croſſing one another: ſomething like what the naturaliſts call, (by a term that is hard enough too,) radiorum decuſſatio.

(22) Virgil, in ſpeaking of Æneas, (his great type of Auguſtus,) ſays in one place;
——Tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
and in another:
Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis. Namque ipſa decoram
Cæſariem nato genetrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum, & lætos oculis afflarat honores.
Æn. 4. ℣. 150. and 1. ℣. 591.

He may too have had both this and the Julian ſtar in his thoughts, in ſpeaking of the ſon of Æneas; when he deſcribes the omen of royalty that appeared on his head.
Ecce levis ſummo de vertice viſus Iüli
Fundere lumen apex! Tactuque innoxia molli
Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora paſci.
Æn. 2. ℣. 684.

(23) Μειραχιον, γυμνον εκ χλαμιδια, τοξοτην, διαζεζηκοτα τοις ποσιν ωσπερ τον Θεουλα. Max. Tyrius, Diſſert. 72.

(24) Tranquillæque faces oculis; & plurima vultu
Mater ineſt. Qualis Lyciâ venator Apollo
Cum redit, & ſævis permutat plectra ſagittis.
Statius, Achil. 1. ℣. 166.

(25) Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 150.

his, and his motion, are the two principal points aimed at by Virgil in this ſimilitude, and the two chief things that ſtrike one in viewing the Apollo Belvidere; and, on the whole, that if the one was not copied from the other, they are at leaſt ſo much alike, that they may very well ſerve to give a mutual light to each other.

One of the moſt known characters of Apollo, among us at preſent, is that of his preſiding over poetry, and the Muſes; of whom I have a drawing here: and as there has been always a good deal of difficulty in diſtinguiſhing them from one another; I ſhall endeavour to remove that as far as I can, before I go on with this character of the god himſelf.

The order of the nine Muſes ſeems to have been quite arbitrary; and to have been left wholly to the choice of the artiſt, who was to repreſent them. Was any order to be followed, that of their names annexed to the nine books of Herodotus's hiſtory (26), would certainly carry the greateſt authority with it; as that was done by the general decree of all Greece, aſſembled at the Olympic games. But I believe there was no ſettled method of ranging them ever intended, or obſerved: their order in Auſonius's inſcription (27), for a Relievo of the nine Muſes in his time, being different from that uſed for Herodotus's hiſtory; as the Relievo's we now meet with, differ both from them, and from each other, in their method of ranging the Muſes.

This makes it the more difficult to point out exactly who each of the perſons is, in the
Pl. XII. drawing of the Muſes now before us: tho' by the help of Auſonius, (who, on this occaſion I muſt beg you to allow me as a good authority,) and of what is ſaid here and there by the poets of the better ages, relating to theſe goddeſſes, we may be ſure of above half of them; and may gueſs perhaps, pretty well, at each of the reſt.

The firſt figure then is, Clio; by the volume, or roll in her hand. The ſecond, Thalia; by the old paſtoral crook, and comic maſk. The third, I ſhould gueſs, to be Terpſichore. The fourth, probably, is Euterpe; by the Tibiæ, or (28) pipes. The fifth, from her penſive or amorous poſture, I take to be Erato. The ſixth, is Calliope; from the tablets, or pocket-book, in her left hand. The ſeventh, (from her marking out what ſhe ſings, ſo particularly (29), with her hand,) ſhould be Polyhymnia. The eighth is evidently Urania, from her globe and radius; and the ninth, (with a maſk, and without the pedum paſtorale,) is, as evidently, Melpomene.

Pl. XII. Fig. 1. Clio preſided over the nobleſt kind of poetry: her office it was to celebrate the actions of departed heroes. She therefore has a roll, (or book,) in her hand, as here; or elſe the longer, bolder pipe; as in the Relievo of the Muſes, in the Juſtiniani palace at Rome. Horace, in ſpeaking of this pipe, ſeems to give it (30) the ſhrillneſs of the trumpet; and indeed it is ſhaped much in the ſame manner with the trumpets, which the modern

(26) Their order before the nine books of Herodotus is thus: Clio, Euterpe, Thalia; Melpomene, Terpſichore, Erato; Polymnia, Urania, and Calliope.

(27) Clio, geſta canens, tranſactis tempora reddit.
Melpomene, tragico proclamat mœſta boatu.
Comica laſcivo gaudet ſermone Thalia.
Dulciloquos calamos Euterpe flatibus urget.
Terpſichore, affectus citharis movet, imperat, auget.
Plectra gerens Erato, ſaltat pede, carmine, vultu.
Carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat.
Uranie, cœli motus ſcrutatur & aſtra.
Signat cuncta manu, loquitur Polyhymnia geſtu.
Mentis Apollineæ vis has movet undique Muſas:
In medio reſidens complectitur omnia Phœbus.
Auſonius. Edyl. 20.

(28) She has one pipe in her left hand; and ſhould have its companion, in her right. The right hand is broke off in the original, at the wriſt. They have lately refitted it, at the Capitol; and have, very juſtly, added the pipe in that hand, as well as in the other.

(29) Signat cuncta manu, loquitur Polyhymnia geſtu.
Auſonius's Inſcription: Note 27, anteh.

(30) Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ, vel acri
Tibiâ, ſumes celebrare Clio?
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 12. ℣. 2.

modern artiſts give to their figures of Fame. As Pindar, and ſeveral other of the old Lyric poets, dealt ſo much in celebrating the actions of departed heroes, this Muſe may perhaps have been ſometimes repreſented with a lyre too; tho' I do not remember ever to have ſeen any inſtance of it, in the remains of the old artiſts. Statius (31) makes her deſcend to lower offices; as if ſhe muſt preſide over every thing that was wrote in heroic verſe: and his miſtake, (for it ſeems to be one,) may be eaſily accounted for, from their looking formerly, on every thing wrote in hexameters, as an epic poem; as I have mentioned to you, I think, on a (32) former occaſion.

THALIA, was the Muſe of comedy, and of (33) paſtorals; of which they had a great mixture on the Roman ſtage, in the earlieſt ages of their poetry, and long (34) after. She is diſtinguiſhed from the other Muſes in general, by her maſk; and from the tragic Muſe, by her ſhepherd's crook: not to ſpeak of her look, which is meaner than that of Melpomene; or her dreſs, which is ſhorter, (and conſequently leſs noble,) than that of any other of the Muſes in this drawing. PL. XII. FIG. 2.

TERPSICHORE has nothing here to diſtinguiſh her. Auſonius gives her the Cithara; and it is ſaid (35), that ſhe was the inventreſs of that inſtrument. On the medals (36) of the Pomponian family, there are three of the nine Muſes with ſtringed inſtruments in their hands; and juſt the ſame number in the famous Relievo (37) of the Apotheoſis of Homer: but the miſchief is, that we do not know theſe inſtruments from one another; and are uſed to call the Cithara, Barbitos, and Teſtudo, all indifferently by the name of Lyres, or rather Fiddles, in down-right Engliſh. Theſe three Muſes, which are ſo often repreſented with ſtringed-inſtruments, (and which are therefore ſo difficult to be known,) are the third, fifth, and ſeventh, in the drawing before you; the other ſix being eaſily known, from their different ſort of attributes. The firſt of theſe three, I call Terpſichore, becauſe the other two ſeem to have ſomething in their look and poſture which may ſerve to determine them to be Erato and Polyhymnia. But this is a good deal conjectural: and perhaps we can never diſtinguiſh theſe three certainly unleſs we were better acquainted with the names and ſhape of the different ſtringed inſtruments, given to each of them, in the other works of the antients relating to theſe deities. PL. XII. FIG. 3.

IT was very common with the muſicians of old, to play on two pipes at once: agreeably to the remarks (38) before Terence's plays; and as we often actually find them repreſented in the remains of the artiſts. It was over this ſpecies of muſic that Euterpe preſided (39); as one learns from the very firſt ode of Horace. I have alſo ſeen her (40) repreſented with the Fiſtula, or Calami, in her hand; it is under this lower character, that Auſonius (41) ſpeaks of her. PL. XII. FIG. 4.

ERATO,

(31) ——Dumque procax myrtis hederiſque, ſolutâ
Fronte, verecundo Clio mea ludit Etruſco.
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 10. in Balneum Etruſci.

(32) See p. 26. Note 51, anteh.

(33) ——Nec erubuit ſylvas habitare Thalia.
Virgil. Ecl. 6. ℣. 2.

(34) Sylvis deducti caveant me judice Fauni,
Ne velut innati triviis, ac pene forenſes,
Aut nimium teneris juvenentur verſibus unquam;
Aut immunda crepent ignominioſaque dicta.
Hor. de Arte Poet. ℣. 247.

(35) By ſome of the commentators on Juvenal, Sat. 7. ℣. 35.

(36) See Agoſtini's Med. p. 157.

(37) Admiranda, Pl. ult.

(38) Where it is ſaid, before the Andria, that it was acted Tibiis paribus, dextris & ſiniſtris;—the Eunuchus, Tibiis duabus dextris;—the Phormio, Tibiis imparibus; &c.

(39) ——Si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet.——
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 1. ℣. 33.

(40) Agoſtini. p. 157. Med. 4.

(41) Note 27, anteh.

Pl. XII. Fig. 5. ERATO, who preſided over love-ſonnets and all the amorous kinds of poetry, you ſee here, is genteely dreſſed; and has a pretty look, tho' thoughtful: for ſhe is repreſented either ſo, or elſe all full of gayety and motion; as Auſonius deſcribes her, and as I have ſeen her on (42) gems: both which characters tho' ſo oppoſite to one another, ſuit very well with lovers; and conſequently with any patroneſs of them. Ovid, one of the chief votaries of this muſe, invokes her with much propriety (43) in his Art of love; and in the fourth book of his Faſti, for the month of April: which was reckoned the lovers month among the Romans, as May is among us. I own I cannot ſee the ſame propriety in Virgil's invoking Erato (44), in the ſeventh book of his Æneid, to give an account of the antient ſtate of Italy; and juſt before his entering on a ſcene of battles and deſtruction: unleſs it be from that war's having been occaſioned by, (what Horace calls the old cauſe of war,) a woman; in which view, all the deſtruction conſequent upon it, was an effect of love.

CALLIOPE, is ſpoken of above once by Ovid, as the (45) chief of all the Muſes: and it is therefore, perhaps, that Horace calls her Regina; and attributes the ſkill of playing on what inſtrument (46) ſhe pleaſes, to this Muſe; as comprehending the whole of the art, almoſt as much as Apollo himſelf. The book ſhe holds in her left hand, is much more like a modern book, than an antient one. The books of old were like the rolls, in our offices for old records; and the form we uſe for books now, was then only uſed for tablets, or pocket-books. Theſe tablets, in the left hand of Calliope, mark out the diſtinguiſhing character of this Muſe; which was to note down the worthy actions of the living; as Clio's was, to celebrate thoſe of departed heroes. Tho' theſe are only tablets, Auſonius calls them, Libri: the common names for them (47), uſed by Pliny in his epiſtles, and by ſeveral of the other Roman writers, are much more proper; and more deſcriptive of them.

Pl. XII. Fig. 6.

POLYHYMNIA

(42) See Agoſtini's gems; N°. 6.

(43) Nunc mihi, ſi quando, puer & Cytherea favete!
Nunc, Erato; nam tu nomen amoris habes.
Ovid. Art. Am. Lib. 2. ℣. 16.

Erato was ſo much the patroneſs of lovers, that the ſame author in his Faſti ſpeaks of her and Venus as one and the ſame. He ſpeaks of her as Venus; in the following verſes:

Alma fave vati, geminorum mater Amorum!
Faſt. 4. ℣. 1.

Mota Cytheriacâ leviter mea tempora myrto
Contigit; & cœptum perfice, dixit, opus.
Ib. 16.

And as the Muſe; in theſe;

Talibus Aoniæ facundâ voce Camænæ
Reddita quæſiti cauſa furoris erat.
Ib. 246.

Subſtitit hic Erato.———
Ib. 349.

He farther ſays, in one place, that the month of April was dedicated to Venus; and in another, that it was the month of Erato.

Venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima, menſem;
Et vatem & menſem ſcis, Venus, eſſe tuos.
Ib. 14.

Sic ego: ſic Erato. Menſis Cytherëius illi
Ceſſit, quòd teneri nomen amoris habet.
Ib. 196.

(44) Nunc age qui reges, Erato, quæ tempora rerum,
Quis Latio antiquo fuerit ſtatus, advena claſſem
Cum primum Auſoniis exercitus appulit oris,
Expediam; & primæ revocabo exordia pugnæ:
Tu vatem, tu diva, mone! Dicam horrida bella;
Dicam acies, actoſque animis in funera reges;
Tyrrhenamque manum, totamque ſub arma coactam
Heſperiam: major rerum mihi naſcitur ordo;
Majus opus moveo.———
Æn. 7. ℣. 45.

(45) ——Dedimus ſummam certaminis uni.
Surgit; &, immiſſos hederâ collecta capillos,
Calliope querulas prætentat pollice chordas;
Atque hæc percuſſis ſubjungit carmina nervis.
Ovid. Met. 5. ℣. 340.

Tunc ſic, neglectos hederâ redimita capillos,
Prima ſui cœpit Calliopæa chori.
Id. Faſt. 5. ℣. 80.

(46) Deſcende cœlo; & dic age tibiâ
Regina longum Calliope melos:
Seu voce nunc mavis acutâ;
Seu fidibus, citharâve Phœbi.
Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 4. ℣. 4.

(47) Ad retia ſedebam. Erant in proximo, non venabulum & lancea, ſed ſtylus & pugillares. Meditabar aliquid, enotabamque: ut ſi manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem. Plin. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 7.

Pugillares, or libri pugillares, books to hold in the hand and write on. Catullus calls them, more abſolutely, Pugillaria; and Auſonius, (on another occaſion,) Pugillar bipatens: an expreſſion, particularly deſcriptive of their make.

POLYHYMNIA is the laſt of thoſe three Muſes, that are moſt commonly diſtinguiſhed by holding ſome ſtringed inſtrument of muſic or other, in their hands. This in the hand of Polyhymnia, is (48) perhaps what the Romans, (after the Greeks,) called Barbitos; and what we have no name for, in our language. It has a bottom to it very different, both from the Teſtudo, and the moſt common ſort of Lyres: but as I know ſo little either of the make, or names, of the ſtringed inſtruments of the antients, I ſhall venture no farther on that head. PL. XII. FIG. 7.

URANIA, is the Muſe that preſided over aſtronomy: and it is therefore that you ſee her here with the celeſtial globe, at her feet; and the Radius (49), uſed by aſtronomers, in her hand. In the ſtatues of this Muſe you ſometimes ſee the globe in her hand; and ſometimes it is placed on a column before her, that ſhe may conſider it the more nearly, and the more attentively. Statius ſeems to allude to this laſt (50); where he is ſpeaking of the death of a poet and warrior, whoſe fate this Muſe foreſaw; and whom ſhe had in-vain endeavoured to keep from the wars. This agrees very well with the antient idea of aſtronomy, which was perpetually intermixed with judicial aſtrology; as one ſees by Manilius, and the other writers on aſtronomy in thoſe times. PL. XII. FIG. 8.

MELPOMENE, has her maſk here on her head; and it is ſometimes placed ſo much more backward, that it has been miſtaken (51) for a ſecond face. Her maſk ſhews that ſhe preſided over the ſtage; and ſhe is diſtinguiſhed from Thalia, (or the comic Muſe,) by having more of dignity in her look, ſtature, and dreſs. Melpomene was ſuppoſed to preſide over all melancholy ſubjects, as well as tragedy: as one would imagine, at leaſt, from (52) Horace's invoking her, in one of his odes; and his deſiring her to crown him with laurel, in another. PL. XII. FIG. 9.

AS to the Muſes in general; it is remarkable that the poets ſay but little of them, in a deſcriptive way: much leſs, than might indeed be expected for deities, to whom they were ſo particularly obliged. Where they do ſpeak of them, beſide what I have already mentioned, it is generally ſomething in relation to themſelves. Thus Statius gives us an image of all the Muſes together, mourning over a dead (53) poet, in ſilence; and another of Calliope, as receiving Lucan (54) kindly at his birth. Horace has much ſuch another idea of Melpomene (55), on a like occaſion: and I have a drawing here which may relate to the ſame ſubject, tho' I am not certain it does; but it is ſo pretty, and ſeems to hit it ſo well, that I was willing to give it a place in my (56) collection. You ſee the mother ſitting here; with much the ſame air that has been ſo often obſerved on the face of Mary of Medici, after the birth of Lewis the Thirteenth; in Rubens's famous

(48) ——Nec Polyhymnia
Leſboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 1. ℣. 34.

(49) ——Cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, & ſurgentia ſidera dicent.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 851.

(50) Ipſa diu poſitis lethum prædixerat aſtris
Uranie. Cupit ille tamen pugnaſque, viroſque;
Forſitan ut caneret: longâ jacet ipſe canendus
Laude; ſed amiſſum mutæ flevere ſorores.
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 554.

(51) Hence Father Montfaucon, in his ſet of the Muſes from the medals of the Pomponian family, gives one with two faces; one before, and the other behind; exactly like the common heads of Janus. See Montf. Vol. I. Pl. 59, 9.

(52) ——Præcipe lugubres
Cantus Melpomene; cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum citharâ dedit.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 24. ℣. 4.
——Mihi Delphicâ
Lauro cinge volens Melpomene comam.
Id. Lib. 3. Od. 30. ℣. ult.

(53) Statius Theb. 8. ℣. 554. See Note 50, anteh.

(54) Natum protinus, atque humum per ipſam
Primo murmure dulce vagientem,
Blando Calliope ſinu recepit.
Statius, Lib. 2. Sylv. 7. ℣. 38.

(55) Quem tu, Melpomene, ſemel
Naſcentem placido lumine videris;
Hor. Lib. 4. Od. 3. ℣. 2.

(56) See the bottom piece, in Pl. XII.

famous painting, in the Luxemburg-gallery. The nurſe is holding an infant, as juſt born, near the ground; and the perſon who ſtands by, looking ſo kindly upon the child, and holding a robe open as ready to receive it, we will call (if you pleaſe) a Muſe; and perhaps it is Erato: for ſhe ſeems, I think, moſt to reſemble her, of any in the drawing I ſhewed you before. Urania ſtands, on this ſide, with her globe on a column; as conſidering and predicting the future fortunes of the new-born infant: and the perſon, between her and Erato, ſeems very attentive to what ſhe ſays. I may be wrong, in making Muſes and Deities of ſome of the perſons you ſee here. All I can ſay is, that the firſt moment I ſaw the original, it put me in mind of theſe deſcriptions in Horace and Statius; and that if it was not meant for Muſes, it at leaſt agrees exceedingly well with their repreſentations of ſome of thoſe deities, on a like occaſion.

THE Muſes were a frequent ornament for their (57) libraries of old; as well as the heads of philoſophers and poets. We ſee them often too on tombs; and they had a more particular propriety there, if the perſons interred in them were either poets, or philoſophers, or muſicians, or aſtronomers. On theſe you often meet with the whole choir of the Muſes, with ſome other deity, that had ſome relation to them, in the midſt of them: ſometimes the Hercules Muſarum; ſometimes Minerva, the goddeſs of wiſdom; and ſometimes, Apollo. The laſt was the caſe in the Relievo, for which Auſonius wrote his inſcription; where he gives us the reaſon why Apollo is placed in the midſt of them: and there is a Sarcophagus (58) in the Juſtiniani palace at Rome which repreſents Apollo ſtanding in the midſt of the Muſes, juſt as he is deſcribed by Auſonius; and with his lyre in his hand.

APOLLO, conſidered in his poetical character, is called indifferently either Vates, or Lyriſtes; muſic and poetry, in the earlieſt ages of the world, having made but one and the ſame profeſſion. Sometimes you ſee him naked; with his hair regularly compoſed, and collected over his forehead; with his lyre in one hand, and his plectrum in the other: and ſometimes, in particular, leaning againſt a rock; juſt as he is deſcribed (59) by Propertius. At other times he has his hair finely dreſſed out; all flowing down at its
PL. XIII. full length, and crowned with laurel; dreſſed in a long robe, that falls to his feet: which
FIG. 1, & 2. is indeed the proper and diſtinguiſhing habit, of the Apollo Vates or Lyriſtes. The Roman poets, and particularly (60) thoſe of the Auguſtan age, are very full in their deſcriptions of him. It was in this ſort of dreſs that Apollo was ſuppoſed to appear at the (61) feaſts of Jupiter; and particularly at that ſolemn one, after his victory over Saturn: under

(57) Bacchas iſtas cum Muſis Metelli comparas. Quid ſimile? Primùm ipſas ego Muſas nunquam tanti putaſſem: ſed tamen erat aptum bibliothecæ, ſtudiiſque noſtris congruens: Bacchis verò ubi eſt apud me locus? Ea ſigna ego emere ſoleo, quæ ad ſimilitudinem gymnaſiorum exornent mihi in palæſtrâ locum. Cicero, Lib. 7. Ep. 23. Fab. Gallo.

(58) In Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. LX. 1.

(59) ——Auratâ nixus ad antra lyrâ.
Propertius, Lib. 3. El. 3. ℣. 14.

(60) ——Sacris inducta capillis
Laurus erat: vates ille videndus adeſt.
Ovid. de Arte Am. 2. ℣. 496.
Alterius crines humero jactentur utroque:
Talis es aſſumtâ, Phœbe canore, lyrâ.
Id. Ibid. 3. ℣. 142.
Ipſe deus vatum, pallâ ſpectabilis aureâ,
Tractat inauratæ conſona fila lyræ.
Id. Lib. 1. El. 8. ℣. 60.
Ille, caput flavum lauro Parnaſſide vinctus,
Verrit humum Tyrio ſaturatâ murice pallâ:
Inſtructamque fidem gemmis & dentibus Indis
Suſtinet à lævâ; tenuit manus altera plectrum:
Artificis ſtatus ipſe fuit. ——
Id. Met. 11. ℣. 169.
Ima videbatur talis illudere palla;
Namque hæc in nitido corpore veſtis erat.
Artis opus raræ, fulgens teſtudine & auro,
Pendebat lævâ garrula parte lyra.
Hanc primùm veniens plectro modulatus eburno
Felices cantus ore ſonante dedit:
Sed poſtquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti,
Edidit hæc triſti dulcia verba modo.
Tibullus, Lib. 3. El. 4. ℣. 42.

(61) Phœbe, fave: novus ingreditur tua templa ſacerdos:
Huc age cum citharâ carminibuſque veni.
Nunc te vocales impellere pollice chordas;
Nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba meas.
Ipſe triumphali devinctus tempora lauro,
Dum cumulant aras, ad tua ſacra veni;
Sed nitidus pulcherque veni: nunc indue veſtem
Sepoſitam; longas nunc bene pecte comas:
Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato,
Victori laudes concinuiſſe Jovi.
Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 5. ℣. 10.

under which character he may moſt properly be called, the Feſtal Apollo. It was thus too that the poets, (or muſicians of old,) were dreſſed, when they ſang to the lyre, at the tables of the greateſt princes; and, in particular, Iöpas in Virgil, at the feaſt which Dido gives to Æneas: as that poet gives us to underſtand by (62) one ſingle word only; in his uſual way of rather hinting at things, than expreſſing them directly, or at large.

ONE of the moſt celebrated characters of Apollo among the Romans, (particularly in the Auguſtan age,) was that of the Actian Apollo. There was a promontory near Actium, (called indifferently the promontory of Actium, or Leucatè,) which was very famous in antient times for two things: the lovers leap (63), and the ſtatue of Apollo which ſtood very near the place, from which the lovers (who were ſo diſpoſed) were to take their leap. This ſtatue of the Actian Apollo, as he was called, ſtood high; and was viſible to the mariners a good way out at ſea: he was (64) much revered by them: and Auguſtus himſelf, before his engagement with Antony off this cape, addreſſed his devotions to him for the victory; as I think I have ſomewhere read, tho' I forget where. This made him ſo celebrated among the Roman poets: notwithſtanding which, one ſhould have ſome difficulty to determine exactly what ſort of appearance Apollo made under the character of the Actian or Leucadian god. It ſeems as if his dreſs had been of a mixed kind on this occaſion; partly that of the Apollo Venator, and partly that of the Apollo Lyriſtes. At leaſt, the poets in general give him (65) a bow in his hand; and on (66) a medal of Auguſtus, he appears with the long flowing robe of the muſical Apollo. This is a confuſion of his attributes and characters, which is very uncommon; but which however is not wholly without authority, in (67) other antient figures of this god.

As

(62) ——Citharâ crinitus Iöpas
Perſonat auratâ.——
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 741.

As the Romans muſt have been ſo familiarly acquainted with the dreſs of the Feſtal Apollo, his long robe which he always wore then, and his full-dreſſed hair; Virgil's applying the epithet Crinitus (the known epithet of Apollo) to Iöpas, on this occaſion, might imply, to them, that he was dreſſed out like the Feſtal Apollo: in a long magnificent robe, and with his hair all flowing down his back. This, by the way, is a ſtrong inſtance of the uſe of being acquainted with the antient Roman cuſtoms, and with the appearances their gods uſed to make on ſuch and ſuch occaſions, towards underſtanding their poets. Had the author of a piece publiſhed a few years ago, (under a name, that would make every body fond of reading it,) been aware of this; methinks he could never have called Crinitus here: "an epithet ſo wholly foreign to the purpoſe." See Diſc. on antient and modern learning; by Mr. Addiſon. p. 6.

(63) ——Quoniam non ignibus æquis
Ureris, Ambracias terra petenda tibi.
Phœbus ab excelſo quantum patet adſpicit æquor;
Actiacum populi, Leucadiumque vocant.
Hinc ſe Deucalion Pyrrhæ ſuccenſus amore
Miſit, & illæſo corpore preſſit aquas:
Nec mora, verſus amor tetigit leniſſima Pyrrhæ
Pectora.——
Ovid. Her. Epiſt. 15. ℣. 170. (Sappho, to Phaon.)

(64) Mox & Leucatæ nimboſa cacumina montis;
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.
Virgil. Æn. 3. ℣. 275.

(65) Jam fragor armorum trepidantes perſonat aures,
Actiacoſque ſinus & Apollinis arma timentes.
Petronius Arb. ℣. 115.
Actius hæc cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Deſuper: omnis eo terrore Ægyptus & Indus,
Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 706.
Dixerat; & pharetræ pondus conſumit in arcus:
Proxima poſt arcus Cæſaris haſta fuit.
Vincit Roma fide Phœbi.——
Propertius, Lib. 4. El. 6. ℣. 57.
Actius hinc traxit Phœbus monumenta, quòd ejus
Una decem vicit miſſa ſagitta rates.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 68.

Apollo was not only ſuppoſed to aſſiſt Auguſtus, in the battle of Actium; but in that of Philippi too, againſt Brutus: as we learn from a paſſage in Valerius Maximus; (which, by the way, ſhews that there were Sortes Homericæ of old, as well as Sortes Virgillanæ.) M. Bruti dignus admiſſo parricidio eventus omine deſignatus eſt: ſiquidem poſt illud nefarium opus natalem ſuum celebrans, cum Græcum verſum expromere vellet, ad illud potiſſimum Homericum referendum animo tetendit; "Αλλα με μοιρ' ολον και Αιλης εκλανεν υιος·" qui deus, Philippenſi acie, a Cæſare & Antonio ſigno datus, in eum tela convertit. Lib. 1. Cap. 5.

(66) In Oiſelius's Theſ. ſelect. numiſm. Pl. 37. Fig. 11.

(67) Pliny, ſpeaking of the celebrated works of Leontius at Rome, mentions one in which he had made Apollo, killing the Python; and at the ſame time, dreſſed as a muſician. Apollinem Citharædum, ſerpen-

As Auguſtus was ſo particularly obliged to the Apollo of Actium, he built one temple to him on the ſpot; and another afterwards, (68) within the confines of his own houſe, at Rome. Auguſtus's houſe was called, the Palatium; (which, you know, was a particular name then; tho' it has ſince grown into a general one, for all royal houſes;) and the noble figure of Apollo which ſtood in the temple he built to the Actian Apollo there, was thence called the Apollo Palatinus. This ſtatue was a work of the famous (69) Scopas; and the deſign of it was not ſo precarious, as that of the Apollo at Actium. It was repreſented ſolely under the character of the Apollo Lyriſtes. The poets deſcribe him in a manner that confines his character abſolutely to this: they ſpeak of him (70) as in his flowing robe, and as actually playing on his lyre. They even ſeem to hint (71) at his having quitted his bow; and to give (72) the reaſon, why he has quitted it. His figure therefore muſt have made much the ſame appearance with the Actian Apollo's, as that god is repreſented on the reverſe of (73) Auguſtus's medal; and Actius Apollo on that medal, and Palatinus (74) Apollo in the poets, may poſſibly refer to one and the ſame character, and one and the ſame ſtatue; namely, this celebrated ſtatue of the Actian Apollo, on the Palatine hill.

THE

ſerpentemque ejus ſagittis confici. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 384. Ed. Elz.

This puts me in mind of one of the moſt puzzling ſtatues, ever met with in Italy. It is in the entrance of the king of Sardinia's palace, at Turin. The face has the Greek air; and the hair is collected on the forehead, like Apollo's. There is a liſt, or diadem, appears under the hair of the forehead; and then is loſt, in the hair on each ſide. There is a particular ſort of velum behind the head; with two Tæniæ, falling down a pretty way on the ſhoulders and breaſt. It has a ſort of Chlamys, faſtened with a round gem over the breaſt; and a Cingulum, appearing from under it, and going down to the left ſide. A veſt under it, with large folds; girt, a little above the navel: then a Multitium, following cloſely the ſhape of the limbs, quite down to the feet; and very plainly diſtinguiſhing the ſex. From under this, there is an odd ſort of ribbed ſtuff, that comes half way over the feet; as the Soleæ appear under them. One foot is a little advanced before the other; and both the face, and attitude, are apt to put one in mind of Apollo ſhooting. What it repreſents, is very difficult to ſay; and it is as difficult I think, to fix what nation it is of. If one was to ſee only the head, one ſhould think it Grecian; if one was to ſee only the breaſt and ſhoulders, it might paſs for Roman; and if one was to ſee it only from the navel downwards, one ſhould take it to be Egyptian. It was of too doubtful a nature for me to make uſe of any print of it: and I have deſcribed it here ſo minutely, rather as a riddle for the antiquarians to find out; than as any authority in the preſent caſe: tho' a very ſenſible and learned gentleman I had the pleaſure of knowing at Turin, was always of the opinion, that it repreſented Apollo in his robe, as a Muſician; and in the attitude, of having juſt ſhot off his bow.

(68) Victor deinde Cæſar reverſus in urbem, contractas emptionibus complures domos, quò laxior fieret ipſius, publicis ſe uſibus deſtinare profeſſus eſt; templumque Apollinis, & circa Porticus, facturum promiſit: quod ab eo ſingulari extructum munificentiâ eſt. Vel. Paterculus, Lib. 2. §. 81.——Templum Apollinis in eâ parte Palatinæ domûs excitavit, quam fulmine ictam à deo deſiderari haruſpices pronuntiarunt. Addidit Porticus; cum bibliothecâ, Latinâ Græcâque. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 29.

(69) Pliny, (ſpeaking of the fineſt pieces of this ſtatuary, at Rome,) ſays. Is fecit Apollinem Palatinum. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 36. c. 5. p. 471. Ed. Elz.

(70) Propertius gives a long account of his having been at the opening of the Portico's belonging to this temple of the Apollo Palatinus; and among ſeveral other remarkable things, mentions the figure of the god himſelf.

Deinde inter matrem deus ipſe interque ſororem
Pythius in longâ carmina veſte ſonat.
Propertius, Lib. 2. El. 29 (31) ℣. 16.

(71) When Horace is writing on ſo particular and ſolemn an occaſion, as the ſecular games were among the Romans; it is probable that he applies to the favourite Apollo of the Romans, in his time: which was this Apollo, the patron and favourite deity of Auguſtus Cæſar. In his poem on that occaſion, he ſays;

Condito mitis placiduſque telo,
Supplices audi pueros Apollo.
Hor. Carm. Sæc. ℣. 34.

(72) Propertius, after ſpeaking of the figure of Apollo at Actium, which was armed; immediately ſays,

Bella ſatis cecini: citharam jam poſcit Apollo
Victor; & ad placidos exuit arma choros.
Lib. 4. El. 6. ℣. 70.

(73) In that medal, ſubſcribed ACT, and referred to before, in Oiſelius's Theſaurus, (Pl. 37. 11.) Apollo appears in the long robe, but flung back looſe; and holds a lyre in his left hand, and the plectrum in his right.

(74) Scripta, Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo.
Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 3. ℣. 17.

THE repreſentations of Apollo as preſiding over the ſun, will be more properly conſidered in another place (75): ſo that, if you pleaſe, we will now go on to ſome other character of him. That of the Apollo Medicus is (76) often mentioned by the poets; and it is on the account of this character, I ſuppoſe, that we ſo frequently ſee the ſerpent, at the feet of his ſtatues: tho' the antiquarians in Italy, at preſent, will almoſt always have it to be the ſerpent Python. Let it be ever ſo ſmall, or in the moſt peaceable poſture that can be imagined, (for it is often ſleeping, and always quiet;) our Cicerones, as you may remember, were always pointing him out for that terrible monſter, which no leſs a god than Apollo was forced to uſe almoſt all his arrows to rid the world of. I do not ſee any reaſon they have to commit ſuch an outrage againſt all appearances, when the character of Apollo as the god of health is ſo well known; and when all the other deities who ſhare with Apollo in that character, have almoſt always a ſerpent by them. I do not remember ever to have ſeen an Hygiea without a ſerpent; and Eſculapius has commonly one much larger, (and conſequently much more like the Python,) than thoſe at the feet of Apollo. But what, I think, puts this quite out of diſpute, is; that in the figures we ſee of Apollo with a ſerpent by him, he has generally an eaſy mild look: whereas was he to be repreſented as engaging the Python, his features would be all (77) ſevere and terrible.

THERE is ſomething of this ſeverity diſcovers itſelf in the eye of the Apollo Belvedere; but it appears in all its force, when he is executing ſome piece of juſtice, (or if you will, ſome piece of cruelty,) on thoſe who have offended him. Thus you ſee him with a face that almoſt makes one tremble to look upon it in this gem, where he is ordering Mar- PL. XIII. ſyas to be flea'd alive: a ſubject, that is entirely horrid and ſhocking. The face of FIG. 3. Marſyas expreſſes pain, as ſtrongly as the god's does anger. Indeed I ought to add in juſtice to Apollo, that Nero is repreſented here, under the character of this god; and I know no one of his characters fitter for that tyrant, than this is. The figures relating to this ſtory of Marſyas, were very common of old; and we have a great many ſtill left of them. It is ſaid there was one, in particular, in the Forum; very properly placed, juſt by the ſeat of judgment; (in the ſame manner as they have placed one now at the entrance to the hall for hearing cauſes, on Monte Citorio;) and another, in ſome part of the city, with Apollo himſelf inflicting the cruel puniſhment upon him; from whence he got (78) the name of Apollo the Tormentour. There are ſeveral ſtrokes in the Roman poets, alluding to the (79) former of theſe figures; which, I imagine, repreſented Marſyas

(75) See Dial. XII. poſth.

(76) Conſilium eſt, quodcunque cano; parete canenti:
Utque facis, cœptis Phœbe ſaluber ades!
Ovid. Rem. Am. ℣. 706.
Carminis, et medicæ Phœbe repertor opis.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 76.
Inventum medicina meum eſt; opiferque per orbem
Dicor; & herbarum ſubjecta potentia nobis.
Id. Met. 1. ℣. 524.
——Nihil auctor Apollo
Subvenit.——
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 406.

(77) Non ille attulerat crines in colla ſolutos;
Aut teſtudineæ carmen ineme lyræ:
Sed quali aſpexit Pelopeum Agamemnona vultu,
Egeſſitque avidis Dorica caſtra rogis;
Aut qualis flexos ſolvit Pythona per orbes.
Propertius, Lib. 4. El. 6. ℣. 35.
Te viridis Python, Thebanaque mater ovantem
Horruit in pharetris.——
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 712.

(78) Suetonius, in Aug. §. 70.

(79) ——Fora litibus omnia fervent
Ipſe poteſt fieri Marſya cauſidicus.
Martial. Lib. 2. Ep. 64.
Deinde eo dormitum: non ſollicitus mihi quòd cras
Surgendum ſit mane; obeundus Marſya; qui ſe
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum poſſe minoris.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 6. ℣. 121.
Scire velim quare toties mihi, Nævole, triſtis
Occurras, fronte obductâ ceu Marſya victus:
Quid tibi cum vultu, qualem deprenſus habebat
Ravola?——
Juvenal. Sat. 9. ℣. 4.

By the latter part of this paſſage from Juvenal, I ſhould be apt to imagine, that this particular figure of Marſyas near the ſeat of judgment, repreſented him very much ſurprized. As he had vanity enough, to challenge Apollo; he had certainly enough too, to think that the ſentence muſt have been given in his favour.

By the paſſage from Horace, I ſhould imagine that he was repreſented in it turning his face from Apollo; as not bearing to look on his victorious rival.

If this was really the caſe, there muſt have been a ſtrange mixture of the worſt paſſions on his ſingle face. Surprize, at his being judged inferior; envy and hatred, againſt the rival that was preferred to him; a deep concern, for his loſs of glory; and horror, of the puniſhment he expected to undergo. All of which together might very well make a face, diſmal enough to be made a proverb of.

Marſyas as hearing, or as having juſt heard, the terrible ſentence pronounced againſt him. Hence, if any man had an extremely dejected air, they aſked; "Why do you come out, with this Marſyas-face upon you?" And if a lawyer pleaded particularly ill, they ſaid; "That man ſpeaks bad enough, to make Marſyas look ſo much out of humour as he does." There were numbers of other figures relating to the execution of this Marſyas, as well as his condemnation: and I believe there are enough of them even remaining to us, to ſhew the whole ſeries of that melancholy ſtory, in all its different periods. In ſome, he appears juſt fixed to a tree, in ſuch a manner that his feet do not quite reach to the ground; in others, ſometimes Apollo himſelf, and ſometimes ſome other executioner, has begun fleaing him; and in others again, he appears with his body quite flea'd, and all over one wound. We have deſcriptions of him in the poets too, in all theſe (80) different periods of his puniſhment; which are ſome of them ſo horrid, that it gives one a good deal of pain only to go thorough the reading of them.

Apollo probably had this angry and avenging air too, in the works of the antients which repreſented the whole ſtory of the puniſhment of Niobè. Niobè had highly incenſed Latona; who deſired her two children, Apollo and Diana, to avenge the affront that had been offered to her. In a picture, or relievo therefore of this ſtory, (ſuch as was that (81) fine one, on one of the great folding-doors, to the temple of the Apollo Palatinus,) one ſhould naturally expect to ſee theſe two deities in the air; with their bows bent, and aiming at ſome of thoſe many children Niobe was ſo proud of. In the noble collection of detached figures relating to this affair, at the Villa Medici in Rome, this indeed was impracticable; but in a relievo or picture, where it is practicable, it would have been an unaccountable omiſſion to leave out the two principal perſons of the piece: and accordingly Perier, where he gives you a print of the Medicean figures, takes the liberty of adding the deities over them in the air (82). The poets who ſaw the ſtory repreſented ſo often, both in marble and on canvas, ſpeak very expreſly of the preſence of theſe two deities on this occaſion; and of the vengeful appearance they made: and Juvenal, in particular, introduces Amphion as ſeeing them, and addreſſing his prayers to them, to deprecate their wrath.

> "Parce, precor, Pæan; & tu, depone ſagittas:
> Nil pueri faciunt; ipſam configite matrem!"
> Amphion clamat; ſed Pæan contrahit arcum (83).

There is a figure among thoſe relating to this ſtory, in the Villa Medici; which, in all probability, is meant for Amphion: and his attitude in it agrees exactly with this deſcription of him by Juvenal. By the way, that poet has given us a mixture of humour in it, not quite ſo proper on this occaſion. His Amphion ſeems to beg two diſtinct favours of the gods his prayer is addreſſed to. The firſt is, that they would have compaſſion

(80) ——Illuſtres ſatyro pendente Celænas.
Statius, Theb. 4. ℣. 186.

——Phœbo ſuperante pependit;
Cæſa receſſerunt a cute membra ſuâ.
Ovid. Faſt. 6. ℣. 708.

——Quid me mihi detrahis? inquit;
Ah, piget! Ah, non eſt, clamabat, tibia tanti!
Id. Met. 6. ℣. 386.

Clamanti cutis eſt ſummos direpta per artus;
Nec quidquam niſi vulnus erat: cruor undique manat;
Detectique patent nervi: trepidæque ſine ullâ
Pelle micant venæ. Salientia viſcera poſſis,
Et perlucentes numerare in pectore fibras.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 391.

(81) Auro ſolis erat ſupra faſtigia currus;
Et valvæ Libyci nobile dentis opus:
Altera, dejectos Parnaſſi vertice Gallos;
Altera, mœrebat funera Tantalidos.
Propertius, Lib. 2. El. 31. ℣. 14.

There was another famous work on this ſubject, ſpoken of by Pliny, in another temple of Apollo at Rome. Par hæſitatio eſt, in templo Apollinis Sofiani, Nioben cum liberis morientem Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 36. c. 5. p. 472. Ed. Elz.

(82) Perier's Statues, Pl. 87.

(83) Juvenal. Sat. 6. ℣. 173.

paſſion on his children; and the ſecond, that they would rid him of the haughty mother of them. It ſounds to me, juſt as if he had ſaid;

O, ſpare my children! and O——take my wife!

OVID is very (84) full and diſtinct in his account of this affair. He repreſents Apollo and Diana with their bows, performing this piece of vengeance; and tells us, in particular, how and where each of the ſons was wounded by the former. There is a great deal of difference, as well as a great deal of agreement, between his manner of telling the ſtory, and the repreſentation of it in the Medicean figures. As to the points in which they differ, they may generally be very well accounted for, from the different natures of ſtatuary and poetry: the latter of which can repreſent perſons in the air as eaſily, as on the earth; whereas the former is more confined, in general; and, in particular, tied down to one point of time. As to their agreement, that is very clear in ſeveral things; and more particularly in the principal figure, that of Niobe: who is repreſented as engaged in the ſame action, and with the very ſame attitude, (or manner of doing it,) both in the Medicean ſtatue of her, and in Ovid's account of the latter part of this tragical ſtory.

Ultima reſtabat, quam toto corpore mater,
Totâ veſte tegens; "Unam minimamque relinque!
De multis minimam poſco, clamavit, & unam." (85)

APOLLO and Diana were conſidered by the heathens of old, as the inflicters of plagues, and all ſudden deaths; the former on men, and the latter on women. They generally (86) talked of theſe two deities, as diſcharging arrows on theſe occaſions. The wounds, the arrows, and the deities themſelves, were ſometimes ſuppoſed to be all viſible; and ſometimes, to be inviſible. But even in the latter caſe, the effect was plain: the dead body lay before them; and their credulity helped out all the reſt. The artiſt therefore,

(84) Deſine, Phœbus ait, (pœnæ mora longa,) querelas;
Dixit idem Phœbe: celerique per aëra lapſu
Contigerant tecti Cadmeïda nubibus arcem.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 217.
Planus erat lateque patens prope mœnia campus.
Pars ibi, de ſeptem genitis Amphione, fortes
Conſcendunt in equos——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 222.

Of the brothers, he ſays that Iſmenos and Sipylus were killed on their horſes; Phædimus and Tantalus, as they are wreſtling: and Alphenor, as he is trying to lift them up: the ſixth ſon, Damaſichthon, is ſhot, firſt thorough the leg; and, as he was ſtooping to get out the dart, receives his mortal wound in the neck. Ilioneus, the ſeventh and laſt, falls in the act of praying to heaven for mercy. Ib. ℣. 224, to 266.

Amphion, on loſing all his ſons, ſtabs himſelf. Niobe hears of the loſs of her huſband and ſons; flies to the plain: and mourns over their dead bodies. They are laid out on their biers; and their ſiſters come in habits of mourning, and lament round them. Niobe relapſes into her blaſphemies, and loſes her daughters too. Ibid. ℣. 267, to 286.

Of the daughters, the firſt ſinks over the body of one of her brothers, as ſhe is drawing the arrow from his wound: the ſecond, as ſhe is trying to conſole her mother. The third drops as ſhe is endeavouring to make her eſcape; and the fourth falls on her dead body. The fifth is killed, as ſhe is ſeeking to hide herſelf: and the ſixth, in a poſture of aſtoniſhment. Ibid. ℣. 288, to 296.

Sexque datis leto, diverſaque vulnera paſſis,
Ultima reſtabat: quam toto corpore mater,
Totâ veſte tegens; "Unam minimamque relinque!
De multis minimam poſco, clamavit, & unam!"
Dumque rogat, pro quâ rogat occidit. Orba reſedit,
Exanimes inter natas, natoſque, virumque;
Diriguitque malis.——
Ibid. ℣. 303.

(85) Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 300.—See Perier's Statues, N° 87. or Maffei's, N° 32.

(86) It is perhaps owing to this way of talking formerly, that when any perſon happens to die ſuddenly (on the road, or the like) it is ſtill ſo cuſtomary, in ſeveral nations to ſay they are "ſun-ſtruck; or ſhot by the ſun." Thus the French coup du ſoleil; the Italian, colpo del ſole: and the Spaniſh, golpe de ſol.

That this was a very early notion among the Romans, appears from what is ſaid by ſome of the eldeſt poets among them.

Fer mi auxilium; peſtem abige à me
Flammiferam: hanc vim, quæ me excruciat:
Cæruleæ, incinctæ igni incedunt;
Circumſtant cum ardentibus tædis.
Intendit Crinitus Apollo
Arquum auratum:——
Diana facem jacit à lævâ.
Ennius. in Alcmæone.

Quod utinam me ſuis arcitenens telis mactaſſet dea!
Actius. in Erigone.

fore, as he could not well introduce the gods in the Medicean groupe of figures, did very well in (87) generally omitting the wounds too; which they were ſuppoſed to make ſometimes in the vitals, without leaving any mark on the outſide of the body; as it often happens in the ſtrokes given by lightning. Ovid follows both ways. He ſpeaks of the wounds as viſible (88) on the brothers, and as inviſible on the ſiſters: and one would think, by his account, that the gods were inviſible too; even to the perſons who (89) ſuffered ſo much from their hands.

I HAVE been obliged to refer you to Perier's print of the figures, relating to this ſtory, in the Medicean gardens; becauſe I have no copies, or drawing of them, in my collection. To ſay the truth, the manner of ranging the figures themſelves does not ſeem to me to have been ſettled ſo judiciouſly at firſt, as the fineneſs of the work, and the peculiarity of the ſtory, might have deſerved. Niobe indeed herſelf with her youngeſt daughter, as the principal figure, may be not ill placed, in the middle point of view. On her right hand you have a horſe, which ſhould rather have been by one of her ſons; for it is meant to ſignify that they had been taking their exerciſes juſt before this calamity fell upon them. Then there is one of her grown daughters; ſtooping down, and regarding her brother, that lies breathleſs and ſupine before her. The next in the round, (for they are placed almoſt circularly,) is another ſon, flying from the danger; and pulling his looſe robe, like a ſail, (much as he is deſcribed (90) by Ovid,) over his head, as endeavouring to ſcreen himſelf with it. Then there is a daughter: and then, (in the midſt of the front,) is the fine figure of the wounded ſon; fallen on his knee; and repreſented as in great pain. The two next, to your right hand, are both daughters: then the youngeſt ſon; but a boy, and frightened as a boy. The next figure in the round, I ſhould take to be Amphion; for he is much older than the reſt, and is juſt in the attitude in which Juvenal deſcribes the father: tho' the diſpoſers of theſe figures ſeem to have miſtook him for one of his own children; there being ſeven daughters, and but (91) ſix ſons, unleſs you

(87) The ſon, who lies dead in the front of the groupe, and is one of the fineſt figures among them, has a wound in his ſide as made by a dart. There is no wound, that I remember, on any of the others.

(88) He mentions the darts and wounds, as to every one of the brothers, (and in ſome very ſtrongly,) as viſible.

——Non evitabile telum
Conſequitur; ſummâque tremens cervice ſagitta
Hæſit, & exſtabat nudum de gutture ferrum.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 237. of Sipylus.

At non intonſum ſimplex Damaſichthona vulnus
Adficit. Ictus erat quà crus eſſe incipit, & quà
Mollia nervoſus facit internodia poples:
Dumque manu tentat trahere exitiabile telum,
Altera per jugulum pennis tenus acta ſagitta eſt.
Expulit hanc ſanguis; &c.——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 259.

He mentions nothing of the darts or wounds, as viſible on the ſiſters. His language then is relanguit, collabitur, & immoritur. He gives you indeed to underſtand that they were wounded, ℣. 286. but then it was by a wound that was imperceptible; vulnere cæco; ℣. 293.

(89) Brachia ſuſtulerat: diique O communiter omnes,
Dixerat, (ignarus non omnes eſſe rogandos,)
Parcite!——
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 266.

So that Ovid ſuppoſes the gods who were deſtroying them inviſible to them: otherwiſe the ſufferer here would have applied, not to the gods in general, but to Diana and Apollo; as Amphion does, in Juvenal. Sat. 6. ℣. 171.

(90) Proximus audito ſonitu per inane pharetræ,
Fræna dabat Sipylus; veluti cum præſcius imbris
Nube fugit viſâ, pendentiaque undique rector
Carbaſa deducit, ne quà levis effluat aura.
Met. Lib. 6. ℣. 233.

(91) The poets all agree in giving an equal number of ſons, and daughters, to Niobe; tho' they differ in their number, in general.

Propertius makes them only twelve in all.

Nec tantum Niobe bis ſex ad buſta ſuperba
Sollicito lachrymans depluit a Sipylo.
Lib. 2. El. 20. ℣. 8.

In which he has the authority of Homer on his ſide.

Και γαρ τ' ηϋκομος Νιοβη εμνησαλο σιλι·
Τη περ δωδεκα παιδες ενι μεγαροισιν ολοντο,
Εξ μεν θυγατερες, εξ δ' υιεες ηβωοντες.
Τους μεν Απολλων πεφνεν απ' αργυρεοιο βιοιο,
Χωομενος Νιοβη· τας δ' Αρτεμις ιοχεαιρα.
Il. ω. ℣. 606.

Ovid is very expreſs as to ſeven of each: (ſee Note 27, anteh.) and is followed by the author of Medea.

Utinam ſuperbæ turba Tantalidos meo
Exiſſet utero, biſque ſeptenos parens
Natos tuliſſem!——
Act. 5. ℣. 954.

It is ſomewhat to be feared, that the firſt diſpoſers of theſe ſtatues in the Medicean gardens, (after miſtaking that of Amphion,) for one of the ſons, might diſcard the figure of one of the ſons, as a ſupernumerary figure. There are ſingle figures of the ſons of Niobe, relating to this ſtory, ſcattered about in ſeveral collections at Rome; and ſome, in the Villa Medici itſelf, beſide the ſelect ſet in the garden.

It is a pity that Flaminius Vacca is not more particular in his account of the firſt finding theſe figures. He only ſays, that they were dug up in his time, near the Porta di San Giovanni; and purchaſed by the Great Duke, Ferdinand. Mem. Art. 74.

you reckon this for one. Next to Niobe, on this ſide, is another daughter; which compleats the circular line of figures I was ſpeaking of. In the ſpace contained within this circle, there are only three figures: one of the ſons, near Niobe; another, near Amphion; and a daughter, bending forward; near the brother who lies dead, and is the only one who is ſo. Theſe figures are all placed with their faces toward you; (like bad actors, who ſpeak more to the people in the pit, than to the perſons they are concerned with;) and are ſo ranged, I think, as rather to render the ſtory confuſed, than to tell it clearly and regularly. To do that, the perſons who gave them their places, ſhould have conſidered perhaps a little more than they did, what point of time the artiſt had choſen for this noble work; how each perſon in it is affected; and what connexions they have, (or ſhould have,) with one another. The point of time ſeems to me, to have been very near the beginning of this tragedy: when one of the children only, was killed; a ſecond, wounded; and all the reſt ſtruck, either with grief, or fear, or amazement. On this ſhocking alarm, ſome are mourning over thoſe who have already ſuffered; and others are providing for their own ſafety. In this light, Niobe is repreſented ſomewhat differently here, from what ſhe is in Ovid. She is ſheltering her youngeſt daughter (not as the laſt left to her, but perhaps as her greateſt favourite, and as the leaſt capable of ſhifting for herſelf,) with her own garments, and with her very perſon: for ſhe bends over her, as willing rather to receive the wound herſelf, than to loſe her favourite child. The place where we ſee Niobe is, I think, not ill choſen; except that it may be put too far backward for a principal figure: but for the reſt, I dare ſay there is a meaning in ſome of them, which we are now apt to paſs over, or miſtake; from their being put out of the places that were originally deſigned for them, by the artiſt who made them. The figures in the hiſtory-pieces of the antients (I mean in pictures, as well as in relievo's,) are generally flung more forward, and more in a line, than theſe are now diſpoſed in. The artiſts then felt the ill effects and inconveniences, that aroſe from their ignorance, (or, at leaſt, very ſhallow knowledge,) in perſpective: and therefore generally avoided the flinging their figures backward, as much as poſſible; and I believe never ranged a number of figures, in any one relievo, or picture, in the circular manner that we ſee theſe now placed in. Theſe, indeed, are detached figures; but that, I think, makes no great difference in the preſent caſe. For as they belong all to one and the ſame hiſtory, they muſt have their proper relations and bearings to one another; no artiſt of ſo much judgment (as any one muſt neceſſarily have had, to make ſuch fine figures as ſome of theſe are,) can ever be ſuppoſed to have ſet about ſuch a large and complicated ſubject as this is, without arranging all the parts of it in a previous deſign; before he began to touch the firſt block of marble. In this deſign, he muſt have ranged them in the manner that was uſual of old; which differs much, as I have ſaid already, from the manner of diſpoſing figures in any hiſtorical piece at preſent; and conſequently from the manner, in which we ſee theſe figures diſpoſed in the Medici gardens. I do not pretend to ſay where each particular figure ſhould be placed: that muſt be left to the artiſts to find out; for it is among my Deſiderata. Perhaps, it might not be an unworthy ſubject for the academy of inſcriptions at Paris to propoſe among their prize-queſtions, to the artiſts: ſome of whom might poſſibly be able to diſcover, by the rules of their art, and the reaſon of the thing, (not forgetting the manner of the antients,) what particular ſpot was intended for each individual figure, in the original deſign. But this is above my capacity: and all I can ſay is, that I did not chuſe to have them copied in the manner that they ſtand, at preſent: becauſe I fear that, in many particulars, that may be rather a falſe than a true repreſentation of the deſign of the artiſt.

APOLLO, as the inflictor of plagues, is ſometimes deſcribed by the Roman poets, in the ſame manner that Homer paints him when ſending a peſtilence into the Grecian camp;

ſurrounded

(92) ſurrounded with clouds, or (as Horace tranſlates Homer's very words,) "With clouds wrapped about his ſhoulders:" and both he, and Diana, are thus deſcribed by Ovid, when coming to execute this piece of vengeance on Niobe's children. You ſee I had more reaſons than one for placing Diana's ſtatue next to Apollo's, in the circle of deities before you: and I believe you may think it high time now to leave him, that we may conſider the goddeſs his ſiſter, in ſome milder character than that of a deſtroying angel; employed in ſcattering peſtilence, and death, among the nations.

Pl. XIII. Fig. 4.

Of all the various characters of this goddeſs, there is no one more known, than that of her preſiding over woods; and delighting in hunting. The Diana Venatrix, or goddeſs of the chace, is frequently repreſented as running on, and with her veſt as flying back with the wind; notwithſtanding its being ſhortened, and girt about her, for expedition. She is tall of ſtature; and her face, tho' ſo very handſome, is ſomething manly. Her legs are bare; very well-ſhaped, and very ſtrong. Her feet are ſometimes bare too; and ſometimes adorned with a ſort of buſkin, which was worn by the huntreſſes of old. She often has her quiver on her ſhoulder; and ſometimes holds a javelin, but more uſually her bow, in her right hand. It is thus ſhe makes her appearance in ſeveral of her ſtatues; and it is thus the Roman poets deſcribe her: particularly, in the (93) epithets they give this goddeſs; in the uſe of which they are ſo happy, that they often bring the idea of whole figures of her into your mind, by one ſingle word.

I Believe there is ſcarce any one of all the little circumſtances I have mentioned, which has eſcaped the poets. Her javelin and bow are as frequent in them, as in the antiques which repreſent her. Ovid takes notice of the (94) ſhape of her leg; and Virgil is ſo good as to inform us, even what colour her buſkins were of.

The ſtatues of this Diana were very frequent in woods. She was repreſented there, all the different ways they could think of. Sometimes, as hunting; ſometimes, as bathing; and ſometimes, as reſting herſelf after her fatigue. Statius gives us (95) a very pretty deſcription of the latter; which I ſhould be very glad to ſee well executed in marble, or colours.

(92) Homer ſays of Apollo, when he went to afflict the Grecian camp, that he walked in darkneſs. Ὁ δ' ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς. Ιλ. α. ϒ. 47. and in another place, he has the expreſſion of Νεφέλαις ἐπιειμένος ὠμος· which latter paſſage is tranſlated literally by Horace, in his, Nube humeros amictus. Lib. 1. Od. 2. ϒ. 31.

Statius has followed the ſame idea.

Delius inſurgit; ſummâque biverticis umbrâ
Parnaſſi reſidens, arcu crudelis iniquo
Peſtifera arma jacit; campoſque & celſa Cyclopum
Tecta ſuperjecto nebularum incendit amictu.
Theb. 1. ϒ. 631.

And Ovid;

——Celerique per aëra lapſu
Contigerant tecti Cadmeïda nubibus arcem.
Met. 6. ϒ. 217.

(93) Jam mihi prima dea eſt, arcu præſignis adunco
Delia.——
Ovid. Her. Ep. 4. ϒ. 40. (Phædra, to Hippolitus.)

Quis probet in ſylvis Cererem regnare jugoſis?
Lege pharetratæ virginis arva coli?
Crinibus inſignem quis acutâ cuſpide Martem
Inſtruat, Aoniam Marte movente lyram?
Id. Lib. 1. El. 1. ϒ. 12.

Inter Hamadryadas, jaculatricemque Dianam,
Calliſto ſacri pars fuit una chori.
Id. Faſt. 2. ϒ. 156.

Altera ſuccinctæ religetur more Dianæ,
Ut ſolet attonitas cum petit illa feras.
Id. de Art. Am. 3. ϒ. 144.

(94) Talia pinguntur ſuccinctæ crura Dianæ,
Cum ſequitur fortes fortior ipſa feras.
Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 2. ϒ. 32.

——Lævi de marmore tota
Puniceo ſtabis ſuras evincta cothurno.
Virgil. Ecl. 7. ϒ. 32.

This is ſpoken of Diana, by Virgil: and one ſees, by the ſame author, that they gave her this part of her dreſs as a huntreſs; for where he brings in Venus diſguiſed as a Tyrian huntreſs, that goddeſs ſays:

Virginibus Tyriis mos eſt geſtare pharetram;
Purpureoque altè ſuras vincire cothurno.
Æn. 3. ϒ. 335.

(95) Nec caret umbra deo: nemori Latonia cultrix
Additur. Hanc piceæ, cedrique; & robore in omni
Effictam ſanctis occultat ſylva tenebris.
Hujus inaſpectæ luco ſtridere ſagittæ;
Nocturnique canum gemitus: ubi limina patrui
Effugit, inque novæ melior redit ora Dianæ.
Aſt ubi feſſa jugis, dulceſque altiſſima ſomnos
Lux movet; hìc latè jaculis circum undique fixis,
Effuſam pharetrâ cervicem excepta quieſcit.
Statius. Theb. 4. ϒ. 433.

IT was, on one of these occasions, that Actæon had the misfortune to see her once, so fatally to himself: as the story is told in little, by an old artist, on this gem; and more at large (96), by Ovid in verse, and Apuleius in prose. Ovid takes particular notice that, when the nymphs were first alarmed by the appearance of a man, they huddled round the goddess to hide her body, with their own; a circumstance, which is very plainly expressed too in the gem which you have in your hands. PL. XIII. FIG. 5.

OVID in his account of the story observes, that tho' her nymphs endeavoured so much to hide the goddess, it was partly in vain; because she was so much taller, that her head appeared eminently above them all. Indeed the heighth of Diana's stature is frequently marked out in the poets; and that, generally, by comparing her with her nymphs. I wish we could now enjoy the sight of that famous picture of this goddess, by Apelles; in which this was so finely expressed. Pliny (97) says that Apelles formed his idea of it from

(96) Vallis erat piceis & acutâ densa cupressu,
Nomine Gargaphie; succinctæ sacra Dianæ:
Cujus in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu,
Arte laboratum nullo. Simulaverat artem
Ingenio natura suo; nam pumice vivo
Et levibus tophis nativum duxerat arcum.
Fons sonat à dextrâ, tenui perlucidus undâ;
Margine gramineo patulos incinctus hiatus.
Hic dea sylvarum, venatu fessa, solebat
Virgineos artus liquido perfundere rore:
Quò postquam subiit, nympharum tradidit uni
Armigeræ jaculum, pharetramque, arcusque retentos:
Altera depositæ subjecit brachia pallæ;
Vincla duæ pedibus demunt: nam doctior illis
Ismenis Crocale sparsos per colla capillos
Colligit in nodum, quamvis erat ipsa solutis.
Excipiunt laticem Nepheleque, Hyaleque, Rhanisque,
Et Pisecas, & Phiale; funduntque capacibus urnis.
Dumque ibi perluitur solitâ Titania lymphâ,
Ecce nepos Cadmi, dilatâ parte laborum,
Per nemus ignotum non certis passibus errans
Pervenit in lucum; sic illum fata ferebant!
Qui simul intravit rorantia fontibus antra,
Sicut erant, viso nudæ sua pectora nymphæ
Percussere viro, subitisque ululatibus omne
Implevere nemus; circumfusæque Dianam
Corporibus texere suis: tamen altior illis
Ipsa dea est, colloque tenus supereminet omnes.
Qui color infectis adversi solis ab ictu
Nubibus esse solet, aut purpureæ Auroræ;
Is fuit in vultu visæ sine veste Dianæ.
Quæ, quanquam comitum turbâ stipata suarum,
In latus obliquum tamen astitit; oraque retro
Flexit. ———

Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 188.

This description of the place, of the undressing, and of the attitude of the goddess herself, are all so picturesque, that I could not help transcribing the whole. Apuleius is still more particular, as to the grotto; and as his is probably a description of the work of some antient statuary, and contains in it a fuller account perhaps than we have in any of the antient authors, of such a grot; I shall give that at large too.

Dum hunc & hujusmodi sermonem altercamur, paucis admodum confectis passibus ad domum Byrrhenæ pervenimus. Atria, longè pulcherrima, columnis quadrifariam per singulos angulos stantibus attollebant statuas Palmaris Deæ. Facies quæque, pinnis explicitis; sine gressu pilæ volubiles, instabile vestigium plantis roscidis decitantes, nec ut maneant inhærent: etiam volare creduntur. E contra, lapis Parius in Dianam factus tenet libratam totius loci medietatem. Signum, perfectè luculentum; veste reflatum; pro cursu vegetum; introeuntibus obvium, & majestate numinis venerabile. Canes utrinque secus deæ latera muniunt; qui canes & ipsi lapis erant. His oculi minantur; aures rigent; nares hiant; ora sæviunt: & si quando de proximo latratus ingruerit, eum putabis de faucibus lapidis exire. Et (in quo summum specimen operæ fabrilis egregius ille signifex prodidit) sublatis canibus, impetus arduus: pedes imi resistunt; currunt priores. Pone tergum deæ, saxum insurgit in speluncæ modum; muscis, & herbis, & foliis, & virgulis, & ficubi pampinis, & arbusculis alibi, de lapide florentibus. Splendet intus umbra signi de nitore lapidis. Sub extremâ saxi margine poma, & uvæ faberrimè politæ, dependent; quas ars, æmula naturæ, veritati similes explicuit. Putes ad cibum inde quædam, cum mustulentus Autumnus maturum colorem afflaverit, posse decerpi: & si fontes (qui deæ vestigio discurrentes, in lenem vibrantur undam) pronus aspexeris, credas illos ut rure pendentes racemos, inter cætera veritatis nec agitationis officio carere. Inter medias frondes lapidis, Actæon simulachrum; curioso obtutu in dorso projectus; jam in cervum ferinus; & in saxo simul & in fonte, loturam Dianam opperiens visitur. Apuleius. Asin. Aur. Lib. 2. Fol. 23. Ed. Beroaldi, 1512.

(97) Dianam, sacrificantium virginum choro mistam; quibus vicissè Homeri versus videtur id ipsum describentis. Pliny. Nat. Hist. Lib. 35. c. 10. p. 438. Ed. Elz.

The verses from Homer are the following.

Οἵη Ἀρτεμις εἰσι κατ' ὀρεσς ἰοχεαιρα,
Ἡ κατα Τηϋγετον περιμηκετον ἠ Ἐυμανθον,
Τερπομενη καπροισι και ωκειης ελαφοισι·
Τῆ δε θ' αμα Νυμφαι, κουραι Διος Αιγιοχοιο,
Ἀγρονομοι παιζουσι· γεγηθε δε τε φρενα Λητω.
Πασαων δ' υπερ ηγε καρη εχει, ηδε μετωπα·
Ρεια δ' αριγνωτη πελεται, καλαι δε τε πασαι.

Odyss. ξ. ℣. 108. (Of Nausicaa.)

Virgil's imitation of them.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros; quam mille secutæ
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades. Illa pharetram
Fert humero; gradienque deas supereminet omnes.
Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

Æn. 1. ℣. 502. (Of Dido.)

from a celebrated deſcription in Homer; and that he even ſurpaſſed his original. Virgil has imitated the very ſame deſcription, in his Æneid. What a pleaſure might it have been, to have compared the copies of two ſuch ſcholars, as Apelles and Virgil, with the work of ſo great a maſter as Homer? At leaſt, how much more pleaſing, than to fall a diſputing (98), (as ſeveral of the critics have done,) whether Homer or Virgil have given the fineſt ſtrokes on this occaſion? This Diana, both in the picture and in the deſcriptions, was the Diana Venatrix: tho' ſhe was not repreſented either by Virgil, or Apelles, or Homer, as hunting with her nymphs; but as employed with them (99) in that ſort of dances, which of old were regarded as very ſolemn acts of devotion.

ANOTHER great character of Diana is that, under which ſhe is repreſented as the intelligence which preſides over the planet of the moon; and which will therefore come more properly in our way, when (100) we are taking a view of my temple of the ſtars and planets.

PL. XIV. FIG. I. A THIRD remarkable way of repreſenting Diana was with three bodies. This is very common among the antient figures of this goddeſs; and it is hence the poets call her (101) the triple, the three-headed, and the three-bodied Diana. Her diſtinguiſhing name, under this triple appearance, is (102) Hecate, or Trivia. A goddeſs, frequently invoked in enchantments, and very fit for ſuch black work: for this is the infernal Diana; and as ſuch, is repreſented with the characteriſtics of a Fury, rather than as one of the twelve Great Celeſtial Deities. All her hands hold inſtruments of terror; and generally graſp either cords, or ſwords, or ſerpents, or flaming torches.

THERE are ſeveral other leſs diſtinguiſhed characters of Diana: of which I ſhall mention only one, that ſeems to have been uſually overlooked. As there was a Venus, which they called the Venus Cœleſtis; ſo there was a Diana, which one might properly enough call, the Diana Cœleſtis. By which name, I ſhould not mean the power ſhe has in the heavens, as oppoſed to the powers ſhe had in hell and upon earth; but the appearance ſhe makes, when ſhe was to aſſiſt in the great council of the gods; or to ſtand in the preſence of Jupiter. Under this character ſhe is larger, and more dreſſed out than uſual: with a full robe, that falls quite down to her feet; tho' ſhe ſtill retains her bow, and the quiver on her ſhoulders. In one word, much as ſhe is deſcribed by Statius, in his Achilleid.

Sic

(98) We learn from Aulus Gellius, that Valerius Probus, (whom he calls) a very learned and excellent critic, always uſed to ſay; "That Virgil had failed more in this imitation of Homer, than he had in any other." (Noct. Att. Lib. 9. c. 9.) Scaliger, on the contrary, in ſpeaking of theſe two paſſages prefers Virgil greatly: "Virgil's, he ſays, appears to have been written by a maſter; and Homer's by a ſchool-boy." (Poet. Lib. 5. c. 3.)——Were Scaliger and Probus both alive now, one might leave them to fight it out.

(99) The expreſſion of παιζειν, uſed by Homer on this occaſion, is ſcarce proper for hunting; as that of, Choros exercere, in Virgil, ſhould be underſtood of the religious dances of old, becauſe dancing, in the old Roman idea of it, was indecent even for men, in public; unleſs it were the ſort of dances uſed in honour of Mars, or Bacchus, or ſome other of their gods. It is in conſequence of this that Pliny, in ſpeaking of Diana's nymphs on this very occaſion, uſes the word, ſacrificare, of them; which quite determines theſe dances of theirs to have been of the religious kind. Lucian ſays a great deal of theſe religious dances in his treatiſe, Περι ορχησεως. Tom. I. P. 784, &c.

(100) Dialogue XII. poſth.

(101) Per triplicis vultus arcanaque ſacra Dianæ.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 12. ℣. 79. (Medea, Jaſ.)
Tuque, triceps Hecate!——
Id. Met. 7. ℣. 194.
Montium cuſtos nemorumque virgo!
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis adimiſque letho;
Diva triformis!
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 22. ℣. 4.

(102) Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianæ.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 511.
Ora vides Hecates, in tres vertentia partes.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 141.

Diana interim eſt, altè ſuccincta, venatrix; & Epheſia, mammis multis, & veribus exſtructa; & Trivia, multis capitibus & multis manibus horrifica. Minucius Felix, §. 21. p. 108. Ed. Davis.

Her own proper name under this appearance was Hecate. Trivia is only an accidental one; from her ſtatue's being uſually placed, where three ſtreets (or ways) met together.

Ora vides Hecates in tres vertentia partes,
Servet ut in ternas compita ſecta vias.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 142.

Sic ubi virgineis Hecate laſſata pharetris
Ad patrem fratremque redit, comes hæret eunti
Mater; & ipſa humeros exertaque brachia velat:
Ipſa arcum pharetramque locat, veſteſque latentes
Deducit; ſparſoſque ſtudet componere crines (103).

You ſee how far this deſcription tallies with the ſtatue before you: for in this caſe, I have not done as with my Venus, and Apollo; but have given you the Diana which is the very propereſt to appear in this circle, and at the ſame time the beſt that I know of. We have the advantage of having the original itſelf, within our reach; and have had the pleaſure of ſeeing it together more than once, at my Lord Leiceſter's houſe in town. Cicero gives a particular deſcription (104) of a ſtatue of Diana very much like this, which was once in the poſſeſſion of Scipio Africanus; a perſon of the moſt elegant taſte (105), among all the Romans of his time. PL. XIV. FIG. 2.

THE next goddeſs to Diana here is Ceres. You ſee her face is a very pretty one; and I am apt to imagine, from ſome (106) expreſſions in the poets, that ſhe was a beauty of the brunette kind: but here, as uſual, we want ſome good paintings of the antients, to ſhew whether that conjecture be true or falſe. If ſhe was a brunette beauty, the colour of her dreſs was very well (107) adapted to her complexion. Her head is often crowned either with corn, or poppies; and her robes, as you ſee, fall down to her feet; which ſignifies dignity, in the language of ſtatuary. Moſt of theſe particulars, which I have mentioned from the figures of this goddeſs, are marked out by the (108) old poets too; and more particularly by Ovid, in different parts of his works. PL. XIV. FIG. 3.

THERE is one objection that may be made to the beauty of Ceres, from moſt of the figures I have ſeen of her; which generally repreſent her breaſts as none of the ſmalleſt. Ovid, perhaps, was polite enough to have omitted this particular, on purpoſe, in his accounts of this goddeſs; but ſome of the earlier Roman poets, (as well as ſome of the fathers of the church,) are far from being (109) ſo complaiſant to her.

VIRGIL, in his Georgics, gives us an idea of Ceres, as regarding the laborious huſbandman (110) from heaven; and bleſſing the work of his hands with ſucceſs. There is a picture like this (111), in the famous old manuſcript of Virgil in the Vatican: and Lucretius

(103) Statius. Achil. 1. ℣. 348.

(104) This ſtatue had been taken from Sicily by the Carthaginians; was retaken from them by Scipio: and reſtored by him, to the Sicilians. Cicero ſays, it was a very fine piece of workmanſhip; and his particular deſcription of it agrees, in moſt points, with that at Lord Leiceſter's. Erat admodum amplum & excelſum ſignum, cum ſtolâ; veruntamen inerat in illâ magnitudine ætas atque habitus virginalis. Sagittæ pendebant ab humero. Siniſtrâ manu retinebat arcum; dextrâ, ardentem facem præferebat. Cicero. Or. 4. in Verrem.

(105) See Dial. V. Note 25.

(106) Et te, flava comas, frugum mitiſſima mater.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 118.
Flava Ceres, tenues ſpicis redimita capillos.
Id. Lib. 3. El. 10. ℣. 3.
Frigida cœleſtûm matres Arethuſa vocabat;
Venerat ad ſacras & dea flava dapes.
Id. Faſt. 4. ℣. 424.

(107) Alba decet Cererem veſtis; cerealibus albas
Sumite: nunc pulli velleris uſus abeſt.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 620.

(108) Annuit his; capitiſque ſui pulcherrima motu,
Concuſſit gravidis oneratos meſſibus agros.
Id. Met. 8. ℣. 781.
Tum demum vultumque Ceres animumque recepit;
Impoſuitque ſuæ ſpicea ſerta comæ.
Id. Faſt. 4. ℣. 616.

(109) Balba loqui non quit, τραυλίζει· muta, pudens eſt:
At gemina & mammoſa, Ceres eſt ipſa ab Iaccho.
Lucretius. 4. ℣. 1158.
Arnobius refers to this paſſage in Lucretius, (and, by the way, determines the reading of it, which has been diſputed;) in his third book. Avet animus deos deaſque inſpicere. Ab Iaccho Cererem, muſa ut prædicat Lucretii, mammoſam; Helleſpontiacum Priapum; &c. In his fifth, he ſays; Ceres, mammis cum grandibus.

(110) Multùm adeo, raſtris glebas qui frangit inertes
Vimineaſque trahit crates, juvat arva; neque illum
Flava Ceres alto nequicquam ſpectat Olympo.
Virgil. Georg 1. ℣. 96.

(111) That which anſwers G. 3. ℣. 146. It is the ſecond plate, in Santo Bartoli's prints of them.

cretius has a ſtrong deſcription of another deity, exactly in the ſame (112) attitude; tho' with a very different regard.

THE laſt deity in this circle is Mercury; on whom both the artiſts and poets have been much more copious, than on the goddeſs we have been conſidering. As his chief character is that of being the meſſenger of Jupiter, this god ſeems to be all cut out for ſwiftneſs. His make is young, airy, and light. His limbs are all very finely turned; and tho' he may yield much to Apollo and Bacchus in beauty, he certainly exceeds moſt of the other gods in it. This is the diſtinguiſhing character of his figures, as I have drawn it from the numbers of them I have ſeen in marble; and if one had went firſt to the poets for it, one ſhould have learned juſt the ſame idea of him from them. They call him the (113) young god; the ſwift, the flying, and the winged deity; and as to his beauty, they mention that (114) often; and in a very ſtrong manner.

Pl. XIV. Fig. 4.

THERE are ſeveral marks to know Mercury by; among which we may reckon this lightneſs and agility of his perſon as the chief: but as to the things which are more properly called his diſtinguiſhing attributes, the moſt remarkable of theſe are his Petaſus, or winged cap; the Talaria, or wings to his feet; and his wand with the two ſerpents about it, which they call his Caduceus.

THIS cap of his has generally two little wings attached to it, in the better remains of antiquity; tho' in ſome of the very oldeſt works, you ſee him ſometimes (115) only with two feathers ſtuck in it. Even theſe wings were ſuppoſed to be only ſo attached to it, as to be eaſily taken off, or fixed on (116) upon it again, at pleaſure; for in ſeveral figures, you ſee him in the ſame ſort of cap without any wings to it. It is like the ordinary cap of the ſervants of old: juſt ſuch an one in particular, as Soſia would naturally appear in, whenever Amphitryon was acted at Rome.

HIS

(112) Humana ante oculos fœdè quom vita jaceret
In terris oppreſſa, gravi ſub Relligione:
Quæ caput à cœli regionibus oſtendebat;
Horribili ſuper aſpectu mortalibus inſtans.
Lucretius. 1. ℣. 66.

(113) Velox Cyllenius——
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 818.
Deus volans——
Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 4.
Ales Tegeaticus——
Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 5. ℣. 102.

(114) Nec ſe diſſimulat; tanta eſt fiducia formæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 731.
Sive mutatâ juvenem figurâ
Ales in terris imitaris, almæ
Filius Maiæ.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 2. ℣. 43. (Of Auguſtus.)
Membraque & vultus deo
Similes volanti.——
Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 3. (Of Britannicus.)
Omnia Mercurio ſimilis: vocemque, coloremque,
Et crines flavos, & membra decora juventæ.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 569.

We do not ſee the full beauty of Mercury, under the character of the meſſenger of Jupiter, as he is moſt commonly repreſented; for then, (as Statius ſays,)

Obnubitque comas; & temperat aſtra galero.
Theb. 1. ℣. 305.

(115) He appears thus on ſeveral of the Ægyptian antiquities; (as particularly on a very celebrated one, at the Palazzo Mattei; in the Adm. Pl. 16.) and probably was ſo repreſented, in the ruder ages, at Rome itſelf. Mercury, in the preface to Plautus's Amphitryon, ſays;

Nunc internoſſe ut nos poſſitis faciliùs,
Ego has habebo hic uſque in petaſo pinnulas.

Hence perhaps was that cuſtom of the Roman meſſengers ſticking a feather in their caps, as a mark of diſpatch; to which Cicero ſeems to allude in one of his letters to Caſſius. Præpoſteros habes tabellarios: quum à me diſcedunt, flagitant literas; quum ad me veniunt, nullas afferunt. Atque id ipſum facerent commodiùs, ſi mihi aliquid ſpatii ad ſcribendum darent: ſed petaſati veniunt; comites ad portam expectare dicunt. Lib. 15. Ep. 17.

When any buſineſs was extremely preſſing, they put a feather into the letter itſelf too; for that I ſhould take to be the meaning of Juvenal in his fourth ſatire, ℣. 149.

——Tanquam diverſis partibus orbis
Anxia præcipiti veniſſet epiſtola pinnâ.

rather than aſſert, with any old ſcholiaſt whatever, that a feather ſtuck into a letter was a mark of ill-news, without giving any reaſon for that aſſertion; or with ſome later commentators, that this referred to the cuſtom of ſending letters by pidgeons: which, tho' uſed from one part to another, in countries adjoining; I have never heard was practiſed from countries, very far diſtant from one another.

(116) There is a line on Mercury's putting on his wings, in Ovid; which may perhaps refer to thoſe on his cap, as well as thoſe on his feet.

Tartara juſſus abit ſumptis caducifer alis.
Faſt. 4. ℣. 603.

HIS wings, for his feet, were of the ſame kind. You ſee ſeveral figures of Mercury without them, as well as this before you; and the poets ſpeak expreſly (117) of his faſtening them to his feet, when Jupiter has given him any orders to take a flight down to the earth. There is a very pretty figure in the Juſtinian gallery at Rome, of a little Cupid (118) putting on the wings on Mercury's feet.

HIS Caduceus is ſo punctually deſcribed by the poets, that one might almoſt inſtruct a painter from them, how to colour every part of it. It ſhould rather be held lightly (119) between his fingers, than graſped by the whole hand. The wand itſelf (120), ſhould be of the colour of gold: and the two ſerpents of a greeniſh viper-colour; and might fling a caſt of the ſame colour upon the gold, if the painter had ſkill enough to do it as it ſhould be. In ſeveral antiques, the Caduceus itſelf is repreſented with wings to it; but as I do not remember that the poets ſay any thing of them, one might leave their colour to the judgment of the painter, if he was reſolved to have wings to it; for they might be either inſerted, or omitted, juſt as he pleaſed.

THERE are two celebrated old manuſcript Virgils, in the Vatican library at Rome, with paintings in them relating to ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages. The more antient of the two is, I think, generally thought to be of Conſtantine's time, by thoſe who are learned in the ages of manuſcripts: but as the pictures are evidently of too good a manner for that time, they are ſuppoſed by the beſt judges to have been copied from ſome done in a better age: about the time of the Antonines (121); or perhaps even higher. I have therefore not ſcrupled to admit theſe pictures from the Vatican Virgil, wherever they were wanted, in my collection; and the drawing I have juſt taken out to ſhew you, is copied from one of them. It repreſents Mercury going with his meſſage from Jupiter, to order Æneas to quit Carthage. You ſee the god paſſing thro' the air, in a more natural and eaſy manner than one generally finds in modern pictures of flying figures. In his left hand, he holds his Caduceus; and with his right, points to the heavens; to ſhew that his commiſſion is from Jupiter. He has his Petaſus on his head, and his Talaria on his feet. In a word, it agrees in every reſpect with Virgil's (122) deſcription of him on this occaſion; PL. XIV. FIG. 5.

(117) Parva mora eſt alas pedibus, virgamque potenti
Somniferam ſumſiſſe manu, tegimenque capillis.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 672.

(118) It is in Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 68. 4.

(119) Inque dei digitis aurea virga fuit.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 16. ℣. 64. (Paris, Hel.)

(120) Cyllenes cœlique decus! facunde miniſter,
Aurea cui torto virga dracone viret.
Martial. Lib. 7. Epigr. 74.

(121) Some of the moſt ſenſible antiquarians I know, are of this opinion: tho' in one of the libraries in Italy, I have met with a teſtimonial in form, by Bellori and ſome others, which carries it ſtill higher. Their opinion was, that theſe pictures were done in Septimius Severus's time; and perhaps copied then from ſome others, of their beſt and moſt flouriſhing ages. This teſtimonial runs as follows.

Anno 1686, die 16 Feb. In bibliothecâ Vaticanâ coram R. P. Joanne Mabillonio, ord. S. Benedicti; D. Joanne Petro Bellorio; & me infra ſcripto; viſus eſt codex manuſcriptus, ſub Num. 3225 in eâdem bibliothecâ ſervatus. Eſt in quarto quadratus, lineis majuſculis, nullâ diſtinctione verborum conſcriptus, præterquam in interpunctionibus: quarum quæ in ſuperiori, punctum noſtrum; quæ in medio vel infimo loco ſunt, commata noſtra deſignant.—Continet ubique imagines coloribus effictas, quæ ſæculo Conſtantini ſuperiores videntur, & fortè ad tempora Septimii Severi ſpectant; cum in iis non ſolum conſpiciantur templa, victimæ, ædificia, biremes, pilei Phrygii, habitus, aliaque ad Trojanorum & Romanorum ſacrificia ac arma pertinentia; ſed etiam lineamenta perfectiora, quæ melioris & ſuperioris ævi ætatem indicant. Quinimo pictor harum imaginum videtur ſecutus fuiſſe ideam nobilioris & antiquioris pictoris; nihilque in iis exhibetur, quod primam Romani imperii majeſtatem non redoleat.

Emanuel a Schelſtrate.

This was taken from the original, in Schelſtrate's own hand writing; who was keeper of the Vatican library, in Innocent XIth's time.

(122) Dixerat: ille patris magni parere parabat
Imperio. Et primum pedibus talaria nectit
Aurea; quæ ſublimem alis, ſive æquora ſupra
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: hâc animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias ſub triſtia Tartara mittit:
Dat ſomnos, adimitque; & lumina morte reſignat.
Illâ fretus, agit ventos & turbida tranat
Nubila.———
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 251.

There

occaſion; excepting that the painter has added his Chlamys, which is faſtened over his ſhoulders, on his breaſt; and floats behind him, in the air. The reaſon why he has added this is very obvious; the old artiſts generally marking out the motion of any perſon they repreſent as going on very ſwiftly, by the (123) flying back of the drapery: and he had very good authority for giving the Chlamys to Mercury; which is ſo frequently ſpoken of in general by the poets (124), as part of his dreſs: and who give it him, particularly on this very occaſion; when he is flying from the heavens, to the earth.

THERE is yet another diſtinguiſhing mark of this deity, which is his ſword. It is of a very particular make; and as they ſeem inclined to give every thing belonging to Mercury ſome hard name, they call it his Harpè. It was with this Harpè that he killed Argus; and he lent it to Perſeus (125) to perform his greateſt exploits with it. Its ſhape, in the antiques which repreſent both theſe ſtories, is alike: I have here, a drawing of Perſeus with it. It is a longer ſort of ſword, than was uſual of old; at leaſt, among the Romans; with a very particular hook, or ſpike, behind it. The deſcriptive (126) epithets given it by the poets, agree entirely with the old figures of it.

Pl. XV. Fig. 1.

WHATEVER I have as yet ſaid of Mercury refers chiefly to his character of being ſent always on the particular commiſſions of Jupiter. He had a general power too, of a large extent, delegated upon him by the ſame god: which was that of (127) conducting the ſouls of men to their proper place, after their parting from the body; or re-conducting them up to our world again, whenever there was any particular occaſion for it. This gave him a great deal of authority in the regions of the happy ſouls, as well as of the unhappy; which were equally ſuppoſed by the antients to be lodged within the earth, in a place called by one common name, that of Ades. Horace, in particular, gives us a very extraordinary account of Mercury's deſcending to Ades (128), and his cauſing a ceſſation of the ſufferings there: but as this perhaps may be a myſtical part of his character,

There is a paſſage in Statius very proper to be ſubjoined to this; not only as it is an imitation of it, but becauſe theſe two contain the fulleſt account of this god and his ſeveral attributes that I know of, in all the Roman poets.

Paret Atlantiades dictis genitoris: & inde
Summa pedum properè plantaribus illigat alis;
Obnubitque comas, et temperat aſtra galero.
Tum dextræ virgam inſeruit: quâ pellere dulces,
Aut ſuadere iterum ſomnos; quâ nigra ſubire
Tartara, & exſangues animare aſſueverat umbras.
Deſiluit; tenuique exceptus inhorruit aurâ:
Nec mora, ſublimes raptim per inane volatus
Carpit, & ingenti deſignat nubila gyro.
Statius. Theb. 1. ℣. 311.

(123) The flying back of the clothes, which one ſees ſo frequently in the beſt old ſtatues which repreſent any perſon as in a ſwift motion, is ſtrongly marked out by Ovid; in his Daphne flying from Apollo.

——Nudabant corpora venti;
Obviaque adverſas vibrabant flamina veſtes:
Et levis impexos retrò dabat aura capillos.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 529.

(124) Nec ſe diſſimulat, tanta eſt fiducia formæ;
Quæ quanquam juſta eſt, curâ tamen adjuvat illam.
Permulcetque comas; chlamydemque ut pendeat aptè
Collocat; ut limbus totumque appareat aurum:
Ut teres in dextrâ, quâ ſomnos ducit & arcet,
Virga ſit; ut terſis niteant talaria plantis.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 736.

——Illum, Arctoæ labentem cardine portæ,
Tempeſtas æterna plagæ prætentaque cœlo
Agmina nimborum primique aquilonis hiatus
In diverſa ferunt. Crepat aurea grandine multo
Palla; nec Arcadii bene protegit umbra galeri.
Statius. Theb. 7. ℣. 39.

(125) ——Subitus præpes Cyllenida ſuſtulit Harpen;
Harpen, alterius monſtri jam cæde rubentem.
Lucan. Pharſ. 9. ℣. 663.

(126) ——Pennis ligat ille reſumtis
Parte ab utrâque pedes; teloque accingitur unco.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 665.

——Falcato verberat enſe.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 726.

——Hamati vulnere ferri.
Lucan. Pharſ. 9. ℣. 678.

Some read this, Lunati, inſtead of Hamati; and have changed the word, I ſuppoſe, from not knowing any thing of the Hamus; that appears ſo particularly on the back of this ſword, in the works of the old artiſts. When they were about it, they ſhould have found out a new reading for this verſe in Ovid too:

Inachides ferrum curvo tenus abdidit hamo.
Met. 4. ℣. 719.

The very word Harpè expreſſes this odd make of Mercury's ſword: (Ἁρπη, falx; ſive, enſis falcatus: Scap.) tho' without ſeeing the old figures of it, the manner in which it is bent, would be very apt to be miſtaken.

(127) Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus: virgâque levem coërces
Aureâ turbam.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 10. ℣. 19.

(128) Lib. 3. Od. 11.

racter, we had better let it alone; or if we muſt touch upon it at all, I may poſſibly find (129) a more proper occaſion of ſaying ſomething farther upon it, than the preſent.

HORACE, in the place I have juſt hinted at, talks of Mercury as a wonderful muſician; and repreſents him with a lyre. You know, he was ſaid to be the inventor of that inſtrument. There is a mighty ridiculous (130) old legend, relating to this invention; which informs us, that Mercury, after ſtealing ſome bulls which belonged to Apollo, retired to a ſecret grotto he uſed to frequent, at the foot of a mountain in Arcadia. Juſt as he was going in, he found a tortoiſe feeding by the entrance of his cave. He killed the poor creature; and perhaps eat the fleſh of it: and as he was diverting himſelf with the ſhell, he was mightily pleaſed with the noiſe it gave from its concave figure. He had poſſibly been cunning enough before to find out, that a thong pulled ſtrait and faſtened at each end, when ſtruck by the finger, made a ſort of muſical ſound. However that was, he went immediately to work; cut ſeveral thongs out of the hides he had lately ſtolen; and faſtened them on as tight as he could, to the ſhell of this tortoiſe; and in playing with them, made a new kind of muſic to divert himſelf in his retreat. This account, conſidered only as an account of the firſt invention of the lyre, is not altogether ſo unnatural. The Romans had a particular ſort of lyre, which was called (131) Teſtudo; or, the tortoiſe: and the moſt antient lyres of all are repreſented in a manner, that agrees very well with this account of the invention of that inſtrument. The lyre, in particular, on the old celeſtial globes (132), was repreſented as made of the entire ſhell of a tortoiſe; and ſo is that of Amphion, in the famous (133) groupe of the Dircè, in the Farneſe palace at Rome. But the moſt remarkable one I have ever met with, is one at the feet of a ſtatue of Mercury in the Montalti gardens; which not only ſhews the whole belly of the tortoiſe, and part of what the ſtrings were attached to there; but has two horns above, exactly like the horns of a bull; and ſtrings like thongs of leather, faſtened round the bottom of them. In ſeveral figures of Apollo, (and in ſome, I believe, of the Muſes,) you ſtill ſee the tortoiſe's ſhell: tho' it leſſened gradually in proceſs of time, and at laſt became only an (134) ornament, inſtead of making the moſt eſſential part of the lyre. I have dwelt the longer on this old fable of the original of this particular ſort of lyre, called Teſtudo; becauſe there are ſeveral (135) paſſages in the poets which refer to it, and which are not eaſily to be underſtood without it. PL. XV. FIG. 2.

YOU

(129) Dial. XVI. poſth.

(130) Poſtquam Mercurius boves Apollinis furatus eſt, eos in antro ſuo occultavit; duoſque mactavit, quorum pelles rupi affixit. Partem carnium coxit, ut victum ſibi pararet; reliqua verò omnia combuſſit; & Cyllenem ſubitò commigravit. Ante cavernam autem ſuam, teſtudinem reperit herbam depaſcentem. Quâ captâ interna omnia abſtraxit; cochleæque fidiculas aptavit, ex pelle boum concinnatas; lyramque effecit. Apollodorus. Lib. 2.

There is a paſſage in Ovid, in which he calls Mercury, in the ſame breath, the inventor of the lyre, and the god of thieves: which terms ſeem to have very little connexion to us; but muſt have agreed very well among people, to whom this ſtory was vulgarly known.

At tu maternæ donaſti nomine menſem,
Inventor curvæ furibus apte lyræ.
Ovid, Faſt. 5. ℣. 104.

Horace joins theſe two characters of Mercury in the ſame manner. Lib. 1. Od. 10. ℣. 6, & 7.

(131) Ipſe cavâ ſolans ægrum teſtudine amorem.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 464.

Tuque teſtudo, reſonare ſeptem
Callida nervis.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 11. ℣. 4.

That this Teſtudo, or ſeven-ſtringed lyre, was the ſame with that invented by Mercury, appears from Ovid; where, ſpeaking of Mercury, he ſays:

Nec pietas hæc prima tua eſt: ſeptena putaris,
Pleïadum numero, fila dediſſe lyræ.
Faſt. 5. ℣. 106.

(132) See Pl. XXIV.

(133) In Perrier's ſtatues, Pl. 100.

(134) When they left off making uſe of the concave of the tortoiſe's ſhell, as a material part of this inſtrument; they ſtill uſed ſome of it by way of ornament, and inlaid pieces of it in the Cornua of the lyre. As in one, held by an Apollo, in the open part of the Great Duke's gallery; which tho' modern, may be very well authoriſed from ſome lines in Tibullus's fine deſcription of Apollo.

Artis opus variæ, fulgens teſtudine & auro,
Pendebat lævâ garrula parte lyra.
Lib. 3. El. 4. ℣. 38.

(135) It appears from this ſtory, that the moſt antient lyres were made of the ſhell of a tortoiſe: which, as an amphibious creature, may be called indifferently Piſcis, or Fera. This, I think, may ſerve to clear up a very difficult paſſage in Statius; and another,

You may ſee too by this ſtory, that Mercury was not quite ſo honeſt as he ſhould be; and, to ſay the truth, he was of old the god of thieves and pickpockets. One ſhould be apt to ſuſpect, that this muſt have been a deity of Spartan growth; as that was the only nation perhaps, in which a clever thief was to be rewarded rather than puniſhed. However that be, Mercury was certainly the god of ingenuity and thieving. I do not remember any inſtance of this character of his on any work of the antient artiſts: unleſs it be poſſibly meant in a relievo, behind the great church at Florence; which ſeems of ſo low an age, that I did not think it worth while to have a copy taken of it. To make ſome amends, the poets mark out this (136) character of Mercury very often, and very fully.

As Mercury was the god of rogues and pickpockets, ſo was he alſo the god of ſhopkeepers and tradeſmen; whom I will allow to be very angry with me for mentioning them in ſo bad company, as ſoon as ever they have left off the uſing ſecret marks for the prices of their goods. Mercury is ſaid to have derived his name (137) from preſiding over tradeſmen; as they who gained much by any trade, or behaved cleverly in it, had a name from him. This mercantile Mercury was repreſented of old, (as the modern Mercury is at the exchange at Amſterdam,) with a purſe in his hand. The Romans looked on this god as the great diſpenſer of gain; and therefore the holding the purſe is a frequent attribute of his, in all collections of antiquities of this kind. In this gem you ſee him give up his purſe to Fortune; in another, he is offering it to Minerva and ſhe taking only a little out of it; as if Good Luck had more to do with gain, than Good Senſe: tho' both of them, it ſhould ſeem (according to the moral of theſe repreſentations) come at it, moſt uſually, by the help of a little knavery. In a third, he is offering it to a lady, with a veil on her head, like the figures of Pudicitia; who ſeems to refuſe him ſtrenuouſly. In this laſt, Mercury ſeems in haſte; he is in the attitude of leaving her; and of taking his flight, if ſhe will not accept his offer inſtantly. This is more directly expreſſed on this gem; but I imagine the ſame is generally meant in the figures of the mercantile Mercury: for he is commonly repreſented at the ſame time holding out a purſe, and with his winged cap upon his head; which, in the language of the ſtatuaries, is as much as to ſay: "If you do not lay hold of any gain, the moment it is offered to you, the opportunity will fly away; and who knows whether it may ever come in your reach

Pl. XV. Fig. 3.

Pl. XV. Fig. 4.

Pl. XV. Fig. 5.

that is not ſo eaſy as it may uſually have been imagined, in Horace.

Non Helicona gravi pulſat chelys enthea plectro;
Nec laſſata voco toties mihi numina muſas:
Et te Phœbe choris, & te demittimus Evan.
Tu quoque muta feræ, volucer Tegeæe, ſonoræ
Terga premas: alios poſcunt mea carmina cœtus.
Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. ℣. 5.

O teſtudinis aureæ
Dulcem quæ ſtrepitum, Pieri, temperas!
O mutis quoque piſcibus
Donatura cygni ſi libeat ſonum!
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 3. ℣. 20.

If any of the commentators on theſe poets have given any idea of a muſical beaſt or a ſinging fiſh, without the help of this legend, they muſt have had a great deal of good luck. For my part I muſt own that, even with it, I think this old notion of teſtudo, as a beaſt, a fiſh, and a harp; is the fitteſt ſubject for a riddle, that one could pick out even among all the ſtrangeſt imaginations of the old poets. The only author of poetical riddles that I know of among the antients, has indeed a very bad one on this very ſubject: which I ſhall take the liberty of quoting, not as any authority, becauſe of the low age it was wrote in; but barely as a curioſity, and to ſhew how bad riddles they could write formerly. In the laſt line the author ſeems to have an eye to the paſſage juſt quoted from Horace; and to the old ſtory, about the origin of the lyre.

Tarda gradu lento; ſpecioſo prædita dorſo:
Docta quidem ſtudio, ſed ſævo prædita fato:
Viva nihil dixi; quæ ſic, modò mortua, canto.
Sympoſius. Ænigm. ℣. 20.

(136) Te canam magni Jovis & deorum
Nuntium, curvæque lyræ parentem;
Callidum quicquid placuit joco ſo
Condere furto.
Te, boves olim niſi reddidiſſes
Per dolum amotas puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ
Riſit Apollo.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 10. ℣. 12.

Alipedis de ſtirpe dei verſuta propago
Naſcitur Autolychus, furtum ingenioſus ad omne:
Qui facere aſſuêrat, patriæ non degener artis,
Candida de nigris & de candentibus atra.
Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 315.

The ſame poet calls him, Furibus aptus. Note 130, anteh.

(137) Mercurius a mercibus, dictus eſt; hunc enim negotiorum omnium exiſtimabant eſſe deum. Feſt. Pomp. Lib. 1.——The Romans called thoſe who throve in buſineſs, Viri Mercuriales.

reach again?" The poets have (138) this idea of Mercury too; and we learn from them, that it was a common ſubject for (139) pictures, as well as other works, of old.

IT may ſeem ſtrange, that Mercury, who was the patron of robbers, ſhould at the ſame time be ſuppoſed to preſide over the high roads. The ſtatues that relate to this Mercury are of that aukward terminal figure, which was ſo much in faſhion, (I have often wondered why,) in all the beſt ages of antiquity. Theſe old Termini were ſometimes without, but oftner with buſts, or half-figures of ſome deity on them; and thoſe of Mercury ſo much more frequently than any other, that the Greeks gave them their general name (140), from this god. Such is the drawing I have in my hand. There is an alluſion in Juvenal to ſome figure of this kind, which I imagine would be more eaſy to be underſtood, and would ſtrike us much more ſtrongly; were we uſed to ſee theſe Terminal Mercuries as commonly, as the Romans were of old. It is in his ſatire on the nobility of his time. Pl. XV. Fig. 6.

——At tu
Nil niſi Cecropides; truncoque ſimillimus Hermæ:
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine; quàm quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago (141).

The particular deſign of this compariſon, (as appears both from what goes before, and what follows it,) was to mark out more ſtrongly the abſolute uſeleſſneſs to the world of one Rubellius Plancus; a man, that had no one thing to boaſt of, but his nobility: and Juvenal ſeems inclined to take even that from him. He aſſerts, (and that very juſtly,) that where there is no virtue, there cannot be any nobility. The great idea of the word Virtus among the old Romans, (as I ſhall ſhew more fully (142) on another occaſion,) was "a man's exerting himſelf for the ſervice of his country, or for the ſervice of thoſe about him." Juvenal therefore inſiſts upon it, that as this Plancus was not of any manner of ſervice to either, he muſt be ignoble. All the firſt part of his famous ſatire on nobility, turns entirely on this ſingle point: as you will plainly perceive, if you will be ſo good as to conſider it with me; and to give me leave to make uſe of the definition of Virtus, according to the Roman idea of that word, inſtead of the word itſelf.

"WHAT ſignify pedigrees (143), ſays he, and a croud of old broken ſtatues of our anceſtors; if (144) we ourſelves are debauched and indolent?—The (145) exerting ourſelves

(138) Accipe quod nunquam reddas mihi, ſi tibi dicam;
Tune inſanus eris ſi acceperis? an magis excors
Rejectâ prædâ, quam præſens Mercurius fert!
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 3. ℣. 67.

(139) Qui prior es, cur me in decurſu lampada poſcis?
Sum tibi Mercurius; venio deus huc ego ut ille
Pingitur. An renuis? &c.
Perſius. Sat. 6. ℣. 63.

(140) Ἑρμαι is uſed, in Greek, for any terminal figures in general.

(141) Juvenal. Sat. 8. ℣. 55.

(142) Dial. X.

(143) Stemmata quid faciunt? Quid prodeſt, Pontice, longo
Sanguine cenſeri; pictoſque oſtendere vultus
Majorum, & ſtantes in curribus Æmilianos;
Et Curios jam dimidios, humeroque minorem
Corvinum, & Galbam auriculis naſoque carentem?
Quis fructus generis tabulâ jactare capaci
Corvinum; poſthac multâ deducere virgâ
Fumoſos equitum cum dictatore magiſtros?
Juvenal. Sat. 8. ℣. 1—8.

(144) Si coram Lepidis malè vivitur. Effigies quo
Tot Bellatorum, ſi luditur alea pernox
Ante Numantinos? Si dormire incipis ortu
Luciferi, quo ſigna duces & caſtra movebant?
Cur Allobrogicis & magnâ gaudeat arâ
Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, ſi cupidus; ſi
Vanus, & Euganeâ quantumvis mollior agnâ;
Si tenerum attritus Catinenſi pumice lumbum,
Squallentes traducit avos; emptorque veneni
Frangendâ miſeram funeſtat imagine gentem?
Ibid. ℣. 9—19.

(145) Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, nobilitas ſola eſt atque unica virtus.
Paulus, vel Coſſus, vel Druſus, moribus eſto;
Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum:
Præcedant ipſas illi, te conſule, virgas.
Prima mihi debes animi bona: ſanctus haberi
Juſtitiæque tenax, factis dictiſque, mereris?
Agnoſco procerem. Salve Getulice, ſeu tu
Silanus; quocunque alio de ſanguine, rarus
Civis & egregius patriæ contingis ovanti:
Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Oſiri
Invento.——
Ibid. 20—30.

ſelves for the ſervice of our country, and of thoſe about us, is the only thing that can render a man really noble.—If (146) any one has only a bare title, without this foundation of all nobility; it is a ſhameful abuſe of words, to call that man, a great man. My neighbour's dwarf, that we call Atlas in deriſion, might as well really paſs for a giant; and that dog, (who is good for nothing but ſleeping before the fire,) is as much, really a lion, as he a nobleman.——Such (147) a nobleman, is Rubellius Plancus! One who is ſo full of the blood of the Julii, that he deſpiſes the reſt of mankind; and looks as big upon you, as if he had the blood of all the kings ſince Cecrops in his veins. Yet among us that he deſpiſes ſo much, there are ſome who can plead his cauſe for him; when he has a law-ſuit: and others, who go abroad to fight, for the glory of their country. Now (148), Plancus, let us hear what you can do? No one thing of uſe. You are juſt like a ſtatue, with a great title fixed upon you, but without arms or legs; like thoſe which we ſee ſo often, by our public roads: and indeed ſo very like them, that I for my part can find out no manner of difference between you, except that they are of ſolid marble, and that you have a vent for breath.——Is (149) this the being a nobleman? Can we call a man noble, for what would not make a horſe ſo?—Well, I know not how it may be with men; but this I am ſure of; that the beſt-bred horſe in the world is ignoble, if he proves good for nothing."

THIS I take to be the true deſign and intent of what Juvenal has laid down more at large, for above ſixty lines together, in the beginning of his moſt excellent ſatire againſt the nobility of his time; and of that paſſage in it, in particular, relating to the Terminal ſtatues (150) of Mercury: which uſed to puzzle me formerly, perhaps, as much as any thought

(146) ——Quis enim generoſum dixerit hunc, qui
Indignus genere eſt; præclaro nomine tantum
Inſignis? Nanum cujuſdam, Atlanta vocamus;
Æthiopem, cygnum; parvam extortamque puellam,
Europen: canibus pigris, ſcabieque vetuſtâ
Lævibus & ſiccæ lambentibus ora lucernæ,
Nomen erit pardus, tigris, leo; ſi quid adhuc eſt
Quod fremat in terris violentius. Ergo cavebis,
Et metues, ne tu ſic Creticus aut Camerinus.
Ibid. 30—38.

(147) His ego quem monui? Tecum eſt mihi ſermo, Rubelli
Plance. Tumes alto Druſorum nomine, tanquam
Feceris ipſe aliquid, propter quod nobilis eſſes
Ut te conciperet quæ ſanguine fulget Iüli,
Non quæ ventoſo conducta ſub aggere texit.
Vos humiles, inquit; vulgi pars ultima noſtri;
Quorum nemo queat patriam monſtrare parentis:
Aſt ego, Cecropides! Vivas; & originis hujus
Gaudia longa feras. Tamen, imâ plebe, Quiritem
Facundum invenies; ſolet hic defendere cauſas
Nobilis indocti; veniet, de plebe togatâ,
Qui juris nodos & legum ænigmata ſolvat:
Hic petit Euphraten juvenis, domitique Batavi
Cuſtodes aquilas, armis induſtrius.——
Ibid. 39—52.

(148) ——At tu,
Nil niſi Cecropides; truncoque ſimillimus Hermæ:
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.
Ibid. 52—55.

(149) Dic mihi Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
Quis generoſa putet, niſi fortia? Nempe volucrem
Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circo.
Nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cujus
Clara fuga ante alios & primus in æquore pulvis:
Sed venale pecus Corithæ, poſteritas &
Hirpini; ſi rara jugo victoria ſedit.
Nil ibi majorum reſpectus: gratia nulla
Umbrarum. Dominos pretiis mutare jubentur
Exiguis, tritoque trahunt epirhedia collo;
Segnipedes, dignique molam verſare, nepotes.
Ibid. ℣. 56—67.

(150) The ſatire, in that ſimilitude would be very ſtrong, if it regarded only any terminal ſtatue, in general; but it is much ſtronger, if we conſider Plancus here as compared to a terminal figure of Mercury, in particular. As the diſtinguiſhing character of this god was nimbleneſs and activity, (whence the Greeks called him, Ερμαιος, the active or uſeful god,) he muſt look particularly idle and miſ-named, whenever they ſaw him on their road-ſides or elſewhere, either without any arms, or with them wrapped up in his cloak; without his legs, which were ſo well made for diſpatch; without the wings, that were ſuppoſed to bear him ſo rapidly thro' the air; in a word, without any of the marks of ſwiftneſs and activity, which he had in all the figures that repreſented him in any other of his characters but this.

And this would be ſtill ſtronger, if Plancus was very vicious, as well as very indolent; (and they generally go together:) for it is remarkable in the terminal ſtatues of Mercury, that as he had loſt ſome limbs, it was made up to him in others. Herodotus informs us that there was ſome myſtical reaſon for this. Ορθα εχειν τα αιδοια τ' αγαλματα τ̃ Ερμεω, Αθηναιοι πρωτοι Ελληνων παρα Πελασγων μαθοντες εποιησαντο· οι δε Πελασγοι ιρον τινα λογον περι αυτ̃ ελεξαν, τα εν τοισι εν Σαμοθρηικη μυστηριοισι δεδηλωται. Herodotus, in Euterp. cap. 51.

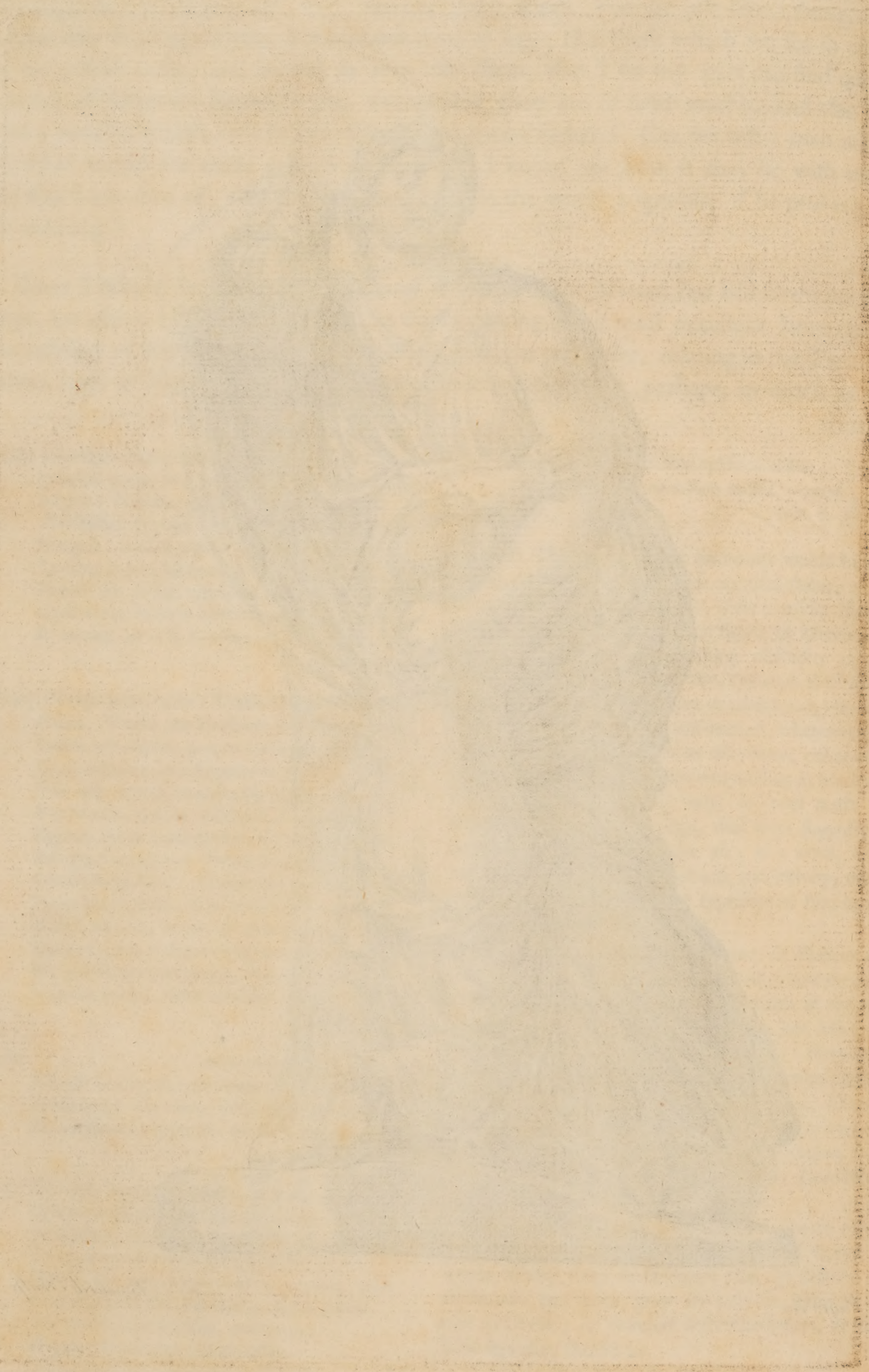
If I knew this reaſon, I ſhould not care to reveal it to the reader; for in all theſe ſorts of things, I would ſtrictly keep to Horace's rule, in relation to myſteries; and think they are only fit, either to be told in Greek; or covered with vine-leaves, as that poet ſays they ſhould be.

——Non ego, variis obſita frondibus,
Sub dio rapiam.——

thought in the poets borrowed from the ſtatues or paintings of the antients, that I ever met with.

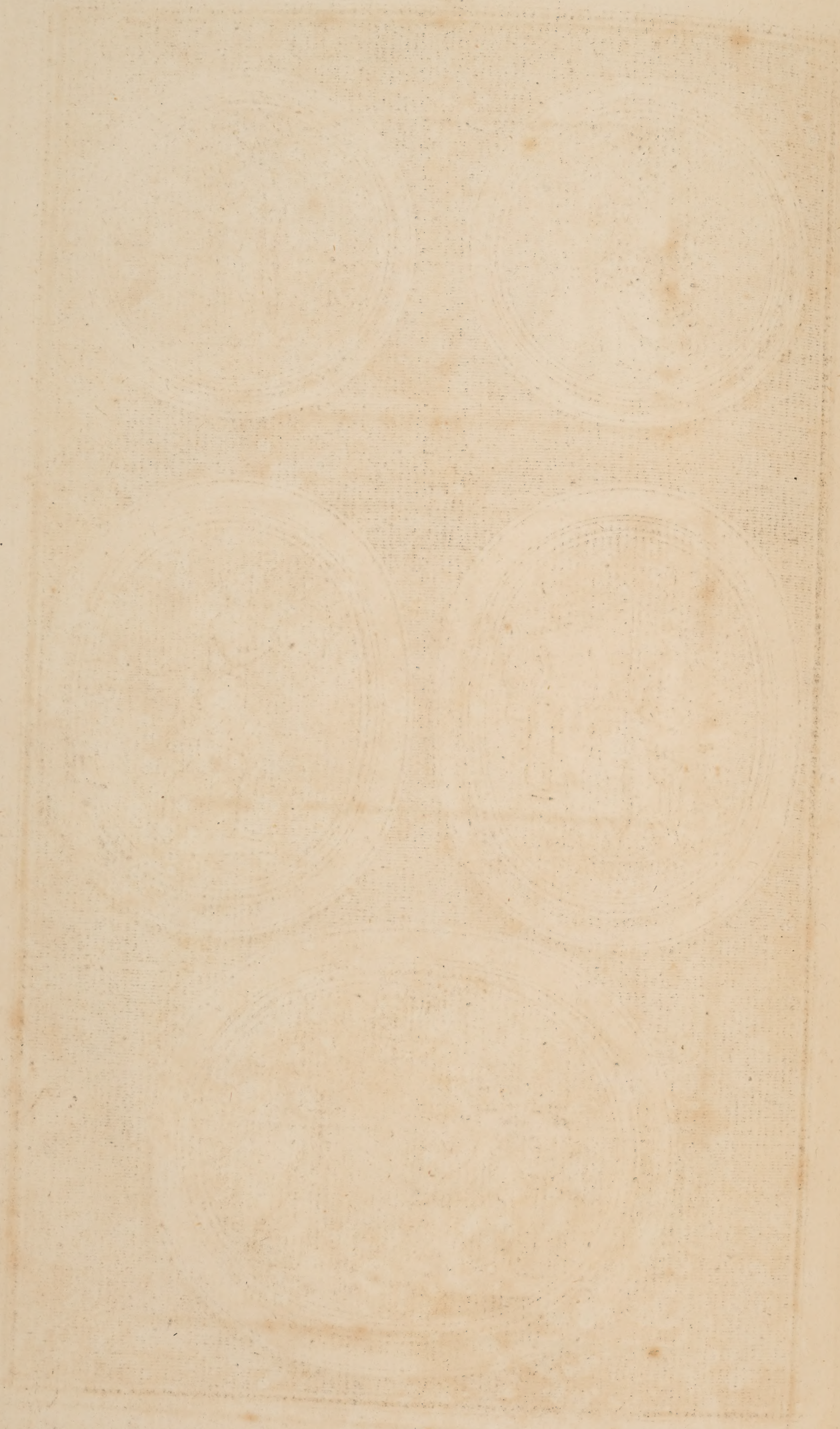
I HAVE now done with all the figures within this temple. I could have ſaid much more on ſeveral of them, had not I feared the being too tedious to you. Even as it is, the pleaſure I always feel in talking over theſe matters, and the patience with which you have heard me, have betrayed me into too great a length. However, I have at laſt done: and ſo if you pleaſe we will get out of our temple, that we may enjoy a little freſh air, before the night comes upon us.

Page 111 *Boitard Sculp*



L. P. Boitard Sculp.

L. P. Boitard Sculp



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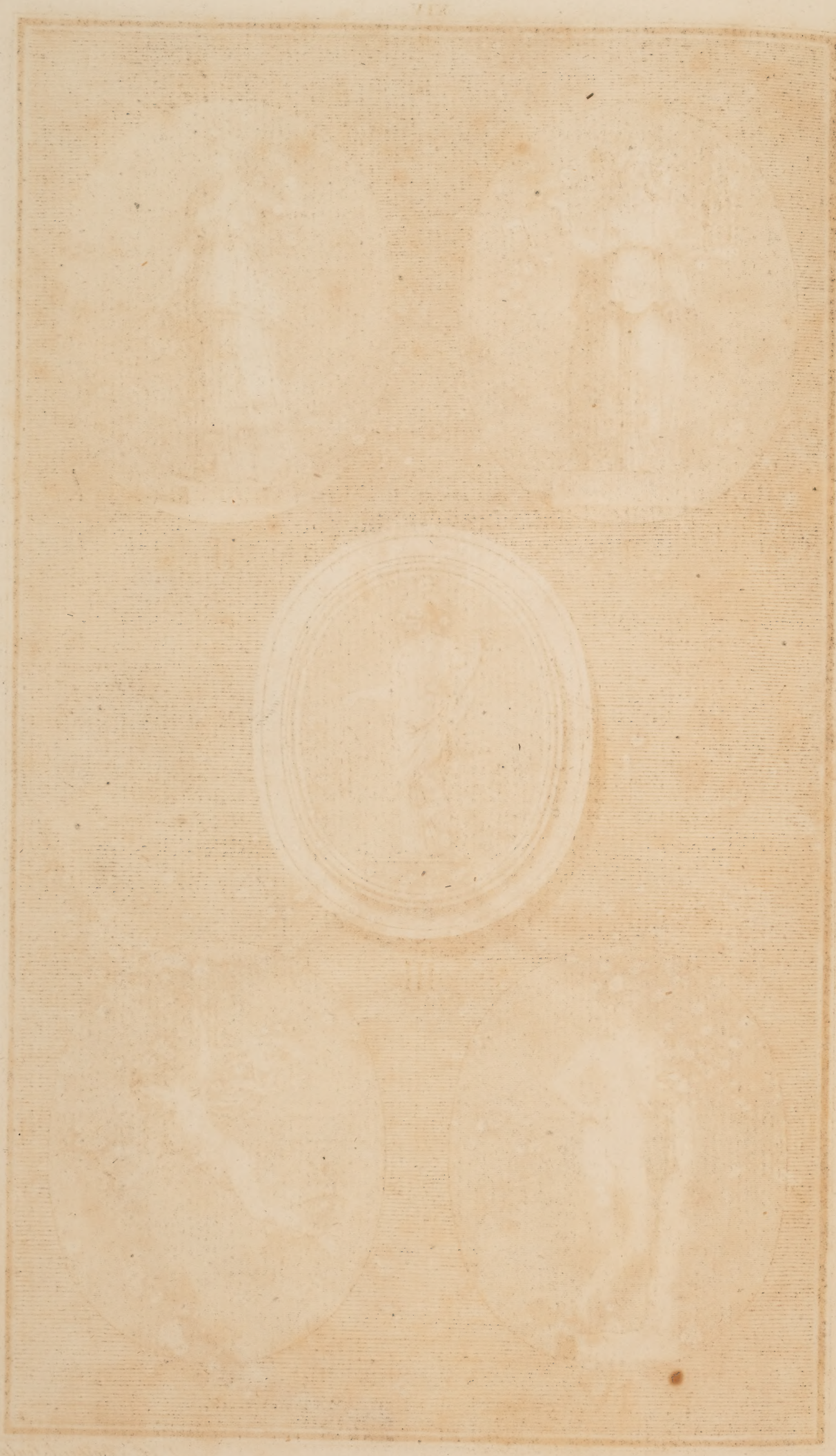

I

II

III

IV

V

L. P. Boitard Sculp

I

II

III

IV

V

VI

L.P. Boitard Sculp

BOOK the Third.

Of the Heroes, ſuppoſed by the Romans, to have been received into the Higher Heavens.

DIAL. IX.

Hercules, Bacchus; Eſculapius, Romulus; Caſtor, and Pollux.

AS Polymetis was going, the next morning, to ſhew his friends the figures he had placed in the portico of his Rotunda; Philander happened to ſay, that he had always imagined that the heroes received into the heavens had been much more numerous than his, or any one portico, could hold. Polymetis readily allowed, that there might have been great numbers that were ſuppoſed to have been received into ſome part or other of the heavens; either as ſtars themſelves, or as inhabiting and preſiding over ſtars; and that theſe might very well be all conſidered as divinities, by the antient Romans: but the heroes I am going to ſhew you, ſays he, are thoſe of a ſuperior order; ſuch as were ſuppoſed to be admitted into the community of the twelve Great Gods. There are only ſix of theſe heroes: Hercules, Bacchus; Eſculapius, Romulus; Caſtor, and Pollux. I uſed, for a long time, to confound theſe, with the common heroes ſuppoſed to have been deified of old; and what firſt gave me any ſuſpicion of their eminent ſuperiority above the others, was my obſerving that the Roman poets, (whenever they ſpeak of men who had made the nobleſt appearance upon earth, and who were therefore received into the higheſt heavens,) always inſtance in ſome or other of the ſix, I have juſt mentioned. Thus Horace, on one (1) occaſion, mentions Hercules, Bacchus, Pollux, Caſtor, and Romulus; and on another (2), Hercules, Bacchus, Pollux, and Romulus. Virgil, on a like occaſion, inſtances (3) in Bacchus and Hercules; and Silius, in (4) Hercules, Bacchus, Pollux, Caſtor, and Romulus. The ſame is obſervable in the Roman proſe-writers, as well as in their poets. Thus Pliny, in ſpeaking of Pompey, compares him to Hercules and Bacchus (5), as the two greateſt men that ever

(1) Romulus, & Liber Pater, & cum Caſtore Pollux,
(Poſt ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti)
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus; aſpera bella
Componunt, agros aſſignant, oppida condunt;
Floravere ſuis non reſpondere favorem
Speratum meritis: diram qui contudit hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore ſubegit,
Comperit invidiam ſupremo fine domari:
Præſenti tibi maturos largimur honores,
Jurandaſque tuum per nomen ponimus aras;
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
Horace; (in his compliment to Auguſtus.) Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 17.

(2) Hâc arte Pollux, & vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas:——
Hâc te merentem, Bacche Pater, tuæ
Vexere tigres; indocili jugum
Collo trahentes: hâc Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit.
Id. (in another compliment to Auguſtus,) Lib. 3. Od. 3. ℣. 16.

(3) Nec verò Alcides tantum telluris obivit;
Fixerit æripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
Pacarit nemora, & Lernam tremefecerit arcu:
Nec qui pampineis victor juga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celſo Nyſæ de vertice tigres.
Virgil; (in a compliment to the ſame prince) Æn. 6. ℣. 806.

(4) ——Queis ætherii ſervatur ſeminis ortus
Cœli porta patet. Referam quid cuncta domantem
Amphitryoniaden? Quid cui poſt Seras & Indos,
Captivo Liber quum ſigna referret ab Euro,
Caucaſeæ currum duxere per oppida tigres?
Quid (ſuſpiratos magno in diſcrimine nautis)
Ledæos referam fratres; veſtrumque Quirinum?
Says Virtus, in her ſpeech to Scipio; in Silius Italicus, Lib. 15. ℣. 83.

(5) Æquato, non modò Alexandri Magni rerum fulgore; ſed etiam Herculis prope, ac Liberi Patris. Pliny. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 26.

ever lived; and Cicero mentions the names of (6) all these six Great Heroes, (and no other names but theirs,) both in his treatise on the nature of the gods, in general; and in another, where he is speaking of the laws of his own country, in particular. And indeed, it is chiefly on his authority, that I have admitted the statues of these six Great Heroes, and theirs only, into the portico of my temple for the great Celestial Deities.

Hercules is the foremost even in this distinguished class. He was pointed out by the antient heathens, as their great exemplar of virtue: and indeed, as the idea of virtue with them consisted chiefly in seeking and undergoing fatigues with steddiness and patience, they could scarce have chosen a fitter pattern than Hercules; the course of whose life was almost wholly taken up in (7) going about to seek adventures; and in labouring for the benefit of mankind. You see him here, as resting after the last of his twelve most noted labours; for in this statue, (which is a copy of the famous Hercules, in the Farnese palace at Rome,) he leans on his club, and holds the apples of the Hesperides in his hand. You may plainly see, by this statue and the other figures of him, that the principal idea which the artists endeavoured to express in Hercules, was that of a person made to endure the greatest fatigues. I chose to have this figure of him here, rather than one that represented him after his deification. The latter would have been more proper to the place; but this agrees better with the descriptions we find of him in the poets, and is more adapted to my design.

Pl. XVI.

I do not know any of the twelve Great Gods themselves that has so many monuments of antiquity relating to him as Hercules; and of course the base of his statue here, is as well stocked with drawings, medals, and gems, as that of Jupiter himself. Indeed he is represented with Jupiter on some old altars and relievo's, with an (8) inscription that seems to set him on a level with that chief of all the gods; or, at least, with the great gods in general. I mention this, that you may be sensible of the full dignity of the person, we are going to consider more particularly; and who will probably take us up, the greatest part of the morning.

You see, in the statue before you, how he is all formed to express strength. That breadth of his shoulders; this spaciousness of his chest; the vastness of his size, and the firmness of the muscles all over him; shew more force and resistance in his make, than I dare say was ever really to be found in any of the most celebrated gladiators, or boxers of old: even tho' one should suppose the race of men to have been stronger in those days, than they are in ours. All these particulars which you see in the statue, are marked out too by (9) the poets: and Horace, in particular, has been supposed by some to allude to this

(6) Suscepit vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentes viros in cœlum famâ ac voluntate tollerent. Hinc, Hercules; hinc, Castor & Pollux; hinc, Esculapius. Hinc Liber etiam; (hunc dico Semele natum, non eum quem nostri majores augustè sanctéque Liberum cum Cerere & Liberâ consecraverunt; quod quale sit, ex mysteriis intelligi potest.) Hinc etiam Romulus; quem quidam eundem esse Quirinum putant. (Spoke by Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero's de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 38. Ed. Ald.)

Ad divos adeunto castè. Pietatem adhibento; opes amovento. Qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit.—Eos, qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunto; & ollos quos endo cœlo merita collocaverunt, Herculem, Liberum, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum: ast olla propter quæ datur homini adscensus in cœlum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunto. Id. de Leg. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

These six therefore seem to be, THE FEW, that Virgil speaks of:

——Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter; aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus.
Æn. 6. ℣. 130.

(7) ——Sæva terris gens religata ultimis;
Quas peragrans undique, omnem hinc feritatem expuli.
Actius. in Trachyniis.
Nec verò Alcides tantum telluris obivit.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 802.
——Vagus Hercules.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. ℣. 9.

(8) DIS MAGNIS. See Montfaucon, Vol. I. P. 1. 16; &, ib. p. 47.

(9) ——Agnosco toros,
Humerosque, & alto nobilem trunco manum.
Her. Fur. Act. 3. Sc. 2. ℣. 625.
——Neque enim tam lata videbam
Pectora, Neptunus muros cum jungeret astris.
(Spoke of Hercules.) V. Flac. 2. ℣. 491.

Et

this very figure of Hercules; in a (10) paſſage that, I think, would read better and ſtronger if ſo underſtood, than in the common way.

THE chief attribute of Hercules, or the moſt diſtinguiſhing character of his figures, is this incomparable ſtrength that appears all over him. His other attributes (11) are his lion's ſkin, his club, and his bow; which are all too well known both from the poets and ſtatuaries, to want any particular enquiry about them. I ſhall only juſt obſerve, by the way, that we ſometimes ſee Hercules, in the works of the artiſts, dreſſed in his lion's ſkin; in ſuch a manner, that the head and jaws of the lion appear over his head: a ſort of (12) military dreſs, deſcribed often by the poets; and particularly by ſome of them, in relation to this very god.

YOU know very well, that the whole life of Hercules was ſcarce any thing but one continued ſeries of labours. As there are ſo many of them, the writers who treat of them, and of the antiquities relating to them, have generally fallen into a great deal of confuſion: ſo far, that I ſcarce know any one of them, that has perfectly well ſettled which were his twelve labours, that are ſo much talked of. To avoid falling into the ſame confuſion, one may divide all his adventures into three claſſes. In the firſt claſs, I ſhould place ſuch as were previous to his twelve celebrated labours. In the ſecond, thoſe twelve labours themſelves; which he was obliged to do by the order of Euriſtheus, and the fatality of his birth. And in the third, any ſupernumerary exploits; that he undertook voluntarily, and of himſelf.

IF one had a greater number of the previous exploits of Hercules to mention, the firſt undoubtedly ſhould be that of his ſtrangling the two ſerpents, ſent to deſtroy him in his cradle;

Et membra vaſta carpit avellens manu.
Hercules Oet. Act. 3. Sc. 2. ℣. 827.
——Grandibus altè
Inſurgens humeris, hominem ſuper improbus exit;
Sed non ille rigor, patriumque in corpore robur.
(Spoke of a deſcendant of Hercules) Statius. Theb. 6. ℣. 840.

(10) Non poſſis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus
Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;
Nec, quia deſperes invicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosâ corpus nolis prohibere chiragrâ.
Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. ℣. 31.

The inſcription on the baſe of the Farneſe Hercules tells us, it was made by an artiſt called Glycon. As we now call it, the Farneſe Hercules, for diſtinction; they might very well of old have called it, the Hercules Glyconis, for the ſame reaſon. Such diſtinctions were more neceſſary then, than now; becauſe they had a much greater number of ſtatues in Rome of old. If they did uſually call this figure, the Hercules Glyconis, in Horace's time; he might very well call it, the Glycon, in verſe.

If this may be allowed to have been the caſe, the intent and true meaning of the paſſage from him, will be as follows. "You can never come to ſee ſo ſharply as Linceus; would you therefore ſuffer your eyes to go out? You can never acquire the ſtrength and firmneſs of Hercules; would you therefore ſuffer your body to run to ruin, and to be crippled with diſeaſes?"

I ſhould the rather take this to be the caſe, becauſe it ſeems more worthy of ſo good a writer, in two inſtances ſo cloſely united, to have taken them both from the antient mythology; than to take one from that, and the other from a (ſuppoſed) gladiator of his own time.

The epithet of Invictus too, would have a particular propriety, if applied to the Farneſe Hercules. For that figure repreſents him as having juſt finiſhed the laſt labour enjoined him by the order of Juno; that is, juſt when ſhe had given up her purſuit of him, as a perſon not to be conquered, by any difficulties.

(11) Pone truces arcus agmenque immite pharetræ,
Et regum multo perfuſum ſanguine robur;
Inſtratumque humeris depone gerentibus hoſtem.
Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ℣. 36.

Ουκ Ηρακλης υἱος εστιν; ημιν αλλος, μα τον Ηρακλεα. Το τοξον, το ροπαλον, η λεοντη, το μεγεθος· ολος Ηρακλης εστι. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 298. Ed. Blaeu.

(12) This was a very common dreſs among the Roman ſoldiers; and occurs perpetually, both on the Trajan, and Antonine pillar, at Rome.

Thus Virgil; of one of his warriors;
Cui pellis latos humeros erepta juvenco
Pugnatori operit: caput ingens oris hiatus,
Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis.
Æn. 11. ℣. 680.

And in another place:
Ipſe pedes, tegumen torquens immane leonis
Terribili impexum ſetâ, cum dentibus albis,
Indutus capiti: ſic regia tecta ſubibat
Horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu.
(Of a ſon of Hercules.) Æn. 7. ℣. 609.
——Tergo videt hujus inanem
Impexis utrinque jubis horrere leonem;
Illius in ſpeciem quem per Theumeſia Tempe
Amphitryoniades victum juvenilibus annis,
Ante Cleonæi veſtitur prælia monſtri.
Statius. Theb. 1. ℣. 487.
——Cleonæo jam tempora cluſus hiatu
Alcides——
Val. Flaccus. 1. ℣. 155.

A figure, (perhaps of young Aventinus, a ſon of Hercules,) is given, Pl. XVII. Fig. 5. on purpoſe to ſhew the manner how they wore the lion's ſkin over their heads, the more exactly.

cradle; for this he ſeems to have performed, according to ſome accounts of it, when he was not above (13) half an hour old. This is extraordinary enough; but what is more extraordinary than this is, that there are exploits ſuppoſed to have been atchieved by Hercules even (14) before Alcmena brought him into the world. His killing of the ſerpents however is early enough for me; and therefore I ſhall begin from that. The old artiſts ſeem to have ſhewed a great deal of fancy, in repreſenting this ſtory. As Hercules was then ſo abſolutely an infant, they expreſs his ignorance of what the ſerpents were, very plainly. Sometimes he has a little ſmile on his face, as if he was pleaſed with their fine colours and
Pl. XVII. Fig. 1. their motions: ſometimes he looks concerned that he has killed them, and ſo put an end to the diverſion that they gave him. Sometimes they ſhew the courage and ſteadineſs of this infant hero; his ſtrong gripe of the ſerpents, and his killing them at the ſame time with ſo much eaſe, that he ſcarce deigns to look upon them. Sometimes the nurſe is in-
Pl. XVII. Fig. 2. troduced with his twin-brother, the little Euriſtheus, in her arms: ſhe, quite frightened; but he not regarding her, nor wanting any of her aſſiſtance. All theſe different ways I have ſeen in gems, or marble; and could ſhew you moſt of them, among my drawings here: and, I think there is not any one of them, that the poets have not touched upon, (15) as well as the artiſts.

Another of the previous exploits of Hercules, was his killing a vaſt lion. There are ſeveral victories of his over lions, talked of by the antients: one in particular, as done when he was very young; and another, after he was entered on that great reſolution of paſſing his whole life in a continued courſe of combating monſters, and of doing good. The lion he killed in his youth was encountered by him in a valley, near his native city of Thebes; and the other, (which is the firſt of his twelve celebrated labours,) was the Cleonæan lion: if we may truſt to a paſſage (16) in Statius. Hercules is deſcribed by the poets, in his conqueſts of lions, two different ways: either as ſqueezing them to death, againſt his own breaſt (17); or as tearing their jaws aſunder. The former ſeems to have
Pl. XVII. Fig. 5. been the method uſed by him in his earlier engagements. It was a very aukward way of killing ſuch monſters; as appears but too much, in the figures (18) that repreſent it. He

(13) See Plautus's Amphitruo. Act. 5. Sc. 1. ℣. 46, to 67.

(14) This perhaps is one of the moſt myſterious points, in all the mythology of the antients. Tho' Hercules was born not long before the Trojan war, they make him aſſiſt the gods in conquering the rebel giants; (Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 298.) and I think ſome of them talk of an oracle, or tradition in heaven, that the gods could never conquer them, without the aſſiſtance of a man.

(15) ——Igneos ſerpentium
Oculos, remiſſo pectore ac placido intuens.
Hercules Fur. Act. 2. Sc. 1. ℣. 219.
——Cum prima novercæ
Monſtra manu premeres, atque exanimata doleres.
Statius. Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ℣. 48.
Elidit geminos infans, nec reſpicit, angues.
Martial. Lib. 14. Ep.
Ego cunas receſſim, rurſum vorſum trahere & ducere;
Metuens pueris, mihi formidans: tantoque angues acriùs
Perſequi. Poſtquam conſpexit angues ille alter puer,
Citus e cunis exilit; facit rectà in angues impetum;
Alterum alterâ apprehendit eos manu perniciter.
The Nurſe, in Plautus's Amphit. Act. 5. Sc. 1. ℣. 64.

(16) Illius in ſpeciem, quam per Theumeſia Tempe
Amphitryonides, victum juvenilibus annis,
Ante Cleonæi veſtitur prælia monſtri.
Statius. Theb. 1. ℣. 487.
Tempe is ſometimes uſed, by the antients, for any very pleaſant valley. This lion was killed in the vale, at the foot of Theumeſus; a mountain, near Thebes. Hercules was born in that city: and ſo may very well be ſuppoſed to have killed this lion in one of his walks; before he ſet out, to travel over more diſtant countries, on his profeſſed deſign of clearing the world of monſters.

(17) As ſqueezing them againſt his breaſt.
——Hoc pectore preſſus
Vaſtator Nemees.——
Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 6. ℣. 41.
(——Maximus Nemeæ timor gemuit lacertis preſſus Herculeis leo.
Herc. Furens. Act. 2. Sc. 1. ℣. 225.
——Rabidi cum colla minantia monſtri
Angeret; & tumidos animam anguſtaret in artus.
Statius. Theb. 4. ℣. 828. (Of the Nemean lion too. Ibid. ℣. 825.)
——Anhelantem duro Tirynthius angens
Pectoris attritu, ſua frangit in oſſa leonem.
Id. Ib. Lib. 6. ℣. 271.

As tearing their jaws aſunder.
In foribus, labor Alcidæ; Lernea reciſis
Anguibus Hydra jacet; nixuque eliſa leonis
Ora Cleonæi, patulo celantur hiatu.
Silius. Ital. Lib. 3. ℣. 34.

(18) Statius ſeems to hint at this, in the paſſage laſt quoted from that poet: where he adds;
Haud illum impavidi, quamvis & in ære, ſuumque
Inachidæ videre decus,——
Theb. 6. ℣. 275.

He was all the while expoſed, both to their fangs and claws: and tho' he might get the better of them any way, by his immenſe ſtrength; he muſt have ſuffered all the while himſelf extremely, in ſuch a method of deſtroying them.

THERE is a figure of Hercules very young, and yet with the lion's ſkin over his head, in the Capitol at Rome. This may ſerve to juſtify ſeveral modern artiſts, who have been generally thought to give Hercules this dreſs too early. You have ſeen the picture deſigned by the late Lord Shafteſbury, which repreſents Hercules determining, (at his ſetting out in life,) whether he ſhould follow virtue, or pleaſure; and chuſing the former with all her difficulties, rather than the latter with a load of ignominy. As his known labours were the conſequence of this reſolution, and as the killing a lion was one of theſe labours; every body almoſt that ſees this picture is apt to obſerve, that the lion's ſkin is given him a little too ſoon in it. If this obſervation were true, it would fall on ſeveral very eminent painters, as well as on Lord Shafteſbury; for they have generally followed the ſame method, in their pictures of this ſtory. But if one lion's ſkin may not be allowed them, we have others, you ſee, at their ſervice; and, for my own part, I own I ſhould not think it wrong, even if Hercules had never killed any lion before this determination of his; becauſe it ſeems to me more neceſſary to mark out their hero, and not leave him unknown, than to obſerve the order of time ſo very ſcrupulouſly. Be that as it will, it now appears that the fact too is for them; Hercules having acquired ſuch a ſpoil in his younger days, and before the point of time when he took up that noble reſolution of dedicating his whole life to virtue: the idea of which, in the old Roman ſcheme, (directly oppoſite to the modern monkiſh one,) conſiſted entirely in activity; and in going thorough the moſt buſy ſcenes of life, and all the difficulties of it, with ſteddineſs and reſolution. PL. XVII. FIG. 4.

AND this indeed is what ſeems to have been ſhadowed out in the various exploits attributed by the antients to Hercules; and to be pointed at in the very name they gave them, when they called them his labours. The two previous exploits of his I have mentioned, are all that evidently appear to have been done before the celebrated ones, which are called, by way of eminence, his Twelve Labours; and which he was obliged to go thorough, by the fatality of his birth, and the malignity of Juno. The Roman poets call them, (19) twelve; but what theſe twelve were, is much eaſier to be fixed from the old artiſts, than the poets: for, Martial, Ovid, Silius, and even Virgil himſelf, where they ſpeak of the exploits of Hercules, uſually blend his extraordinary and ordinary labours ſo much (20) together, that it is impoſſible from them alone to know the one from the other. However one may learn what the twelve were, from (21) ſeveral relievo's

(19) O cui jus cœli bis ſex fecere labores!
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 39.
We learn from Petronius, that there were little vulgar books about them; (not unlike our little hiſtories of the ſeven champions, or the four ſons of Aymon, among the French.) For Trimalchio, in his ſatire, when he does not know what to do to carry off a little time, ſays: Rogo, Agamemnon mihi cariſſime, numquid duodecim Ærumnas Herculis tenes? Aut de Ulyſſe fabulam? Petronius Arbiter. p. 81.

(20) Martial mentions ſeven of the ordinary labours, and two of the extraordinary. Lib. 9. Ep. 102.—Ovid, ten of the ordinary, and four of the extraordinary. Met. 9. ℣. 180.—The author of Hercules Furens, ten of the ordinary, and three of the others. Act. 2. Sc. 1.—Silius, ſix of the ordinary, and two of the others. Lib. 3. ℣. 44.—Virgil, but two of the ordinary; and ſix of the extraordinary. Æn. 8. ℣. 287.

(21) It may not be improper to inſert here a liſt of the twelve labours of Hercules from ſome of theſe relievo's; and from ſome of the lower poets: as they probably wrote them, to ſerve for inſcriptions to other relievo's of the ſame kind.

The order of them on the Albano Altar.	On the Relievo, at the Villa Caſali, in Rome.
1. Lion	Lion
2. Hydra	Hydra
3. Boar	Boar
4. Stag	Stag
5. Stymphalides	Stymphalides
6. Stables	Stables
7. Bull	Horſes
8. Horſes	Bull
9. Geryon	Amazon
10. Amazon	Geryon
11. Cerberus	Heſperides
12. Heſperides	Cerberus

relievo's on this ſubject, which are ſtill remaining in Italy: and as to the particular order of them, (in which the relievo's themſelves do not agree,) I ſhall chiefly follow this drawing, taken from an altar which uſed to ſtand, almoſt neglected, by the gate of Albano; but has been very lately removed, by the order of the pope, to the Capitoline gallery.

As this old altar for many years ſerved only as a ſeat, for any idle perſon that choſe to ſaunter in the place where it ſtood; it has been ill uſed, and has ſuffered in ſeveral parts of it: and particularly ſo much in the three firſt labours, that it is impoſſible to make them out from two ſeveral drawings I have of them. I ſhall therefore ſupply theſe three, from ſome other antiques. The other nine, are moſt of them very well preſerved; and all ſo well, as not to ſtand in need of any other ſupply.

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 1. The firſt of theſe labours, is Hercules's engagement with the Cleonæan lion. I have a drawing of it here; taken from a gem, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. You ſee Hercules is repreſented in it, killing that monſter, (in the ſame manner that Samſon is moſt commonly drawn by our modern painters,) by tearing his jaws aſunder: and juſt as Silius ſays this action was wrought (22) on the folding-doors of a very antient temple of Hercules, at Gades, in Spain.

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 2. This drawing of the ſecond, or the conqueſt of the Hydra, is taken from another gem in the ſame collection. This ſeems to have been one of the moſt (23) difficult taſks Hercules was ever engaged in. The old artiſts differ in their manner of repreſenting the Hydra. Sometimes it is a ſerpent, branched out into ſeveral other ſerpents; and ſometimes, a human head; deſcending, leſs and leſs, in ſerpentine-folds; and with ſerpents upon it, inſtead of hair. The poets ſeem to ſpeak of (24) both; tho' they have, perhaps, been generally underſtood only of the former. As any one of theſe ſerpents heads were ſaid to double upon being cut off, the number of heads muſt have been very much at the choice of any artiſt who repreſented this combat. The poets ſpeak of them as very numerous; and carry it ſometimes as far as (25) a hundred. The artiſts are much more moderate

Auſonius's inſcription, probably for ſome old relievo on this ſubject.

Prima Cleonæi tolerata ærumna leonis.
Proxima Lernæam ferro & face contudit Hydram.
Mox Erymantheum vis tertia perculit aprum.
Æripedis quarto tulit aurea cornua cervi.
Stymphalides pepulit volucres diſcrimine quinto.
Threiciam ſexto ſpoliavit Amazona baltheo.
Septima in Augeæ ſtabulis impenſa laboris.
Octava expulſo numeratur adorea Tauro.
In Diomedeis victoria nona quadrigis.
Geryone extincto decimam dat Iberia palmam.
Undecimo mala Heſperidum deſtricta triumpho.
Cerberus extremi ſuprema eſt meta laboris.

Hilaſius's inſcription, for another.

Compreſſit Nemeæ primum virtute leonem.
Extincta eſt anguis quæ pullulat Hydra ſecundo.
Tertius evictus ſus eſt Erymanthius ingens.
Cornibus auratis cervum necat ordine quarto.
Dejicit horriſono quinto Stymphalidas arcu.
Abſtulit Hippolitæ ſexto ſua vincula victæ.
Septimus Augeæ ſtabulum labor egerit undis.
Octavo domuit magno luctamine taurum.
Tum Diomedis equos nono, cum rege, peremit.
Geryonem decimo triplici cum corpore vicit.
Undecimo abſtractus vidit nova Cerberus aſtra.
Poſtremo Heſperidum victor tulit aurea mala.

These four, all agree in the ſame labours; tho' they all differ, more or leſs, in the order of them. The latter inſcription I firſt met with in an edition of all Virgil's works, by Theodore Pulman, at Leyden; 1595. It is there attributed to Hilaſius, an old grammarian. Whoever the author be, he ſeems to miſtake a little at his firſt ſetting out; in calling this lion, the Nemean lion. It was rather, the Cleonean, as Auſonius calls it; and as one may infer from what Statius ſays, Theb. 1. ℣. 487. in Note 12, anteh.

(22) Silius Ital. Lib. 3. ℣. 4, 14, 18; & 33. (See Note 17th, anteh.)

(23) ——Diram qui contudit Hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore ſubegit.
Horat. Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 11.
Non Hydra ſecto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem.
Id. Lib. 4. Od. 4. ℣. 62.

(24) ——Non te rationis egentem
Lernæus turbâ capitum circumſtetit anguis.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 300.
——Clypeoque, inſigne paternum,
Centum angues, cinctamque gerit ſerpentibus Hydram.
Ibid. 7. ℣. 658.
——Cum per artus Hydra fœcundum meos
Caput explicaret.——
Hercules Oët. Act. 4. Sc. 2. ℣. 1293.

That is, fœcundum ſerpentibus caput; not, capita. The old part that lies by the ſtatue of Hercules killing the Hydra, in the Capitol, has a human head with great ſerpents growing out of it.

(25) Vulneribus fœcunda ſuis fuit illa; nec ullum
De centum numero caput eſt impune reciſum;
Quin gemino cervix hærede valentior eſſet.
Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 72.

moderate in their numbers of them: they uſually give only ſeven: I ſuppoſe, to prevent the confuſion, that ſuch a croud of heads muſt have occaſioned in a relievo or picture; in the ſame manner as the painter in the Vatican Virgil repreſents Briareus, who was always ſaid to have an hundred hands, only with eight.

THE third, or the Erymanthian boar, is repreſented here; from a gem, in the king of France's collection. You ſee, he has toſſed the monſter over his ſhoulder; and is carrying him away, as in triumph. I do not remember any thing deſcriptive relating to this, in any of the Roman poets: unleſs Martial may poſſibly allude to ſome whimſical repreſentation of it, in a verſe of his (26) which I do not well underſtand. PL. XVIII. FIG. 3.

WE come now to the fourth, or the wild ſtag; which, (as well as all the reſt,) is evident enough, on the altar in the Capitol. This was a ſtrange ſtag; and is ſaid by the poets, to have been of a prodigious ſize; and to have had (27) brazen feet. You ſee him however here, brought to the ground; and Hercules kneeling on him, as quite conquered. PL. XVIII. FIG. 4.

THE Stymphalides, (agreeable to an expreſſion (28) in Martial,) are ſuppoſed to be ſo high, that the artiſt has not expreſſed them in this work. You only ſee Hercules ſhooting with his bow, up into the air; and one of theſe birds, lying dead on the ground before him. I have ſeen them expreſſed on gems, as flying too: but then Hercules is kneeling, to allow the greater diſtance between him and the birds. Even ſo, they look much too near; and I think the beſt way, where they are ſo cramped for room, is to do as the artiſt has done here: to omit the flight of the birds; and to aſcertain the ſtory, by one or more of them dropped at his feet. PL. XVIII. FIG. 5.

THE ſixth labour, is his cleanſing Augias's ſtables. You ſee him here, as reſting after it: ſitting on his baſket; and with a dung-fork, in his hand. This was, certainly, one of the meaneſt employments that Euriſtheus found out for Hercules: and that may be the reaſon why it is not mentioned by any of the Roman poets, that I know of except the author of one of their tragedies (29). They probably looked on it as too diſgraceful for their great hero, when taken according to the outward appearance; tho' it might perhaps include as high a myſtic ſenſe, as any of his nobleſt exploits. PL. XVIII. FIG. 6.

HERCULES is repreſented here, in his ſeventh labour, as having flung the bull over his left ſhoulder; with as much eaſe as he did the Erymanthian boar. I imagine too, from a verſe in Ovid (30), that he was ſometimes repreſented holding him by the horns; as he does the ſtag, in the drawing I ſhewed you a little before. PL. XVIII. FIG. 7.

HERCULES's eighth labour, is his killing Diomed and his horſe. That tyrant of Thrace, was moſt infamous for his barbarities. Among other things, he is ſaid to have drove four furious horſes in his war-chariot; and to give them the more ſpirit and fierceneſs, he uſed to feed them with the fleſh and blood of his ſubjects. I have ſeen antiques in which ſome of thoſe miſerable wretches are repreſented as flung alive into the manger, before them. Hercules is ſaid to have ridded the world of this barbarous prince; and PL. XVIII. FIG. 8.

to

(26) Addidit Arcadio terga leonis apro.
Mart. Lib. 10. Ep. 102. ℣. 6.

(27) ——Peſtiſque Erymanthia; & altos
Æripedis ramos ſuperantia cornua cervæ.
Sil. Ital. Lib. 3. ℣. 39.

(28) Æripedem ſylvis cervam, Stymphalidas aſtris
Abſtulit.——
Mart. Lib. 10. Ep. 102. ℣. 8.

(29) And he too, marks its being ſcandalous, or diſgraceful.

Nec ad omne clarum facinus audaces manus
Stabuli fugavit turpis Augiæ labor.
Herc. Fur. Act. 2. Sc. 1. ℣. 248.

(30) Voſne manus, validi preſſiſtis cornua tauri?
Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 185.

to have killed both him and his horſes: as is ſignified by this drawing; and ſaid expreſly (31) by ſome of the poets.

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 9. The ninth labour of Hercules here, is his combat with Geryon. Geryon is generally repreſented with three bodies; agreeably to the expreſſions (32) uſed of him by the poets. Tho' they call him ſo large, it muſt be owned, that in this drawing he looks too much like a little boy. But perhaps this is a caſe of the ſame kind with one I mentioned to you before (33), in relation to Jupiter, and one of the rebel-giants; and then ought rather to be conſidered as an aggrandizing of Hercules, than as a leſſening of Geryon: for of what a vaſt height muſt the hero himſelf have been, ſince the head of Geryon, (who was himſelf a giant,) does not reach ſo high as Hercules's navel?

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 10. The tenth is his conqueſt of the Amazon; and in the works repreſenting this ſtory, you generally ſee him taking off her zone: as in this drawing, in particular; and as the poets, I think, always chuſe to deſcribe him (34), on this occaſion.

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 11. The eleventh is his dragging Cerberus up from the infernal regions: a ſubject, in which the poets ſeem to have exceeded the ſculptors very much. The latter only repreſenting Hercules dragging Cerberus after him; whereas in the (35) poetical deſcriptions of this affair, you have Cerberus's trembling; his dread of the light, which he had never ſeen before; his endeavouring to draw back from it, and his turning away of his eyes, to avoid the torture of beholding it. All this is expreſſed in ſo pictureſque a manner by Virgil and Ovid, that I cannot help thinking that they borrowed ſome of their ſtrokes, from ſome celebrated picture or other on this ſubject in their time.

Pl. XVIII. Fig. 12. The twelfth and laſt, is his killing the ſerpent and gaining the golden fruit, in the gardens of the Heſperides. In the many antiques that repreſent this ſtory, you always ſee the ſerpent twining round the tree; as he is deſcribed by (36) Lucan; (who, by the way, gives a fuller account of this affair than any other of the Roman poets:) and in ſome of them, you have the nymphs themſelves, who took care of this heathen paradiſe; and more particularly, of this celebrated tree. The thing moſt to be remarked in the drawing before you, is the erect air of Hercules, and that look which ſeems to ſhew ſomething of ſatisfaction and triumph, on his having thus at laſt accompliſhed all the orders of Euriſtheus.

I am glad we are got thorough theſe twelve fated labours of Hercules, as Horace (37) calls them: for as they were a ſort of ſyſtematical thing among the antients, I was willing

(31) Juxta, Thraces equi.——
Sil. Ital. Lib. 3. ℣. 38.
Quid? cum Thracas equos humano ſanguine pingues,
Plenaque corporibus laceris præſepia vidi,
Viſaque dejeci; dominumque, ipſoſque peremi.
Ibid. ℣. 196.

(32) Tergemini nece Geryonæ ſpoliiſque ſuperbus
Alcides aderat.——
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 203.
Ter amplum Geryonen.——
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 14. ℣. 8.
——Nec me paſtoris Iberi
Forma triplex; nec forma triplex tua, Cerbere, movit.
Met. 9. ℣. 185.
Quidve tripectora tergemini vis Geryonaï?
Lucret. 5. ℣. 28.
Forma tricorporis umbræ.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 289.

(33) See Dial. 6. p. 54, anteh.

(34) ——Veſtrâ virtute relatus
Thermodontiaco cælatus balteus auro.
Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 189.
Peltatam Scythico diſcinxit Amazona nodo.
Martial. Lib. 10. Ep. 102.

(35) Tartareum ille manu cuſtodem in vincla petivit
Ipſius a ſolio regis; traxitque trementem.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 395.
Eſt via declivis, per quam Tyrinthius heros
Reſtantem, contraque diem radioſque micantes
Obliquantem oculos, nexis adamante catenis
Cerberon abſtraxit.——
Ovid. Met. 7. ℣. 413.

(36) ——Fuit aurea ſylva,
Divitiiſque gravis & fulvo germine ramï:
Virgineuſque chorus, nitidi cuſtodia luci;
Et nunquam ſomno damnatus lumina ſerpens,
Robora complexus rutilo curvata metallo.
Abſtulit arboribus pretium, nemorique laborem,
Alcides; paſſuſque inopes ſine pondere ramos,
Rettulit Argolico fulgentia poma tyranno.
Lucan. 9. ℣. 367.

(37) Note 23, anteh.

willing to mention them all, tho' I had nothing material to obſerve on ſome of them. As to the extraordinary exploits of Hercules, (ſuch as he undertook voluntarily, and of his own accord,) I need not be ſo particular. There are (38) ſeveral mentioned by the poets; but I ſhall ſhew you only two or three antiques of ſuch among them, as ſeem the moſt likely either to give ſome light to the claſſics, or to receive ſome light from them.

ONE of the moſt remarkable among theſe voluntary labours of Hercules was his combat with Antæus. Antæus, you know, was a vaſt giant; and ſo, (according to the antient mythology,) was very (39) naturally ſuppoſed to be a ſon of the earth. As Hercules travelled all over the world to rid it of monſters, he ſought out this giant in Africa; and had a long combat with him there. Their way of fighting was a mixture between wreſtling and boxing: ſuch as was frequently uſed in the Circus, at Rome; and what may be ſeen to this day, (perhaps in its greateſt perfection,) in our Engliſh Circus Maximus, the celebrated Mr. Figg's amphitheater. In this ſort of combat, Hercules foiled his antagoniſt ſeveral times; but as often as he fell on his mother the earth, ſhe conſtantly ſupplied him with new ſtrength. He freed himſelf from Hercules; and always roſe with freſh vigour for the fight. Hercules, after fatiguing himſelf a conſiderable time in vain, at length found out the myſtery: and, inſtead of flinging him on the ground, (as he had done ſo often to no purpoſe,) he graſped him in his arms; lifted him up from the earth; and held him there, till he had preſſed him to death againſt his own boſom. Lucan has given us a very long account of this combat: and is very particular as to the two chief points in it; Hercules's ſtruggling with him in vain (40) on the ground, and his (41) holding him up and preſſing him to death in the air.

THE former part of this combat, I never yet met with on any antique. Perhaps they did not care to repreſent Hercules even as likely ever to have been defeated, or at leaſt baffled of his victory. The ſtatues of the latter part, or of his victory over Antæus, were common of old; and Martial ſpeaks of one of them in particular, which was very properly placed (42) in the Circus at Rome; and ſeems to have given its name to that part of the Circus where it ſtood. This point of the ſtory is ſtill not uncommon; and I have ſeen it on gems and medals, as well as in ſtatues. The large ſtatue of this, in the Great Duke's

(38) Such, as his bearing the heavens; Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 198.—His opening mountains, and making a paſſage for the ſea. Herc. Furens. Act. 2. Sc. 1. ℣. 235.—His conquering the Centaurs; Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 294.—His killing Cacus in Europe, and Buſiris and Antæus in Africa; Martial. Lib. 9. Ep. 102. Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 182, & 183:—and his taking ſeveral cities in Europe, and Aſia; Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 290.

(39) All the rebel giants had been ſuppoſed to be ſons of the earth, long before: and indeed, according to ſome, the very name of giant ſignifies earth-born, or ſon of the earth.

(40) ——Jam terga viri cedentia victor
Alligat, & medium compreſſis ilibus arctat,
Inguinaque inſertis pedibus diſtendit; & omnem
Explicuit per membra virum. Rapit arida tellus
Sudorem; calido complentur ſanguine venæ:
Intumuere tori, totoſque induruit artus;
Herculeoſque novo laxavit corpore nodos.
Lucan. 4. ℣. 632.

(41) "Hærebis preſſis intra mea pectora membris!
Huc, Antæe, cades." Sic fatus ſuſtulit altè,
Nitentem in terras, juvenem. Morientis in artus
Non potuit nati Tellus ſummittere vires.
Alcides medium tenuit, jam pectora pigro
Stricta gelu; terriſque diu non credidit hoſtem.
Ibid. ℣. 653.

(42) Hæc rapit Antæi velox in pulvere Draucus;
Grandia qui vano colla labore facit.
Martial. Lib. 14. Ep. 48.

As the area of their amphitheaters was called arena by the Romans, ſo the area of their circus's was called pulvis: and as the word arena was often uſed by them for the whole amphitheater, ſo was the word pulvis uſed for the whole circus.

Pulvis is uſed for the area of the circus, by Statius;

——Illum ipſe volantem
Pulvis & incurvæ gaudent agnoſcere metæ.
Lib. 5. Sylv. 2. ℣. 26.

And for particular circus's, by the ſame:

——Aut quem de turribus altis
Arcadas Ogygio verſantem in pulvere metas
Spectabant Tyriæ non torvo lumine matres.
Ibid. ℣. 124.

——Et nuper Nemeæo in pulvere felix
Alcidamas, primis quem cæſtibus ipſe ligarat
Tyndarides.——
Id. Theb. 10. ℣. 501.

Ovid uſes it, in general, for a circus.

Acer equus quondam, magnæque in pulvere famæ.
Met. 7. ℣. 542.

As the area of the circus, was called pulvis in general; ſo that part of it, where the figures of Hercules and Antæus ſtood, ſeems from Martial's diſtich above cited to have been called, pulvis Antæi.

Pl. XIX. Fig. 1. Duke's palace at Florence, repreſents Hercules's ſteddineſs whilſt he is preſſing Antæus to death; and Antæus as far ſpent, and endeavouring but faintly to rid himſelf from the knot, in which Hercules graſps him round the middle. This is very like the figure we ſee on medals; and they might all perhaps have been copied from the famous ſtatue of Polycletus on this ſubject, mentioned by (43) Pliny to have been at Rome in his time. It agrees very well with Lucan's deſcription of this combat (44), toward the end of it; as poſſibly there might have been other figures which agreed with Ovid's account: who ſeems to make Hercules hold this vaſt giant up under his (45) left arm only; whilſt he finiſhes the combat, by throtling him with his right hand.

There is a little groupe relating to this ſtory in the Florentine gallery, where you have the figures of Antæus and Hercules engaged, and Minerva ſtanding by; to ſignify that Hercules gained this conqueſt by policy as well as ſtrength. I take this to be the intention of the artiſt; becauſe tho' ſome of the antient poets ſeem to make Minerva as (46) conſtant an attendant of Hercules, as Monſieur Fenelon has made her to his young hero, yet ſhe is not generally repreſented with him by the artiſts in his other exploits; and indeed in no one of them, that I know of, but this.

Bellori takes the ſubject of one of the paintings, found in the ſepulcher of the Naſonian family, to be this combat of Hercules and Antæus. In the midſt of it is one man, holding up another. Behind them, ſtands Minerva as buſy and directing: and before them is the figure of a woman, ſitting; as in great concern. The perſon, who is held up, has his foot ſtretched out toward her. The ſitting figure Bellori ſays is the Earth, or Tellus; the mother of Antæus. Caſaubon makes uſe of this picture, in his Juvenal illuſtrated from antiques; to explain a paſſage relating to Hercules and Antæus: and Montfaucon has received it under the ſame notion, into his collection of antiquities.

There is a paſſage (47) in Statius with which this particular in the picture, of Antæus's endeavouring to reach the goddeſs Tellus, if it were only with the extremity of his foot, would ſquare much better; than it does with that in Juvenal, to which it is applied by Caſaubon. I have not however admitted a drawing of this picture into my collection as yet, being in ſome doubt about it: the two principal figures, being too young for Hercules and Antæus; and not at all anſwering their ſtrength and character. To ſay the truth, as Santo Bartoli has given them, and as the others have copied them from him, they look more like two boys playing together; than two ſuch heroes, engaged in combat. So that if it was originally meant for this ſtory, either the painter performed his part in the principal figures, very poorly; or the engravers have copied them very ill.

The paſſage in Juvenal, to which Caſaubon applies this picture, may be as well illuſtrated from any common figure of Hercules; or at leaſt, any figure of Hercules holding up Antæus. It is where Juvenal is exclaiming againſt the folly and extravagance of flatterers; who do not only neglect to look out for ſome excellence in thoſe, whom they extol ſo much; but cry them up, for the very things in which they are moſt defective. "They are

(43) Among the famous works of Polycletus, that writer mentions; Herculem, qui Romæ, Antæum à terrâ ſuſtinentem. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 383. Ed. Elz.

(44) Alcides medium tenuit, jam pectora pigro
Stricta gelu. ——————
Lucan. 4. ℣. 653.

(45) Quique inter lævumque latus, lævumque lacertum,
Prægrave compreſsâ fauce pependit onus.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 9. ℣. 98.

(46) Quantum hæc, Diva, manus? quoties ſudaverit ægis
Iſta mihi? ——————
Says Hercules to Minerva, in Statius's Theb. 8. ℣. 512.

Sic tibi non ullæ ſociâ ſine Pallade pugnæ;
Nec facer invideat paribus Tirynthius actis.
(Spoke, to Theſeus;) ib. 12. ℣. 584.

(47) ——Herculeis preſſum ſic fama lacertis
Terrigenam ſudaſſe Libyn, cum fraude repertâ
Raptus in excelſum eſt: nec jam ſpes ulla cadendi;
Nec licet extremâ matrem contingere plantâ.
Statius. Theb. 6. ℣. 896.

are ſure (48), ſays he, with all their wiſdom, to commend the fine ſenſe of the ignorant; and the beauty, of the deformed: and if a man is of a weak make, and has a particular long taper neck, they will compare it to the ſhort thick neck of Hercules; even when all the veins of it too are ſwelled, by his having preſſed Antæus ſo long againſt his breaſt." What an exceſs they run to in ſuch a compariſon, will appear to any one who is well acquainted with the antient ſtatues and figures of Hercules, much more ſtrongly; than can be eaſily imagined, by thoſe who are unacquainted with them.

I HAVE been ſo long on this combat of Hercules with Antæus, that I will mention but one more of his ſupernumerary exploits; for fear of quite tiring you with accounts of giants and monſters. As Hercules freed Africa from this deſtroyer, ſo when he was in Italy he put an end to the villanies of a very notorious robber there. You will know, by the character, that I mean Cacus. Virgil gives as ample an account of this exploit, as Lucan does of the former. There are ſome antient gems that repreſent Cacus, in the act of ſtealing Hercules's oxen; and dragging them to his cave by their tails, juſt as the ſtory is related by Virgil (49); and, on the reverſe of a medal of Antoninus Pius, you ſee him lying dead at the feet of Hercules; and the country-people preſſing towards the hero; and kiſſing his hand as their great deliverer: but I have never yet met with the combat itſelf, between them, on any medal, gem, or marble. As this was a ſubject ſo much more proper for (50) painters, than for ſculptors, I do not wonder that we do not meet with it in the works of the latter: and as to the antient paintings, you know, there is but a ſmall ſhare of them that remain to us. Virgil and Ovid differ in their accounts of this combat: the latter makes Hercules (51) daſh Cacus's brains out, with his club; whereas the former ſpeaks, very expreſly, of his ſqueezing him to death. If this point were to be determined by their ſingle authorities, it is eaſy to gueſs on which ſide the ſcale muſt turn: for Virgil was certainly the moſt exact of all the Roman poets; and Ovid the moſt inexact of them; at leaſt, of all in his time. Indeed Virgil, in this particular caſe, ſeems to have very good reaſon for what he ſays. He makes Hercules go out with his uſual weapon, his club, to purſue Cacus; but when he has found him out, and plunges into his cave, which was all dark and full of ſmoak; his club would be of no uſe to him, as he could not ſee where to direct his blows. He therefore makes him ruſh on; and when he meets Cacus, he lays hold of him with one hand, (in the manner of the Luctantes of old,) and throtles him with the other. Both Virgil and Juvenal (52) mention, that Hercules, after he had killed him, dragged him out of his cave by the feet; and Juvenal, in particular, in ſuch a manner, as ſhews that he referred to ſome known painting or ſculpture of this part of the ſtory, in his time; in which Cacus ſeems to have made a very contemptible and ignominious figure. PL. XIX. FIG. 2.

IN the Palazzo Sampieri at Bologna, there are three cielings painted by Lewis, Hanibal, and Auſtin Carache. The ſubject of the latter is this very ſtory of Hercules killing Cacus: and it is very remarkable in it, that he has given Cacus a human body with the head

(48) ——Adulandi gens prudentiſſima laudat
Sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici;
Et longum invalidi collum cervicibus æquat
Herculis, Antæum procul a tellure tenentis.
Juvenal. Sat. 3. ℣. 89.

(49) ——Hos, ne qua forent pedibus veſtigia rectis,
Caudâ in ſpeluncam tractos, verſiſque viarum
Indiciis raptos, ſaxo occultabat opaco.
Æn. 8. ℣. 211.

(50) Faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu,
Evomit, involvitque domum caligine cæcâ,
Proſpectum eripiens oculis; glomeratque ſub antro
Fumiferam noctem commiſtis igne tenebris.
Non tulit Alcides animis; ſeque ipſe per ignem
Præcipiti injecit ſaltu, quà plurimus undam
Fumus agit, nebulaque ingens ſpecus æſtuat atrâ.
Hic Cacum in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
Corripit, in nodum complexus; & angit inhærens
Eliſos oculos, & ſiccum ſanguine guttur.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 261.

(51) Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 576.

(52) Duceris plantâ, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
Et ponere foris; ſi quid tentaveris unquam
Hiſcere. ——
Juvenal. Sat. 5. ℣. 127.
——Pedibus informe cadaver
Protrahitur. Nequeunt expleri corda tuendo
Terribiles oculos; vultum, villoſaque ſetis
Pectora ſemiferi; atque extinctos faucibus ignes.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 267.

head of a beaſt. This work was done in the heighth of the ſchool of the Caraches; and might poſſibly be borrowed from ſome antique. What made me firſt entertain this fancy, was Virgil's calling (53) Cacus a monſter, in one place; and half a man and half a beaſt, in others. It is true, I have yet never met with any antique that repreſents Cacus in this manner; there are ſo few as yet diſcovered, that relate to this ſtory. Perhaps, one day or other, ſome others may come to light; in which we may ſee him with as much of the brute in marble, as Carache has given him in his painting.

IF one was to conſider all theſe, and the many other exploits attributed to Hercules together, one ſhould be apt to think that his whole life was made up of difficulties and hardſhips; quite from his being born into the world, to his agonies on mount Oëta. Ovid has given (54) a full account of this laſt ſcene of his glorious life. Silius Italicus mentions a fine relievo, repreſenting him (55) on the funeral pile, on the gates of a temple dedicated to him of old; and Pliny ſpeaks of a very celebrated (56) ſtatue of Hercules, in his laſt torments, at Rome. There is now a very fine one there, in the Palazzo Barbarini, which is evidently of the high Greek taſte: the face of which very plainly expreſſes the agonies he ſuffered, from the envenomed robe that ſtuck to him; and inſinuated its poiſon, into all parts of his body. Ovid, after giving this account of the ſufferings of Hercules, deſcribes his being carried into heaven, where he was received into the ſociety of Jupiter and the great gods; and takes notice of his perſonage, as enlarged and rendered more (57) auguſt and venerable, than it was in his ſtate of mortality. I wiſh we had the famous picture of his aſſumption, which Pliny (58) mentions as extant, in his time; in the Portico of Octavia. There is a Greek relievo, in (59) Montfaucon, in which Hercules is repreſented, as received into the heavens: and tho' it is pretty oddly imagined, (for he is attended by Fauns and Satires there;) and is not perhaps of ſo good an age, as one could wiſh; yet it repreſents this hero, as large and majeſtic: and ſufficiently agrees with what is ſaid of him after his deification, by Ovid.

Pl. XIX. Fig. 3.

I CANNOT help obſerving, interpoſed Myſagetes, that there are ſeveral particulars in the character of this great exemplar of virtue among the heathens, (as I think you called him,) which would give infinite pleaſure to the good biſhop that we uſed to viſit at the Propaganda,

(53) Huic monſtro Vulcanus erat pater. ——— Æn. 8. ℣. 198.
Semihominis Caci. ——— Ibid. ℣. 194.
Pectora ſemiferi. ——— Ibid. ℣. 267.

(54) Dum potuit, ſolitâ gemitum virtute repreſſit:
Victa malis poſtquam patientia, reppulit aras,
Implevitque ſuis nemoroſam vocibus Oeten.
Nec modus eſt: ſorbent avidæ præcordia flammæ,
Cæruleuſque fluit toto de corpore ſudor;
Ambuſtique ſonant nervi: cæcâque medullis
Tabe liquefactis, tendens ad ſidera palmas,
Cladibus, exclamat, Saturnia paſcere noſtris!
Paſcere, & hanc peſtem ſpecta crudelis ab alto;
Corque ferum ſatia! ——
Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 168.

This is while he labours with the torments of the poiſoned ſhirt, that ſtuck to all his ſkin. After he has made his funeral pile, and laid down on it, he is quite compoſed.

——Dumque avidis comprenditur ignibus agger,
Congeriem ſylvæ Nemeæo vellere ſummam
Sternis, & impoſitâ clavæ cervice recumbis;
Haud alio vultu, quàm ſi conviva jaceres
Inter plena meri redimitus pocula ſertis.
Ibid. ℣. 238.

(55) Silius, Lib. 3. ℣. 43.

(56) In mentione ſtatuarum eſt et una non præteunda, licet autoris incerti; juxta roſtra, Herculis tunicati Eleo habitu, Romæ: torvâ facie, ſentienteque; ſupremâ in tunicâ. Pliny, Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 352. Ed. Elz.

(57) Interea quodcunque fuit populabile flammæ
Mulciber abſtulerat: nec cognoſcenda remanſit
Herculis effigies; nec quicquam ab imagine ſumptum
Matris habet, tantùmque Jovis veſtigia ſervat.
Utque novus ſerpens poſitâ cum pelle ſenectâ
Luxuriare ſolet, ſquamâque nitere recenti;
Sic ubi mortales Tirynthius exuit artus,
Parte ſui meliore viget; majorque videri
Cœpit, & auguſtâ fieri gravitate verendus:
Quem pater omnipotens, inter cava nubila raptum
Quadrijugo curru, radiantibus intulit aſtris.
Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 272.

(58) Pliny, in ſpeaking of the paintings of Artemon, ſays the nobleſt of his works at Rome were, in porticibus Octaviæ; and among them mentions—Herculem, ab Oëtâ monte Doridos, exutâ mortalitate, conſenſu deorum in cœlum euntem. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 35. c. 11. p. 448. Ed. Elz.

Ovid's account tallies exactly with this: Exuit artus, ſays Ovid; and, exutâ mortalitate, ſays Pliny: Conſenſu deorum, ſays Pliny; and, aſſenſere dei, ſays Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 259.

(59) Montf. Vol. I. Pl. 141.

Propaganda, when we were at Rome. You know, he had found out moſt of the myſteries of the chriſtian religion, in the very earlieſt writers among the Chineſe; and ſeemed to have a great deal of inclination to do the ſame, in the remains of the Greek and Roman artiſts. I remember to have heard, from a very good friend of the biſhop's, that when Cardinal Polignac was making his collection of ſtatues at Rome, and had juſt purchaſed a young Hercules ſtrangling the ſerpents; he ſhewed it to ſeveral of his friends that happened to dine with him, to have their opinions of the figure. Some commended the attitude of the little Hercules; ſome, the ſteddineſs of his face; and others, the expreſſion of pain in the ſerpents. The biſhop, who was of the company, ſeemed to have obſerved the figure more curiouſly than any of them; and yet had ſaid nothing in commendation of it. After every body therefore had given their opinions, the Cardinal at laſt turned to him; And pray, Monſignor, ſays he, what may be your opinion of it? "I think of it, ſays the biſhop, what I doubt not your Eminence muſt have thought of it, long ſince; it is moſt evidently, a repreſentation of the great hero; deſtroying the old ſerpent; by his being born into the world." How many particulars are there, my Polymetis, in what you have ſaid in your account of Hercules, that would have been full as evident to the biſhop as this? He would certainly have made a type of the hero, who choſe virtue ſo early, and who ſuffered and acted for the good of mankind ſo ſteddily, thro' the general courſe of his life. His gaining the apples of the Heſperides, and his taking away Cerberus from the infernal regions, would have been clear points; and I queſtion whether there be any one lion or giant that he killed, that would not have had ſome myſtic meaning or other, which the biſhop could have eaſily adapted to his favourite ſcheme.

As for my part, ſays Polymetis, I have nothing to do with the biſhop's parallel in this caſe: it is beſide my purpoſe, at preſent; and ſhould be (60) moſt cautiouſly handled, at any time. But what I think would go a great way toward ſpoiling it is, that Hercules is repreſented by the antients with very great faults, as well as very great virtues. This killer of monſters was himſelf tamed by love; and an abſolute ſlave to women: he drank as immeaſurably, as he fought courageouſly: he is ſometimes repreſented, as tranſported with paſſion; and ſometimes, as (61) cringing with fear. This indeed was in his mad fits, when he killed his friends, and daſhed his children's brains out; after which monſtrous action, he fell into a deep gloomy melancholy. So that this great hero might have ſet for both the characters repreſented over the gate of our hoſpital for lunatics; and had there been a houſe of that kind in Greece in his time, would have had a double right to an apartment in it.

And was he repreſented in all theſe bad parts of his character by the antient artiſts, ſays Philander, as well as in the glorious ones? Yes, ſays Polymetis; I believe in all of them. Pliny tells us of a picture of him, done by (62) Nicearchus; in which that great artiſt had drawn Hercules in his deep concern, for the outrages he had committed whilſt his

(60) In looking over the remains of the antient artiſts, I have met with a great many things of this kind; ſome of which were very ſurpriſing: but I have generally forbore mentioning them, for ſeveral reaſons; and more particularly for that, given by the great Lord Bacon, in his Wiſdom of the Antients: where, (ſpeaking of an old ſtory of Hercules,) he ſays, "Thus have I delivered, that which I thought good to obſerve out of this ſo well known and common fable. And yet I will not deny, but that there may be ſome things in it, which have an admirable conſent with the myſteries of chriſtian religion. And eſpecially, that ſailing of Hercules in a cup, to ſet Prometheus at liberty; ſeems to repreſent an image of the Divine Word, coming in fleſh as a frail veſſel, to redeem man from the ſlavery of hell. But I have interdicted my pen all liberty of this kind; leſt I ſhould uſe ſtrange fire at the altar of the Lord." Lord Bacon's Wiſdom of the Antients. p. 83.

(61) Pacatus mitiſque veni! Nec turbidus irâ,
Nec famulare timens: ſed quem te Mænalis Auge
Confectum thyaſis & multo fratre madentem
Detinuit; qualemque vagæ poſt crimina noctis
Theſpius obſtupuit toties ſocer.——
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ℣. 43.

(62) Nicearchus (fecit) Herculem triſtem, inſaniæ pœnitentiâ. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 35. c. 11. p. 449. Ed. Elz.

his mad fit was upon him. The drunken Hercules is no uncommon figure ſtill; and Hercules demeaned by his amours is commonly to be met with; and that repreſented in ſeveral different manners, ſome of which are as little to his honour as can well be imagined.

IN the frequent Lectiſterniums that the Romans made to Hercules, they uſed even to invoke him under his drunken character, as one finds by Statius; and a particular friend of that poet had a very remarkable little figure of this god, which he uſed to place (63) upon his table, whenever any gayeties were carrying on there. I ſpeak of this figure as ſo remarkable, becauſe it had run thorough a ſeries of the (64) higheſt fortunes, of any ſtatue perhaps upon record. It was a Hercules (65) in miniature; of (66) braſs; and caſt by the famous (67) Liſippus. Before it came into the family of Statius's friend, it belonged to (68) Sylla the dictator: before him, it was in Hannibal's poſſeſſion; and was a particular favourite and fellow-traveller of his, in his expedition into Italy: as before that, it had accompanied Alexander the Great, all through his expedition in the eaſt. It was not a foot high; and ſo was portable enough. Theſe great men, no doubt, did not carry it about with them only for its beauty, but partly out of (69) devotion; or, (which is generally the ſame thing with great men,) out of a ſhew of devotion. He held (70) a Cyathus in one hand, and his club in the other, with a mild good-natured look, that ſeemed to invite others to be as happy and well pleaſed as himſelf: or poſſibly with the very ſame look, and that ſteddy pleaſure in drinking, with which he is repreſented on an antient gem: copied (71) perhaps from this very figure, by Admon; and belonging at preſent to the Marquis Veroſpi, at Rome.

PL. XIX. FIG. 4.

AS to Hercules's amours, and his weakneſſes for women: it was a very common ſubject among the antient artiſts, to make Cupids taking away his club; or to repreſent him, (like the vaſt St. Chriſtophers of the modern ſtatuaries,) bending under a little boy. This was to ſhew that he, who conquered all other difficulties, was a ſlave to love; and that

(63) This was the general uſe of this figure; and it was hence it had its name, of Hercules Epitrapezios.

(64) ——Semper claros ornare penates
Aſſuetum, & felix dominorum ſtemmate ſignum.
Statius, Lib. 4. Sylv. 3. ℣. 88.

(65) ——Parvuſque videri,
Sentirique ingens.——
Ibid. ℣. 38.

——Cum mirabilis intra
Stet menſura pedem, tamen &c.
Ib. 39.

(66) ——Vultus alios in numine caro;
Æraque ſupremis timuit ſudantia menſis.
(Of Alexander the Great, and this figure) Ibid. ℣. 74.

(67) Ibid. ℣. 109.

(68) All this hiſtory of its fortunes, is given at large, in this poem of Statius.

(69) This appears from ſeveral paſſages, in the ſame; and particularly from one quoted already, Note 66.

(70) Nec torva effigies epuliſque aliena remiſſis;
Sed qualem parci domus admirata Molorchi,
Aut Aleæ lucis vidit Tegeæa ſacerdos:
Qualis & Oetæis emiſſus in aſtra favillis
Nectar adhuc torvâ lætus Junone bibebat.
Sic mitis vultus, veluti de pectore gaudens
Hortetur menſas. Tenet hæc marcentia fratris
Pocula; adhuc ſævæ meminit manus altera pugnæ:
Suſtinet occultum Nemeæo tegmine ſaxum.
Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 6. ℣. 58.

(71) The reaſon, that would chiefly induce one to imagine this to have been the caſe, is that known practice of the old ſculptors of copying the beſt and moſt celebrated ſtatues.

The ſtatue, here ſpoken of, was made by the beſt artiſt of his kind, in the very beſt age of ſtatuary: and muſt have had an additional reputation from the remarkable eminence of the perſons, in whoſe poſſeſſion it had ſucceſſively been: ſo that the chief queſtion ſeems to be, whether the figure on the gem be the ſame with that repreſented by this ſtatue.

As to that, it is certainly the very ſame deity; in the ſame particular character; and with the very ſame attributes in that character. It is Hercules; the Hercules Bibax; and that Hercules, holding the Scyphus in one hand, and his club, (his general characteriſtic,) in the other. His holding up the club, in the gem, (whereas one might rather have expected to ſee him leaning on it,) agrees particularly well with the meminit manus altera cædis, of Statius, where he is ſpeaking of this ſtatue of Lyſippus.

If there be any ſeeming objection to the probability of this; it is the want of the ſtone and lion's ſkin on the gem, which Statius mentions as belonging to the ſtatue: and this, I think, cannot be of any great force; becauſe nothing is more uſual with the ſtatuaries than to introduce ſome piece of rock, or even ſome piece without any meaning at all, to ſupport their figures; (ſuſtinet:) and as this ſort of ſupports is uſeful to a ſtatue, but of no ſignificance at all in a gem; the ſculptor would be as much to be commended for omitting it, as the ſtatuary was for inſerting it.

that Cupid diſarmed him of all his force. And this, I think, is yet more ſtrongly expreſſed in all the figures, which ſhew his favourite miſtreſſes dreſſed up in his lion's ſkin, (which was his known military dreſs;) or himſelf dreſſed up in their clothes. The chief ſcene of his effeminacies was in Aſia; whilſt he lived with Omphale, queen of Lydia. She indeed was not the only perſon with whom he made ſo deſpicable a figure; but it was with her that he acted his low part the moſt notoriouſly. In ſome of his fits, Ovid tells us (72) he gave up his favourite robe, the lion's ſkin, to her; and put on Omphale's head-dreſs, gown, bracelets, and necklace: in others, he attended her, like a ſlave (73), with her umbrella, to keep the ſun from her. Sometimes you hear of his holding (74) the women's work-baſkets for them, whilſt they are ſpinning; and ſometimes he even joins them in their work; and ſets down to ſpin, himſelf. There is a ſtatue of Hercules, with one of his miſtreſſes, (and moſt probably it is Omphale, as it is generally called,) in the Farneſe palace, at Rome; in which you ſee him in a woman's gown, and with the ſpindle in his hand. This ſtatue of him is itſelf little; and the air of his face ſo much demeaned, that he looks much more like an old woman with a great beard, (as Parſon Evans ſays of Sir John Falſtaff in his diſguiſe,) than a hero. All his dignity is (with much propriety) quite loſt on this occaſion: and it is probable that he ſometimes made even a worſe figure than this; for we are told that the women uſed to ſcold him, for working ſo aukwardly as he was apt to do; and that he threw himſelf at their feet, to deprecate the (75) laſhes they threatened him with. Indeed there are ſo many of theſe faults and meanneſſes recorded of Hercules by the antients, that when one conſiders them, one is apt almoſt to loſe ſight of his great character: and to wonder how they could ever have given him the very (76) foremoſt place in this diſtinguiſhed claſs of heroes; of thoſe very few, who by their virtues obtained a place among the chief of all the celeſtial deities, in the higheſt heaven.

Pl. XIX. Fig. 5.

BUT it is time to leave him; and to turn to his companion here, on your right hand. You ſee it is Bacchus; who, according to the antients, was almoſt as illuſtrious a conqueror and hero, as the perſon we have juſt quitted; tho' one ſhould not be apt to imagine any ſuch thing by his face, which is much more like that of a woman, than a man's.

Pl. XX. Fig. 1.

IT is certain however, that the old Roman writers, and their poets in particular, ſpeak of Bacchus (77) as a very great warrior. They ſay, that he traverſed a great part of the world,

(72) Dumque parant epulas potandaque vina miniſtri,
Cultibus Alciden inſtruit illa ſuis:——
Ipſa capit clavamque gravem, ſpoliumque leonis.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 325.
Non puduit fortes auro cohibere lacertos,
Et ſolidis gemmas appoſuiſſe toris:——
Auſus es hirſutos mitrâ redimire capillos;
Aptior Herculeæ populus alba comæ.——
Detrahat Antæus duro redimicula collo,
Ne pigeat molli ſuccubuiſſe viro.
Id. Her. Ep. 9. ℣. 72. (Deïanira, Herc.)

(73) Ibat odoratis humeros perfuſa capillis
Mæonis, aurato conſpicienda ſinu:
Aurea pellebant rapidos umbracula ſoles;
Quæ tamen Herculeæ ſuſtinuere manus.
Id. Faſt. 2. ℣. 312.

(74) Inter Iöniacas calathum tenuiſſe puellas
Diceris.——
Ovid. Her. Ep. 9. ℣. 74. (Deïanira, Herc.)

(75) Craſſaque robuſto deducis pollice fila;
Æquaque formoſæ penſa rependis heræ.
Ah quoties, digitis dum torques ſtamina duris,
Prævalidæ fuſos comminuere manus!
Crederis infelix, ſcuticæ tremefactus habenis,
Ante pedes dominæ pertimuiſſe minas.
Ibid. ℣. 82.

(76) Lucian introduces Eſculapius diſputing the right of precedence with Hercules; for the very reaſons above given. Εγω δε, ει και μηδεν αλλο, ωτε εδαλευσα, ωσπερ συ· ωτε εξαινον ερια, ευ Λυδια· πορφυριδα ενδεδυκως, και παιομενος υπο της Ομφαλης χρυσω σανδαλω. Αλλ' ωδε μελαγχολησας, απεκτεινα τα τεκνα, και την γυναικα. Tom. I. p. 209. Ed. Blaeu.

(77) ——Præliis audax Liber.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 12. ℣. 21.
Nec verò Alcides tantum telluris obivit;
Nec qui pampineis victor juga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celſo Niſæ de vertice tigres.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 805.
——Oriens tibi victus ad uſque
Decolor extremo quæ cingitur India Gange.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 21.
——Gange, totoque oriente ſubacto.
Id. Faſt. 3. ℣. 729.
Hac te merentem, Bacche Pater, tuæ
Vexere tigres, indocili jugum
Collo trahentes: hâc Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. ℣. 16.

world, and made very conſiderable conqueſts in the eaſt. Pliny, in particular, ſpeaks of him as of a more celebrated conqueror than (78) Alexander the Great. The ſame author ſays that Bacchus was the firſt (79) inventor of triumphs: and there is ſcarce any ſubject more frequent in the old relievo's than Bacchus repreſented in a triumphal car, attended by an (80) effeminate fantaſtic ſet of women, fauns, and ſatires: and generally with elephants, lions, or tigers, and other of the wild beaſts ſo frequent in the Indies; to ſhew that it refers to his great eaſtern expedition, and his conqueſts in that part of the world. The Thyrſus, ſo much uſed in his triumphs, is (81) a mark of the ſame kind. It is from theſe great atchievements of his, that Bacchus got a place in the higheſt heavens; and that you meet with his ſtatue here, next to that of Hercules; with whom he is ſo often mentioned, as an inſtance of the two greateſt conquerors in the earlier ages of the world. It ſeems to have been under this character too, that he was ſtyled, Liber Pater; or, Bacchus the great prince and governor: a ſenſe, in which Pater is often uſed in the Roman authors; and which, (as I have ſaid before,) might poſſibly have been attached to that word, ever ſince the patriarchal form of government.

All this makes it the more ſtrange to ſee Bacchus repreſented always in the beſt works of the antients, with a face as young, and perhaps more beautiful and effeminate, than ever man had. From whatever reaſons this might proceed, one finds that the Roman poets

(78) Æquato, non modò Alexandri magni rerum fulgore, ſed etiam Herculis prope, ac Liberi Patris. Pliny. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 7. c. 26. p. 371. Ed. Elz.

The moſt ſtrained compliment that the higheſt flatterers of Alexander the Great could pay him, was to ſay that he equalled, or exceeded, Bacchus and Hercules, in the extent of his conqueſts. Thus the two miſerable poets, in Quintus Curtius: Hi tum cœlum illi aperiebant; Herculemque, et Patrem Liberum, & cum Polluce Caſtorem, novo numini ceſſuros eſſe jactabant. Q. Curtius, Lib. 8. §. 18. And the petty kings of India: Alexandro, fines Indiæ ingreſſo, gentium ſuarum Reguli occurrerunt imperata facturi. "Illum tertium Jove genitum ad ipſos perveniſſe, memorantes. Patrem Liberum, atque Herculem, famâ cognitos eſſe: ipſum coram adeſſe cernique." Ibid. §. 32.

This was Alexander's great aim in ſetting out on that expedition. Illos terrarum orbis liberatores, emenſoſque olim Herculis & Liberi Patris terminos; non Perſis modò, ſed etiam omnibus gentibus impoſituros jugum. Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. §. 24. And his conſtant argument for the compleating it: Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, quâ Herculem Liberumque patrem, ſi invidia abfuerit, æquabo. Id. Lib. 9. §. 6.——Ne inviderent ſibi laudem quàm peteret Herculis & Liberi Patris terminos tranſituro. Ibid. §. 9.——It is obſervable that the Roman hiſtorians ſpeak of theſe eaſtern conqueſts of Bacchus generally, by the way, and in a few words, as a thing well known. Thus Curtius above; and Juſtin, (of Mithridates's conquering Armenia;) Primus humanorum poſt Herculem & Liberum Patrem, qui reges orientis fuiſſe traduntur, eam cœli plagam domuiſſe dicitur. Lib. 42. c. 3. And of Alexander's being received at Nyſa; Cum ad Nyſam urbem veniſſet, oppidanis non repugnantibus, (fiduciâ religionis Liberi Patris, à quo condita urbs erat,) parci juſſit: lætus non militiam tantum, verum & veſtigia ſe dei ſecutum. Id. Lib. 12. c. 7.

The time of this expedition of Bacchus appears, from a paſſage in Statius, to have been before the Theban war; and not long before it.

Errabant geminæ Dircæa ad flumina tigres;
Mite jugum, belli quondam vaſtator Eoï
Currus; Erythræis quas nuper victor ab oris
Liber in Aonios meritas dimiſerat agros.
Theb. 7. ℣. 567.

(79) Emere ac vendere inſtituit Liber Pater. Idem diadema, regum inſigne, et triumphum invenit. Pliny, Lib. 7. c. 56. p. 398. Ed. Elz.

(80) Juno, in Lucian, ſays that ſhe ſhould be aſhamed of having had ſuch a ſon as Bacchus; Θηλυς ειλω, και διεφθαρμενος υπο της μεθης· μιτρα μεν αναδεδεμενος την κομην· τα πολλα δε μαινομενας γυναιξι συνων, αβροτερος αυτων εκεινων· υπο τυμπανοις, και αυλοις, και κυμβαλοις χορευων·——To which Jupiter anſwers: Και μην ητος γε ο Θηλυμιτρης, ο αβροτερος των γυναικων, ὃ μονον την Λυδιαν εχειρωσατο, και τους κατοικουντας τον Τμωλον ελαβε, και τας Θρακας υπηγαγετο· αλλα και επ' Ινδους ελασας τω γυναικειω τετω στρατιωτικω, τους τε ελεφαντας ειλε· και της χωρας εκρατησε· και τον βασιλεα, προς ολιγον αυτισηναι τολμησαντα, αιχμαλωτον απηγαγε. Και ταυτα απαντα επραξεν, ορχουμενος αμα και χορευων· θυρσοις χρωμενος κιτ|ινοις· μεθυων, ως φης, και ενθεαζων. Ibid. p. 215. The ſame author deſcribes him, and all his attendants, more at large; in his Διονυσος. Tom. II. p. 360, 361.

(81) Et tu, Thyrſigerâ Liber ab Indiâ.
Hippolitus. Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 751.

When Marc Antony was bent on his eaſtern expedition, and thought of conquering the Indies, he imitated Bacchus, and his triumph. Cum ante novum ſe Liberum Patrem appellari juſſiſſet; cum redimitus hederis, coronâque velatus aureâ, et thyrſum tenens, cothurniſque ſuccinctus, curru velut Liber Pater vectus eſſet Alexandriæ. Velleius Paterculus. L. 2. §. 82.

poets fall in with the artiſts entirely, in this particular. They never once deſcribe Bacchus as old. On the contrary, they ſpeak as expreſly of his (82) eternal youth, as they do of Apollo's; they talk much of his (83) extreme beauty: and mark out the (84) effeminacy of his face, very ſtrongly.

THERE is one thing which the poets generally attribute to Bacchus, and which I have therefore been ſurprized not to find more commonly in his ſtatues; and that is, his (85) horns. Even theſe were little, and pretty; and Ariadne, in Ovid, mentions them as (86) one reaſon why ſhe fell in love with this god. I have ſometimes thought of two different cauſes, why we may ſee them ſo very ſeldom in the figures of Bacchus that remain to us. One is the ignorance of the preſent antiquaries abroad, who perhaps when they have found a ſtatue of Bacchus with horns, may have immediately taken it for a Faun; and then added, (a thing they are but too apt to practiſe,) ſome attribute of a Faun to the figure. The other, is the ſmallneſs of the horns themſelves; which are therefore very liable to be hid, by the crown of grapes, or ivy, which is almoſt a conſtant ornament of the head of Bacchus. Some of the poets ſeem to hint at his horns being covered by the crown of grapes he wore on his head. But after all, when one conſiders how much the poets agree with the artiſts of old; how frequent this attribute is in them, and how very uncommon in ſtatues; it is one of the greateſt difficulties I have met with in this ſort of ſearch into antiquities: and what, I own, I cannot yet account for, ſo as to ſatisfy myſelf.

VIRGIL (87) ſpeaks of ſome little heads of Bacchus, which the countrymen of old hung up on trees, that the face might turn every way; out of a notion, that the regards of

(82) Et tu Thyrſigerâ Liber ab Indiâ,
Intonſâ juvenis perpetuum comâ.
Hippolitus. Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 252.
——Ipſe puer ſemper, juveniſque videris;
Et media eſt ætas inter utrumque tibi.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 774.
Solis æterna eſt Phœbo, Bacchoque juventa.
Tibullus. Lib. 1. El. 4. ℣. 37.

(83) ——Caſus releves, pulcherrime, noſtros.
Ovid. Triſt. Lib. 5. El. 3. ℣. 43.
Candida formoſi venerabimur ora Lyæi.
Oedipus. Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 508.
——Quocunque deus caput egit honeſtum.
Virgil. G. 2. ℣. 392.

(84) Huc adverte favens virgineum caput.
Oedipus. Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 408.
Virgineâ puerum ducit per litora formâ.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 607.
——Tibi inconſumta juventas;
Tu, puer æternus; tu formoſiſſimus alto
Conſpiceris cœlo: tibi, cum ſine cornibus adſtas,
Virgineum caput eſt.——
Id. Ib. 4. ℣. 20.

(85) Mite, pater, caput huc placataque cornua vertas;
Et des ingenio vela ſecunda meo.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 790.
Sume fidem & pharetram, fies manifeſtus Apollo;
Accedant capiti cornua, Bacchus eris.
Id. Her. Ep. 15. ℣. 24. (Sappho, Phaon.)
——Teneris adducta lacertis
Purpureus Bacchi cornua preſſit amor.
Id. de Art. Am. 1. ℣. 232.
Inſignis cornu Bacche, novemque deæ.
Id. ib. 3. ℣. 348.
——Molles thyrſos, Bacchæaque cornua.——
Statius. Theb. 9. ℣. 436.
Reſpiciens teneat virides velatus habenas
Ut pater, & niveâ tumeant ut cornua mitrâ;
Et ſacer ut Bacchum referat ſcyphus.——
Valerius Flaccus. 2. ℣. 272.

This paſſage ſeems to refer to his horns being covered with his head-dreſs; as the following, to their being covered ſometimes with his crown of grapes.

Non crines, non ſerta loco; dextramque reliquit
Thyrſus; & intactæ ceciderunt cornibus uvæ.
Statius. Theb. 7. ℣. 151.

In ſome of his ſtatues of old, theſe horns were gilded.

Te vidit inſons Cerberus aureo
Cornu decorum.——
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 19. ℣. 30.
——Hermique vadum, quo Lydius intrat
Bacchus & aurato reficit ſua cornua limo.
Statius. Lib 3. Sylv. 3. ℣. 61.

From theſe horns Bacchus had antiently the title of Bicorniger: as in Ovid's Her. Ep. 13. ℣. 33.

Theſe horns were given to Bacchus, to ſhew that he was the ſon of Jupiter Ammon.——Εδοξε δε και Αλεξανδρος Αμμωνος γος ειναι, και κερασφορος αναπλατλεσθαι προς των αγαλματοποιων. Clemens Alexandr. Protrept. p. 36.——Eodem nempe quo frater Bacchus inſtituto; cui ideo cornua adſcribit Diodorus, Lib. 3. p. 206. quod Cornigeri Ammonis eſſet filius. Spanheim, de Numiſm. Diſſert. 7.

(86) Cœperunt matrem formoſi cornua tauri;
Me, tua.——
Ariadne, of Bacchus. Faſt. 3. ℣. 500.

(87) Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina læta, tibique
Oſcilla ex altâ ſuſpendunt mollia pinu.
Hinc omnis largo pubeſcit vinea fœtu:
Complentur valleſque cavæ, ſaltuſque profundi;
Et quocumque deus circum caput egit honeſtum.
Virgil. G. 2. ℣. 392.

of this god gave fertility to their vineyards: and Ovid mentions Bacchus's turning (88) his face towards him, as a bleſſing. The former, in a paſſage, which is not very eaſy to be underſtood of itſelf; and for the full underſtanding of which I was obliged to a gem, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. Virgil on this occaſion ſays, that there is plenty wherever this god turns, his beautiful face: Mr. Dryden, in his tranſlation of the words, ſeems to have borrowed his idea of Bacchus from the vulgar repreſentations of him on our ſign-poſts; and ſo calls it, (in downright Engliſh,) Bacchus's honeſt face.

Pl. XX. Fig. 2.

I HAVE mentioned, on another occaſion, that this god was reckoned equal (or, at leaſt, next) to Apollo, for the beauty of his face, and the length and flow of his hair. You ſee, in this figure of him, how it falls in large ringlets over his ſhoulders. The poets touch often on this circumſtance in ſpeaking (89) of him and of Apollo. And it is an attribute ſo peculiar to them, that if one was to find the body of a deity without the head, and with theſe ringlets waving down the breaſt, one might be pretty ſure, that it belonged to one or other of theſe two gods; tho' there were no circumſtance beſide to determine it. Some other circumſtance indeed would be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh which of the two it belonged to; for they are as like as brothers: only, in their beſt figures, Apollo's face is the more heavenly, and majeſtic, of the two; and Bacchus's, the more charming, and more like a woman's.

THE moſt uſual attributes of Bacchus in the figures that remain to us, beſide thoſe I have already conſidered, are his (90) Thyrſus; his vine, and ivy crowns; his Syrma, or long triumphal robe; his Nebris, or Faun's ſkin; and his Cothurni, or buſkins. Theſe are all frequently deſcribed too by the Roman poets; who moreover ſometimes mention his having a Mitra on his head, and ſometimes wreaths of flowers; either of which I do not remember to have ever obſerved in any ſtatue, or relievo.

THE Cantharus, Calathus, or Scyphus (91), in the hands of Bacchus; and the Tiger, that one ſees ſo often in ſome fond poſture or other, at the feet of his ſtatues; ſeem equally to

(88) Faſt. 3. ℣. 789. quoted before, Note 85.

(89) Solis æterna eſt Phœbo Bacchoque juventa;
Nam decet intonſus crinis utrumque deum.
Tibullus. Lib. 1. El. 4. ℣. 38.
Et dignos Baccho, dignos & Apolline crines.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 421.
Perpetuo ſic flore mices: ſic denique non ſint
Tam longæ Bromio, quàm tibi, Phœbe, comæ.
Martial. Lib. 1. Ep. 125.
Tigres pampinea cuſpide territans
Ac mitrâ cohibens virgineum caput,
Non vinces rigidas Hippoliti comas.——
Phœbo colla licet ſplendida compares:
Illum cæſaries neſcia colligi
Perfundens humeros ornat & integit.
Hippolitus. Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 755, & 800.

(90) Thyrſus.
Ipſe, racemiferis frontem circundatus uvis,
Pampineis agitat velatam frondibus haſtam.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 667.
Vine, and ivy crowns.
——Deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 25. ℣. ult.
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino.
Id. Lib. 4. Od. 8. ℣. ult.
——Non ille quidem turgentia ſertis
Tempora, nec flavâ crinem diſtinxerat uvâ.
Statius, Theb. 5. ℣. 269.
Bacche, racemiferos hederâ redimite capillos.
Ovid. Faſt. 6. ℣. 483.
Feſta corymbiferi——Bacchi.——
Ibid. 1. ℣. 393.
Te decet cingi comam floribus vernis;——
Hederâve mollem bacciferâ religare frontem.
Oedipus, Act. 2. Chor. ℣. 415.
His Syrma.
——Madidus myrrhâ crines, molleſque coronæ;
Purpuraque, & pictis intextum veſtibus aurum.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 556.
Non erubeſcit Bacchus effuſos tener
Sparſiſſe crines, nec manu molli levem
Vibrare thyrſum; cum, parum forti gradu,
Auro decorum ſyrma barbaricum trahit.
Hercules Fur. Act. 2. Sc. 3. ℣. 475.
His Nebris.
At procul ut Stellæ thalamos ſenſere parari
Latous vatum pater & Semeleïus Evan;
Hic movet Ortygiâ, movet hic rapida agmina Nyſâ:
Hic chelyn, hic flavam maculoſo nebrida tergo;
Hic thyrſos, hic plectra ferit.——
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 227.
His Cothurni.
Huc, pater, O Lenæe, veni: nudataque muſto
Tinge novo mecum direptis crura cothurnis.
Virgil. G. 2. ℣. 8.

His Mitra is mentioned in the tragedy of Hippolitus, in the foregoing note; as the wreaths of flowers, in the quotation from Oedipus, in this.

(91) Sacer ut Bacchum referat ſcyphus.——
Val. Flaccus. 2. ℣. 272.
Nos Satyrus; nos Bacchus amat; nos ebria tigris,
Perfuſos domini lambere docta pedes.
Martial. Lib. 14 Ep. 107. (Calathi.)

Cantharis potaſſe, Liberi Patris exemplo: ſays Pliny, of Caius Marius. Lib. 33. c. 11. p. 365. Ed. Elz.

to relate to his character of being the god of wine and jollity. It is ſaid ſomewhere, I think in Diodorus Siculus, that Bacchus firſt introduced the vine into Europe; and probably he brought it with him after his conqueſt of the Indies, in which country that plant grew (93) naturally; and, particularly about Nyſa; the place moſt peculiarly ſacred to Bacchus. Hence the antients gave him his known character of the god of drinking. But tho' he had that character, it is uncommon, in the old ſtatues of Bacchus, to ſee him drunk; and it is yet leſs common to find any deſcriptions, in the old poets, that repreſent him in that condition. I can recollect but one of that kind that I ever met with; and even in that it is rather ſaid that he (94) pretended to be drunk, than that he really was ſo. Our modern ideas of Bacchus ſeem to be taken from the old characters of Bacchus and Silenus, confounded together. Silenus indeed is almoſt always drunk, wherever one meets with him. We have readily retained that idea of this attendant of Bacchus, in our northern, drinking, part of the world; and ſo have mixed up the youth of Bacchus, with the plumpneſs and ſottiſhneſs of Silenus; and, to finiſh all, inſtead of an aſs, we ſet him uſually aſtride a tun. This, indeed, is our very loweſt and moſt vulgar idea of Bacchus: but moſt of our better modern painters and ſtatuaries have gone ſo far into it, as to have almoſt loſt the original idea of Bacchus; and to have brought him from the fineſt ſhape and face that can be imagined, to a fat jolly boy, that is uſually above half drunk. Horace calls Bacchus, in general, the (95) Modeſt decent god; on ſome occaſions, (96) the Joyous god; and once, in ſpeaking of him as the cauſe of drunkenneſs (97), the Immodeſt and indecent god. With us, he has loſt all his modeſty; and appears always either drunk, or at leaſt very ready to be ſo.

I SUPPOSE, it was under this joyous, or gayer character of Bacchus, that he was conſidered of old as the inſpirer of poets: ſeveral of them, (and he who talks ſo modeſtly of him, in particular,) uſed ſometimes to take a good ſhare of that juice, that this god introduced into our part of the world: and as this kindled their ſpirits, and gave a flow to their imagination, it was but juſtice in them to acknowledge him for one of their chief patrons. However that be, they certainly ſpeak often of Bacchus and Apollo, as their (98) joint-inſpirers: their Parnaſſus roſe with two diſtinct ſummits, one of which was called

Elz.—And Valerius Maximus; of the ſame: Poſt Jugurthinum, Cimbricumque, et Teutonicum triumphum, cantharo ſemper potavit; quòd Liber Pater, inclytum ex Aſiâ ducens triumphum, hoc uſus poculi genere ferebatur. Memorab. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

(93) After Alexander the Great was received into the city of Nyſa in his eaſtern conqueſts; he led his army to ſee the famous mountain there, conſecrated to Bacchus: Ad ſpectaculum ſacri montis, (ſays Juſtin,) duxit exercitum; naturalibus bonis, vite hederâque, non aliter veſtiti, quàm ſi manu cultus colentiumque induſtriâ exornatus eſſet. Lib. 12. c. 7. There is a fuller deſcription of this mountain in Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. §. 33.

(94) Virgineâ puerum ducit per litora formâ.
Ille, mero ſomnoque gravis, titubare videtur;
Vixque ſequi.——
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 609.

His whole appearance, in that ſtory, is deſcribed as put on; till he breaks out, in his full majeſty. See, ibid. ℣. 630, 652, 666, &c.

(95) ——Tollite barbarum
Morem; verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 27. ℣. 4.

(96) Nos & profeſtis lucibus & ſacris,
Inter jocoſi munera Liberi,
Cum prole matroniſque noſtris
Rite deos priùs apprecati,
Virtute functos (more patrum) duces
Lydis remiſto carmine tibiis,
Trojamque, & Anchiſen, & almæ
Progeniem Veneris canemus.
Id. Lib. 4. Od. 15. ℣. ult.

(97) Querebar, applorans tibi;
Simul calentis inverecundus deus
Fervidiore mero
Arcana promorât loco.
Id. Epod. 11. ℣. 21.

(98) At Phœbus, comiteſque novem, vitiſque repertor,
Hoc faciunt.——
Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 3. ℣. 12.

O ita Phœbe velis! Ita vos, pia numina vatum
Inſignis cornu Bacche novemque deæ!
Id. de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 348.

——Coryciâ quicquid modò Phœbus in umbrâ,
Quicquid ab Iſmariis monſtrabat collibus Evan,
Dedidici.——
Statius. Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. ℣. 7.

Et te, Phœbe, choris; & te demittimus, Evan.
Id. Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. ℣. 3.

——Nec ſi te pectore vates
Accipiam, Cyrrhæa velim ſecreta moventem

Sollicitare

called Nyſa, and was ſacred to Bacchus; as the other, (called Cyrrha,) was to Apollo: and the Roman poets of old ſeem to have worn their (99) ivy crowns, in reſpect to Bacchus; even much more frequently, than their laurel crowns in reſpect to Apollo.

FROM what I have been ſaying, one might explain ſome relievo's I have ſeen of Bacchus attended by the whole choir of the muſes, much better than I have ever heard them explained. The muſes are the (100) proper attendants of Bacchus, under this character; and (as Horace intimates in one of his odes,) are as juſtly attached to him, as Cupid is to Venus.

Pl. XX. Fig. 3. THE ſtatue here to the right of Bacchus, you may ſee by his look, his habit, and his ſerpent, is Eſculapius. This god was brought to Rome, (by the order of Apollo (101), when a peſtilence raged very much in that city;) in the times of the republic: and was ever after conſidered there as their preſerver, and one of the chief among their made-gods. He ſtole from his old worſhippers; and came to them, under the ſhape of a ſerpent: and has a larger ſerpent than ordinary always by his figures; perhaps, to diſtinguiſh it from the other ſerpents, which are the common attribute of all the deities that preſide over health. The ſerpent was the ſignal of thoſe deities, becauſe the antient phyſicians made ſuch (102) frequent uſe of ſerpents in their preſcriptions. Eſculapius is dreſſed here in the

Sollicitare deum, Bacchumque avertere Nysâ:
Tu ſatis ad vires Romana in carmina dandas.
(Says Lucan, addreſſing Nero) 1. ℣. 66.
Quis locus ingenio, niſi cum ſe carmine ſolo
Vexant; & dominis Cyrrhæ Nyſæque feruntur
Pectora noſtra duas non admittentia curas?
Juvenal. Sat. 7. ℣. 65.

The reaſon, given above, why Bacchus was looked on as ſo great a patron of poets, is authoriſed by Ovid; who, when he ſpeaks of him as ſuch, calls him Vitis repertor; and by Horace, more ſtrongly, in the following paſſage.

Priſco ſi credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino;
"Nulla placere diu neque vivere carmina poſſunt
Quæ ſcribuntur aquæ potoribus, ut male ſanos
Adſcripſit Liber ſatiris fauniſque poetas."
Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 19. ℣. 4.

(99) The ivy-crown is mentioned frequently by the antients, as worn by the poets, in thoſe days.

——Accipe juſſis
Carmina cœpta tuis; atque hanc ſine tempora circum
Inter victrices hederam tibi ſerpere lauros.
Virgil, (to Pollio) Eccl. 8. ℣. 13.
Paſtores, hederâ creſcentem ornate poetam!
Id. Ecl. 7. ℣. 25.
——Seu condis amabile carmen,
Prima feres hederæ victricis præmia.
Horat. (to Julius Florus) Lib. 1. Ep. 3. ℣. 25.
Ut dignus venias hederis & imagine macrâ.
Juvenal. Sat. 7. ℣. 29.
——Pallidam Pyrenen
Illis relinquo, quorum imagines lambunt
Hederæ ſequaces.——
Perſius. in Prol.
——Enthea vittis
Atque hederâ redimita cohors——
Statius. Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 249.
Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi:
Nunc hederæ ſine honore jacent.——
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 411.

It is as plain from them, that the poets wore theſe ivy-crowns as ſigns of their being inſpired by Bacchus.

Quid poſſunt hederæ Bacchi dare?——
Martial Lib. 1. Ep. 44.

Si quis habes noſtris ſimiles in imagine vultus,
Deme meis hederas, Bacchica ſerta, comis:
Iſta decent lætos felicia ſigna poetas.
Ovid. Triſt. Lib. 1. El. 6. ℣. 3.

Pliny, ſpeaking of the white Hedera, and afterwards of the black, ſays; Simili modo in nigrâ, alicui & ſemen nigrum, alii crocatum; cujus coronis poetæ utuntur: foliis minus nigris; quam quidam Nyſiam, alii Bacchicam vocant. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. c. 34.

The laurel-crown was, properly, the ornament of great warriors: (as Apollo ſays, in Ovid, when he makes the laurel his tree:)

Tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum læta triumphum
Vox canet, & longæ viſent Capitolia pompæ.
Met. 1. ℣. 561.

And was given perhaps ſometimes to epic poets, and thoſe of the higher claſs; becauſe they celebrated great warriors and heroes. Thus Statius, (who had wrote epic poems, as well as odes,) ſpeaks of his having both the laurel, and ivy-crowns.

——Fugere meos Parnaſia crines
Vellera: funeſtamque hederis irrepere taxum
Extimui, trepidamque (nefas) areſcere laurum.
Statius, (ſpeaking of the death of his father.) Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. ℣. 9.

And ſays of his father (who had carried the prize, in theſe different kinds of poetry too,) that he had both theſe crowns.

——Specieque comam ſubnexus utrâque.
Ibid. ℣. 115.

(100) ——Bacche, novemque deæ!
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 348.
Liberum & muſas, Veneremque & illi
Semper hærentem puerum canebat.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 32. ℣. 10.

(101) Ovid. Met. 15. and Livy's Epit. 111. §. 1.

(102) Tunc, cum obſervatas augur deſcendit in herbas;
Uſus & auxilio eſt anguis ab angue dato.
Ovid. Faſt. 6. ℣. 752.
Dictamni florentis opem, quôque anguis abundat
Spumatu.——
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 4. ℣. 102.

Quin et ineſſe ei (angui) remedia multa creduntur; & ideo Eſculapio dicatur, Pliny. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 29. c. 4. p. 204.

the habit uſed by the old (103) phyſicians: and has the mild look, which Ovid ſpeaks of; and which I think is remarkable to this day in ſeveral gentlemen I have ſeen of that profeſſion. I have obſerved formerly to you that Eſculapius's face has a great reſemblance to that of the mild Jupiter; and his hair and beard are not unlike that god's. As the phyſicians were ſurgeons too of old, his right arm is bare; to be ready for any operation. In his left, he holds his ſtick, with the ſerpent twiſted round it. All theſe (104) particulars ars marked out by the poets; and particularly by Ovid, in his account of the firſt introduction of this deity into Rome.

THE ſtatue which anſwers this, on the other ſide of Hercules; and which is ſo like a Mars, is Romulus: who was, you know, the ſon of Mars; and is ſometimes repreſented ſo like his father, that it is difficult enough to diſtinguiſh their figures aſunder. I have often thought in particular that ſeveral of the figures called Mars Gradivus, with a trophy on the ſhoulder, may really belong rather to Romulus; the inventor of trophies, among the Romans. He appears here you ſee, like Mars Gradivus; with his ſpear in one hand, and holding the trophy on his ſhoulder with the other. The poets (105) ſpeak of his ſhaking his arms, on his ſhoulder; call him, armifer; and ſay, he carries the glory of his father Mars, in the divine air of his countenance. PL. XX. FIG. 4.

IT is eaſy to ſee, how Romulus came to be placed in this high claſs of heroes by the Romans. They could not, they thought, pay too much honour to their founder. They therefore made him the ſon of a god; and of that god in particular, who muſt have been one of the moſt reſpected among them, in the firſt military ages of their ſtate. Their beſt authors however do not treat this as a (106) firm article of their creed: and indeed it ſeems to have made a part in their vulgar religion only; and not in the religion of the wiſe.

THE whole ſtory of Romulus's divine birth is repreſented on a relievo at the Villa Mellini, in Rome. It is divided into four compartiments. The firſt ſhews you Mars, going to Rhea Sylvia; who lies aſleep, by the river Tiber. In the ſecond, ſhe is ſitting with her twins in her lap: Amulius ſeems to be charging her with the infamy of the fact ſhe has committed; and ſhe is looking up to heaven, as juſtifying her innocence. The third, is the expoſing of the two infants on the bank of the Tiber: and the fourth, repreſents

(103) ——Retorto
Pæonium in morem ſenior ſuccinctus amictu.
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 402.
——Ritu ſe cingit uterque
Pæonio.——
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 4. ℣. 108.

(104) ——Et feſtinantia ſiſtens
Fata, ſalutifero mitis deus incubat angui.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 4. ℣. 25.
——Deus in ſomnis opifer conſiſtere viſus;
——qualis in æde
Eſſe ſolet, baculumque tenens agreſte ſiniſtrâ:
Cæſariem longæ dextra deducere barbæ,
Et placido tales emittere pectore voces.
"Pone metus: veniam; ſimulacraque noſtra relinquam:
Hunc modò ſerpentem, baculum qui nexibus ambit,
Perſpice, & uſque nota; viſu ut cognoſcere poſſis:
Vertar in hunc; ſed major ero: tantuſque videbor
In quantum verti cœleſtia corpora debent.
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 662.

(105) Monſtrabunt acies, Mavors Actæaque virgo;
Flectere Caſtor equos; humeris quatere arma Quirinus.
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 2. ℣. 129.
——Armiferi gens ſacra Quirini.
Silius Italicus, 16. ℣. 76.
——Viden' ut geminæ ſtent vertice criſtæ;
Et pater ipſe ſuo ſuperum jam ſignet honore?
Virgil, of Romulus, Æn. 6. ℣. 780.

(106) Livy ſpeaks of the ſtory of the divine origin of Romulus, with more indifference than one might have expected, in the entrance to his hiſtory. See Lib. 1. p. 8. from, Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem; to, Haud in magno equidem ponam diſcrimine.

He ſays, juſt after; Vi compreſſa veſtalis quum geminum partum edidiſſet, ſeu ita rata, ſeu quia deus auctor culpæ honeſtior erat, Martem incertæ ſtirpis patrem nuncupat. Ibid.

In the cloſe of his reign, he gives an expreſſion or two to the vulgar. Hæc fermè, Romulo regnante, domi militiæque geſta; quorum nil abſonum fidei divinæ originis, divinitatiſque poſt mortem creditæ, fuit. Id. Lib. 1. c. 15.

Horace, (in his uſual way,) gives a ſide ſtroke at this ſtory. "When I have got a good eaſy cheap girl, (ſays he,) I am as well ſatisfied, as if it was the miſtreſs of Mars, or Numa." Lib. 1. Sat. 2. ℣. 126.—That it is a meer common drab, whom he would thus put on a footing with the mother of Romulus, appears from verſe 121. ibid.

repreſents their being cheriſhed by the wolf, and the ſurpriſe of the honeſt ſhepherd Fauſtulus, on finding them in that ſtrange ſituation.

THE work of this relievo is but indifferent; and is thought, by ſome, to be of Aurelian's time. I have therefore got no copy of it here in my collection. However moſt of the points in it, are to be met with in other works of the better ages. The deſcent of Mars to Rhea, as I have had occaſion to mention before, is not uncommon; and the infant Romulus and Remus, ſuckled by the wolf, is very common. You meet with it on medals and gems, as well as ſtatues and relievo's. In ſome of which you ſee the wolf in the ſame attitude (107) that Virgil gives her in his deſcription of this affair; which, by the way, might be given as one inſtance out of many, of Virgil's borrowing ſtrokes from the Roman poets of the firſt age; and which he did perhaps much more frequently, than is commonly imagined.

Pl. XX. Fig. 5.

THIS ſtory of Romulus's being received into heaven is well known from the Roman hiſtorians. Their poets ſay, that he was carried thither in (108) the chariot of Mars: and I doubt not but this his aſſumption was a common ſubject for paintings of old, tho' we have none ſuch now remaining. The figures of Romulus as deified were of a (109) more auguſt appearance. He was then clad in the Trabea (110), a robe of ſtate which implied an eccleſiaſtical dignity, as well as a ſecular; and in conſequence of the former character, ſometimes held (111) his Lituus, or ſtaff of augury, in his hand. This latter mark uſually attends the heads of Julius Cæſar, in the old gems and medals; and when we find it ſo placed, ſeems to mean that he was high-prieſt and king, by the ſame right as Romulus was. All theſe particulars relating to the appearance of Romulus as deified, I ground ſolely on the poets: for I have never ſeen any figure of Romulus under this character, that I remember; tho' there may perhaps be ſome, which may have eſcaped my obſervation.

THE two heroes whom you ſee anſwering one another, below the ſteps on each ſide, are the two brothers, Caſtor and Pollux. They are not placed there as inferior to thoſe we have been conſidering before; but merely becauſe there was not ſpace enough for them, and their horſes, in the ſame line. Caſtor and Pollux were received into this diſtinguiſhed claſs of heroes, among the (112) Greeks; from whom the Romans took the greater

(107) Fecerat & viridi fœtam Mavortis in antro
Procubuiſſe lupam; geminoſque huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, & lambere matrem
Impavidos: illam, tereti cervice reflexam,
Mulcere alternos & corpora fingere linguâ.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 634.

Moſt of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, in this fine picture, are adapted to it from the elder poets, by Virgil;

—Gemineique huic ubera circum
Ludunt pendentes puerei——
Ennius, An. l. 1.

Obſtipum caput, & tereti cervice reflexum.
Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 2. §. 42.

As Ovid ſeems to have copied him; in his account of this ſtory.

Venit ad expoſitos (mirum) lupa fœta gemellos:
Quis credat pueris non nocuiſſe feram?
Conſtitit; & caudâ teneris blanditur alumnis:
Et fingit linguâ corpora bina ſuâ.
Marte ſatos ſcires; timor abfuit: ubera ducunt.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 419.

(108) ——Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. ℣. 16.

Hinc tonat; hinc miſſis abrumpitur ignibus æther:
Fit fuga: rex patriis aſtra petebat equis.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 496.

The ſame poet repeats the ſame in Met. 14. ℣. 820; where he gives the fulleſt account of this ſtory, that I know of.

(109) Pulchra ſubit facies, & pulvinaribus altis
Dignior; & qualis trabeati forma Quirini.
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 828.

Pulcher, & humano major, trabeâque decorus,
Romulus in mediâ viſus adeſſe viâ.
Id. Faſt. 2. ℣. 502.

(110) Trabeatus Quirinus.
Id. Faſt. 1. ℣. 37.

(111) ——Lituo pulcher trabeaque Quirinus.
Ibid. 6. ℣. 375.

Romuli lituus, id eſt incurvum & leviter a ſummo inflexum bacillum. Cicero de Divin. 1. ℣. 17. As Cicero calls this, Romuli lituus; ſo Virgil calls it, Lituus Quirinalis. Æn. 7. ℣. 187.

(112) This appears from a paſſage quoted before from Quintus Curtius. The flatterers of Alexander the Great, according to that author, were for equalling him, to theſe heroes received in the higheſt heavens, even in his life-time. Hi tum cœlum illi aperiebant: Herculemque, & Patrem Liberum, & cum Polluce Caſtorem, novo numini ceſſuros eſſe jactabant. Lib. 8. §. 18.

greater part of their theology. Beſide which, they had very particular obligations to theſe two deities; and were therefore, no doubt, the more willing to retain them in this high ſtation. You muſt remember, how they aſſiſted the Roman army (113) at the lake of Regillæ; and brought the news of the deciſive victory of Paulus Æmilius to Rome, the very day that it was obtained. Their ſtatues were very common in Rome of old; and they were placed in particular, before the (114) temple of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline hill; perhaps juſt in the ſame manner, as you ſee them ſtand here. The chief thing to be remarked in their figures is, that they are exactly alike. They had each a chlamys, and yet are almoſt wholly naked. Each has a ſtar over his head. Each holds a white horſe with one hand; and a ſpear in the other. In a word, each has the ſame make, look, and features. Never were any twins more alike, than theſe are repreſented to have been (115) by the poets: and yet they are not more alike in their deſcriptions of them, than they are in the old figures; and particularly on the Roman family-medals, where one meets with them extremely often. PL. XX. FIG. 6,7,8.

I HAVE now done with the made-gods of the ſuperior order, among the Romans; the few, whom they ſuppoſed to have been received by Jupiter into the higheſt heavens out of his (116) goodneſs and equity, for the virtues they had ſhewn here upon earth. The next time we come here, if you pleaſe, we will take a view of the virtues, which they practiſed ſo much and ſo ſteddily; and of ſome other imaginary beings, which were ſuppoſed to preſide over the actions of men; or, at leaſt, to be the givers of thoſe things, which help to render human life more comfortable and agreeable.

(113) Minucius Felix laughs at theſe legends, where he ſays of them; Teſtes equeſtrium fratrum in lacu, ſicut oſtenderant ſe, ſtatuæ conſecratæ; qui anhelis ſpumantibus equis atque fumantibus, de Perſe victoriam, eâdem die quâ fecerant, nunciaverunt. Min. Fel. p. 43.

The ſtories are at large in Livy. Lib. 2. §. 20; & Lib. 45. §. 6.

Balbus, (the Stoic, in Cicero) diſputing for the being of the gods, quotes the appearance of Caſtor and Pollux, at the lake of Regillæ, as a proof of it: for which he is ridiculed by Cotta, the Academic, when he comes to anſwer him. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. p. 27; and lib. 3. p. 62. Ed. Ald.

(114) Hegiæ Minerva, Pyrrhuſque rex laudatur; & Caſtor & Pollux, ante ædem Jovis Tonantis. Pliny, Lib. 34. c. 8. p 388. Ed. Elz.

(115) Ambo conſpicui, nive candidioribus, albis
Vectabantur equis; ambo vibrata per auras
Haſtarum tremulo quatiebant ſpicula motu.
Ovid. Met. 8. ℣. 375.

——Ambiguo viſus errore laceſſunt
Oebalidæ gemini. Chlamys huic, Chlamys ardet & illi;
Ambo haſtile gerunt; humeros exertus uterque,
Nudus uterque genas; ſimili coma fulgurat aſtro.
Statius, Theb. 5. ℣. 440.

Apollo, in Lucian, begs Mercury to give him ſome mark how to know which is Caſtor, and which Pollux; for, he ſays, they are ſo much alike, that he is always miſtaking the one for the other: and ſeems much obliged to him, for telling him how to diſtinguiſh them apart. Ωνησας, ſays he, διδαξας τα γνωρισματα, επει τα γε αλλα παντα ισα· τε ωε το ημιτομον, και ας-ηρ υπερανω, και ακοντιον εν τη χειρι, και ιππος εκατερω λευκος. Tom. I. p. 236. Ed. Blaeu.

(116) ——Pauci, quos equus amavit
Jupiter.——
Æn. 6. ℣. 130.

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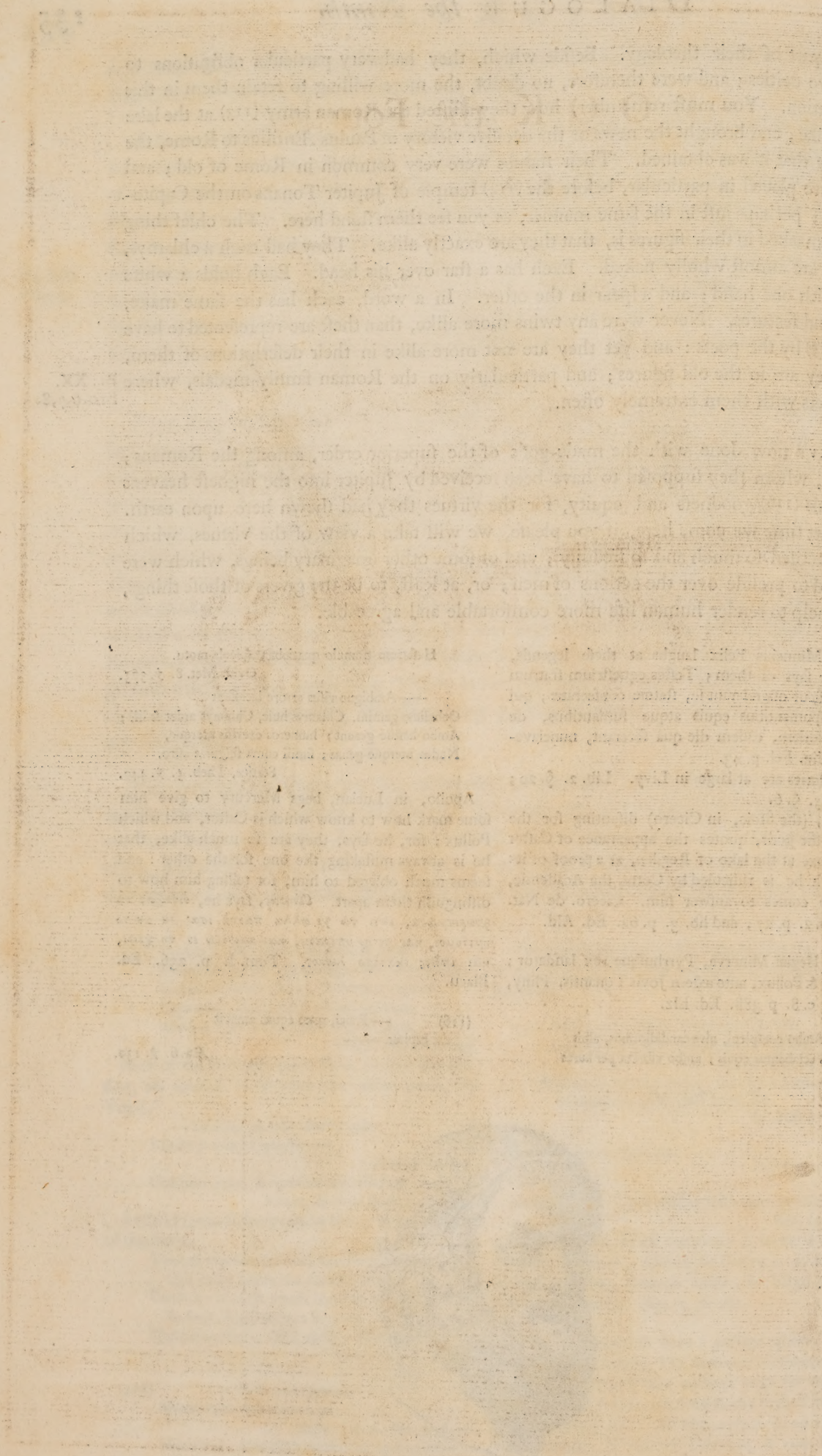
Beilard Sculp.



L.P. Boitard Sculp.

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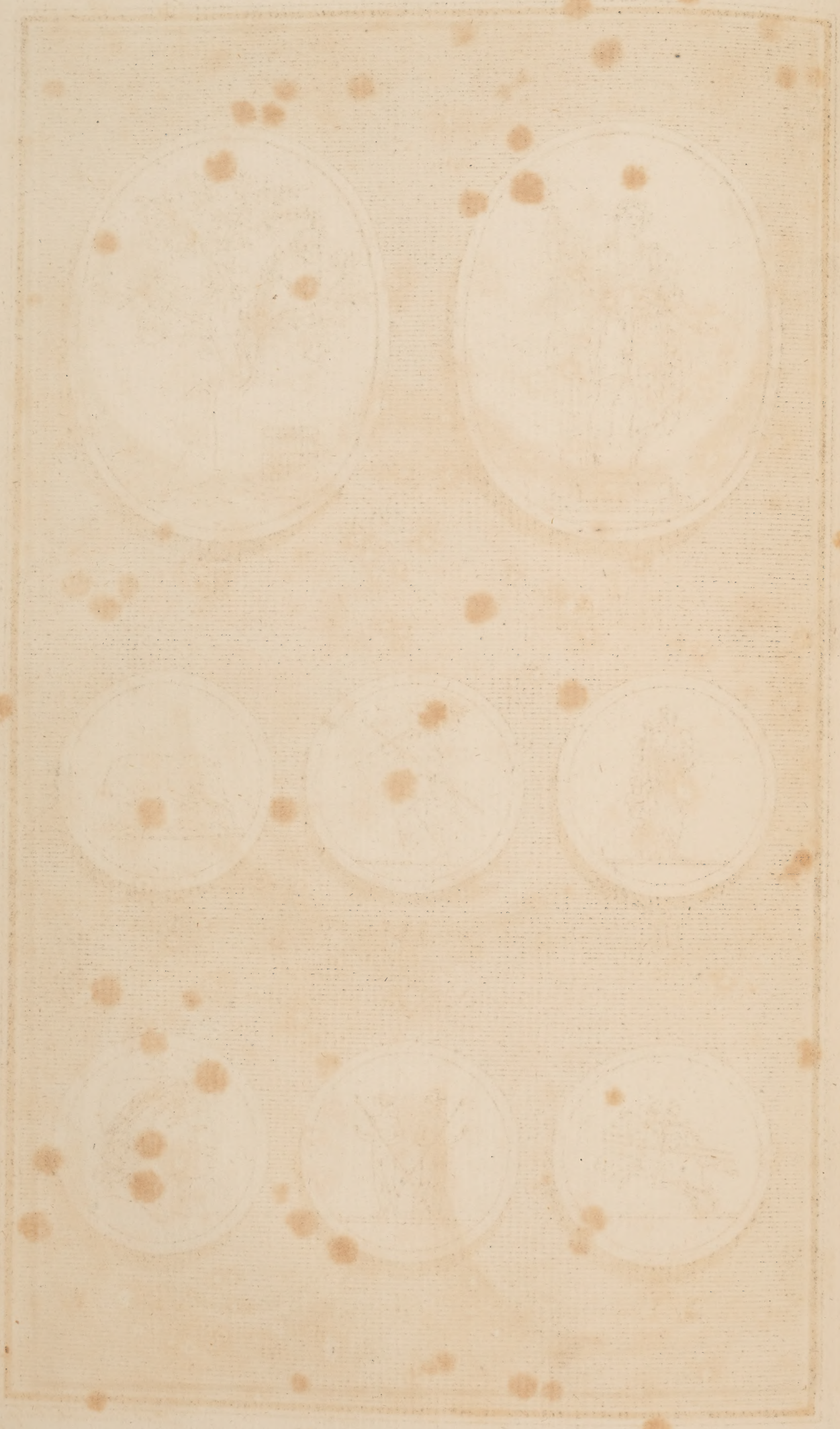

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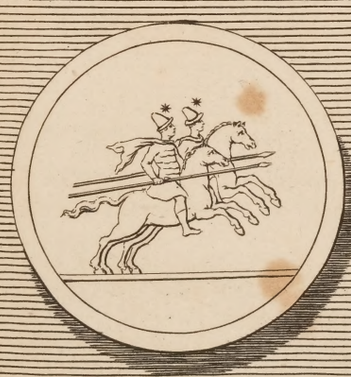

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VII

VIII

L.P. Boitard Sculp

BOOK the Fourth.

DIAL. X.

Of the Moral DEITIES: or the Deities that preſided over the Virtues of Men; and the Conduct of Human Life.

THE figures I am going to ſhew you, (ſays Polymetis, when he carried his friends the next morning, to take a round of the outſide of his upper temple,) relate all to what we may call, the Moral Beings; to ſuch of the deities, as were ſuppoſed of old more immediately to inſpire men with ſome particular virtue; or to be the givers of thoſe things, which tend to the glory or happineſs of mankind: or to preſide over the conduct and events of human life. It is obſervable, that the Roman poets ſay leſs of the beſt of theſe Moral Beings, than might be expected. The artiſts are much fuller on this head; and one who would ſettle what appearances each of them made, ſhould go to the medals of the Roman emperors. There is ſcarce a virtue, or bleſſing of life, which is not attributed to one or other of them, in the reverſes of their medals: and you will often ſee ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them, thus attached to a Nero or a Domitian; and diſtinguiſhed generally by a particular * mark, to ſhew that it was a national piece of flattery; and done by the order of the ſupreme council of the whole Roman empire. The poets, (in this one caſe,) were not ſo great flatterers, as the ſenate and the artiſts; and you will therefore pardon me, if I ſhew you ſome figures in the round we are going to take, of which the poets ſay little or nothing at all.

THE firſt figure here, to begin on our right hand from the portico, is Philoſophy; or, to ſpeak more properly, Moral Philoſophy. Philoſophy, originally among the Greeks, and among the Romans long after, was called by the name (1) of Wiſdom. You ſee her here leaning on a column; with a mild and ſerene air, much as ſhe is deſcribed (2) by Lucian: and both by her look and attitude, ſeeming to be engaged in converſation with ſome one of her favourite diſciples. It is indeed Socrates that ſhe is ſpeaking to: but whoever looks upon her, may imagine, if he pleaſes, that ſhe is giving her inſtructions to him. There is a Sarcophagus, among the many fine pieces of antiquity preſerved at preſent in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome, on which the nine Muſes are repreſented in the front; at one end, is Moral philoſophy converſing with Socrates: and on the other, Homer, (as great a philoſopher (3) almoſt as Socrates,) converſing with his Muſe. It is from this Sarcophagus that the figure before you was copied. She looks

PL. XXI. FIG. 1, 2.

* S. C. for, Senatus Conſulto.

(1) Cicero tells us that Philoſophia was called Sapientia, till Pythagoras's time. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 4. p. 487. Ed. Blaeu.

Nec quiſquam Sophiam, Sapientia quai perhibetur,
In ſomneis vidit, priu' quàm Samu' diſcere coipit.
Ennius, Annal. Lib. 1.

——Deus ille fuit, Deus, inclute Memmi,
Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam, quæ
Nunc appellatur Sapientia; quique per artem
Fluctibus e tantis vitam, tantiſque tenebris,
In tam tranquillâ & tam clarâ luce locavit.
Lucretius, Lib. 5. ℣. 12.

Ratio perfecta nominatur rite, Sapientia. Cicero, de Legibus, 1. §. 7.

Magna quidem ſacris quæ dat præcepta libellis
Victrix fortunæ Sapientia; dicimus autem
Hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitæ,
Nec jactare jugum, vitâ didicere magiſtrâ.
Juvenal, 13. ℣. 22.

(2) Ενταυθα εν Κεραμεικω υπομενομεν αυτην· ηδη, ηδη που αφιξεται επανιουσα εξ Ακαδημιας, ως περιπατησειε και εν τη Ποικιλη· τουτο γαρ ωνημεραι εθος ποιειν αυτη.——Μαλλον δε ηδη προσεισιν.——Ορας την κοσμιον την απο του σχηματος; την προσηνη το βλεμμα; την επι συννοια ηρεμα βαδιζουσαν; Lucian, Tom. I. p. 397. Ed. Blaeu.

(3) Qui quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe; quid utile, quid non; Plenius, ac melius, Chryſippo & Crantore dicit.
Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 2. ℣. 4.

looks kindly, while ſhe inſtructs; and her face very well becomes her true character; for there is nothing of the ſullen, or ſevere, in it. You ſee ſhe is here in a robe of grandeur and dignity: but I fancy, from a verſe in one of the old poets, that ſhe might poſſibly have been repreſented ſometimes by the artiſts in a (4) meaner garb; in alluſion perhaps to the poverty of the old philoſophers, her profeſſed followers. Another of the poets of the firſt age makes her the (5) daughter of Experience and Memory. What his authority may be for ſaying ſo, I know not; but whether he builds it on any authority or not, I am ſure there is very good ſenſe in it.

The four figures, next in order after this, are the figures of the four Cardinal Virtues; Prudence; Juſtice; Fortitude; and Temperance.

Prudence, (or Good Senſe,) ſtands in the front of all the virtues, in (6) Cicero's catalogue of them, as well as here. The Romans ſeem to have called this indifferently by the name of Prudentia, or Providentia; the reaſon of which may be gathered from Cicero's (7) derivation of the word Prudentia. When they uſed Providentia for human prudence, it was generally (8) diſtinguiſhed by the words annexed to it. I imagine that they ſometimes uſed Mens, or Mens bona, for the ſame. The goddeſs of Prudence here, appears as ſhe is repreſented on the reverſe of a medal of one of the Roman emperors; and has a rule (or meaſure) in her hand, and a globe at her feet; to ſhew that that emperor by his prudence, kept the whole world in order. The ſame idea might be adapted too as eaſily to lower life, conſidering that it is by prudence that all the affairs of human life are regulated and diſpoſed, as they ought to be. She was received (9), very early as a goddeſs among the Romans: and had temples dedicated to her; and one on the Capitoline hill, in particular. Petronius makes Poverty (10) her ſiſter; and Ovid hints at a diſgraceful picture of her (11), following the triumphal chariot of Cupid, with her hands tied behind her, as one of his ſlaves.

Pl. XXI. Fig. 3.

True Juſtice, (or rather Equity, for the exacteſt execution of written laws may be the cauſe of very great injuſtice) is repreſented, by a perſon with a balance or pair of ſcales in her hand, held exactly even. Juſtice, according to the poets, was one of thoſe celeſtial beings that condeſcended to inhabit our earth; in the firſt happy ages of the world: and was one of the laſt of them who quitted it, when it grew corrupt and vile. Virgil (12) gives

Pl. XXI. Fig. 4.

(4) Sæpe eſt etiam ſub ſordido palliolo Sapientia.
Cæcilius.

(5) Uſus me genuit; mater peperit Memoria:
Σοφιαν, vocant me Graii; vos, Sapientiam.
Afranius, in Sellâ.

This is among his fragments; ſo that it does not appear from what part of the play it is taken: but it ſeems, by her addreſſing herſelf to the audience, that it was part of the prologue. If ſo, Philoſophy probably appeared as a perſon, and ſpoke the prologue; as Plautus introduces Arcturus, to ſpeak the prologue to one of his plays.

(6) Cic. de Officiis. Lib. 1. c. 5.

(7) Sapientis eſt providere; ex quo ſapientia eſt appellata prudentia. Cic. in Orat.

(8) Thus, on medals: if the ſubject be Divine Providence, the uſual inſcription is, PROVIDENTIA DEORVM; if Human Prudence, PROVIDENTIA CAESARIS, PROVIDENTIA AVG. or PROVIDENTIA AVGG. for Auguſti, and Auguſtorum.

(9) Ex quo intelligitur prudentiam quoque & mentem à diis ad homines perveniſſe: ob eamque cauſam, majorum inſtitutis, Mens, Fides, Virtus, Concordia, conſecratæ & publicè dedicatæ ſunt. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 42. Ed. Ald.

Ut Fides, ut Mens; quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus. Ibid. p. 38.

Ædes Veneri Erycinæ & Menti vovendas eſſe. Livy, Lib. 22. c. 9. This temple to Good-Senſe, (or Prudence,) was built accordingly by Otacilius. Ibid. c. 10. And, (as he tells us in another place,) on the Capitoline hill. Id. Lib. 23. c. 31.

(10) Neſcio, inquam, quo modo bonæ Mentis ſoror ſit Paupertas. p. 141. Ed. Lond.

(11) Mens Bona ducetur, manibus poſt terga revinctis;
Et Pudor; & caſtris quicquid amoris obeſt.
Ovid. Amor. Lib. 1. El. 2. ℣. 32.

(12) ——At latis otia fundis;
Speluncæ, vivique lacus: at frigida Tempe,
Mugituſque boum, molleſque ſub arbore ſomni
Non abſunt. Illic ſaltus ac luſtra ferarum;
Et patiens operum parvoque aſſueta juventus:
Sacra deum, ſanctique patres. Extrema per illos
Juſtitia excedens terris veſtigia fecit.
Virg. Georg. 2. ℣. 474.

gives us one of his uſual hints, that ſhe firſt quitted courts and cities; and retired into the country: and in Aratus, you may read (13) a full account of the whole affair. I ſhall have but very little to ſay as to her figure, nor to thoſe of moſt of the moral beings in this circle; becauſe,(as I mentioned before,) there is very little deſcriptive of their perſons in the Roman poets. They ſpeak of them often as perſons; but they do not generally ſay much of their attributes, or dreſs, or the appearance they make. The only paſſage I can recollect at preſent in which there is any thing deſcriptive of this goddeſs in particular, is a deſcription by contraries. It is in Petronius Arbiter (14); where he is ſpeaking of the breaking out of the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey: on which occaſion he deſcribes Peace, as hiding her head in a helmet; Honeſty, with a dejected air; Juſtice, as diſcompoſed, with her hair all looſe and diſordered; and Concord, with a ſorrowful look, and her veil rent in two.

FORTITUDE, you may eaſily know by her erect air; her military dreſs; the ſpear ſhe reſts on with one hand, and the ſword which ſhe holds in the other. She has here a globe under her feet: I ſuppoſe to ſhew, that the Romans by the means of this virtue were to ſubdue the whole world: an idea, that it is well known they received very early; and encouraged very much, among the people. As this people was of ſo military a turn, they generally gave Fortitude the (15) name of Virtus, or the Virtue, by way of excellence: juſt as the ſame nation, now they are ſo debaſed and effeminated, call the love of the ſofter arts, Vertù. Virtus indeed, among the antient Romans, ſignified ſomething more than military courage only; but it ſignified that principally, and moſt uſually. In its larger ſenſe, it included a (16) firmneſs of mind, and love of action; or to be a little more explicit, a ſteddy readineſs to do good, and a patient indurance of all evil. Our word, Courage, may be extended to both theſe meanings. PL. XXI. FIG. 5.

VIRTUS is ſpoken of perſonally not only by the Roman poets, but by their (17) proſe writers too. She had ſeveral temples dedicated to her at Rome; with repreſentations of

(13) This is one of the fineſt digreſſions in Aratus. Φαιν. ỳ. 97, to 136.

(14) Mitis turba deûm terras exoſa furentes
Deſerit; atque hominum damnatum deſerit agmen.
Pax prima, ante alios, niveos pulſata lacertos
Abſcondit galeâ victum caput; atque relicto
Orbe fugax Ditis petit implacabile regnum.
Huic comes it ſubmiſſa Fides; & crine ſoluto
Juſtitia; ac mœrens lacerâ Concordia pallâ.
Petr. ỳ. 253.

(15) The temper of a people, (as it has been often obſerved,) is ſometimes diſcoverable from their uſage of words. Thus the French call civility or polite behaviour, by the name of Honneteté; the vulgar, in our own iſland, call a downright behaviour, by the name of Honeſty; and the ladies among us,(from ſome old cuſtom, I ſuppoſe,) ſtill call chaſtity, by the name of Virtue.

(16) Cicero ſpeaks of Virtus and Fortitudo as the ſame thing. Appellata eſt a viro, virtus; viri autem propria maximè eſt fortitudo. Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 2. p. 392. Ed. Blaeu.

The definitions he gives of Fortitudo, agree with thoſe above. As that from a Greek philoſopher, (Chryſippus;) Fortitudo eſt ſcientia perferendarum rerum; vel affectio animi, in patiendo ac perferendo, ſummæ legi parens, ſine timore. Ibid. lib. 4. p. 468. and that which he gives as his own; Quæ eſt enim alia Fortitudo, niſi animi affectio, cum in adeundo periculo & in labore ac dolore patiens, tum procul ab omni metu. Ibid. lib. 5. p. 501.

In the ſame treatiſe, he ſays, more particularly: Contemnendæ ſunt humanæ res; negligenda mors eſt; patibiles & dolores & labores putandi. Hæc cum conſtituta ſint judicio atque ſententiâ, tum eſt robuſta illa & ſtabilis Fortitudo. Ib. Lib. 4. p. 469.

It includes a love of action: thus Cotta the academiſt's argument, againſt Velleius the epicurean, in Cicero. Virtus actuoſa; et veſter deus nihil agens: expers virtutis igitur. De Nat. Deor. lib. 1. p. 23. Ed. Ald.——As Cicero ſays here, that Virtue conſiſts in action; ſo Lucian ſays; Η μεν αρετη εν εργοις ὀητα εστιν· οιον εν τω δικαια πραττειν, και σοφα, και ανδρεια. Tom. I. p. 565. Ed. Blaeu.——The very ſtatues of this goddeſs ſhewed her, as always ready for action. Solet virtutis ſimulachrum depingi ſuccinctum. Lactantius, Lib. 10.

Horace expreſſes the character of this, very ſhortly and fully; (on a different occaſion:) Quidvis & facere & pati. Lib. 3. Od. 24, 44; and, in another place; Multa tulit fecitque.—De Art. Poet. 413.

Tho' I have given here ſo many definitions of Virtus, from Cicero and others; I ſhould be more inclined to go to the New Teſtament, for the beſt definition of it, that I know of. It is that of St. Paul, in his epiſtle to the Romans; where he calls Virtue, "A patient continuance in well doing." Rom. ii. 7.

(17) Loquetur eorum voce Virtus ipſa tecum: "Tune," &c. Cicero. Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 2. p. 393. Ed. Blaeu.

of (18) her in them. Tho' theſe may be all loſt, (for I do not remember ever to have met with any picture, or ſtatue, of this goddeſs in Rome,) her figure is common on the medals of their emperors; and more common, I believe, than has been (19) uſually imagined, in the relievo's relating to their emperors.

You ſee her in the latter, dreſſed like a woman; or rather, like an Amazon: for ſhe is generally repreſented as a military lady. She is ſometimes in a coat of mail, or a ſhort ſuccinct veſt; with her legs and arms bare, as the Roman ſoldiers uſed to be. She has a manly face, and air; and generally graſps a ſword, or ſpear, in her hand. Her dreſs ſhews her character, of readineſs for action; and her look, a firmneſs and reſolution, not to be conquered by any difficulties or dangers, that may meet her in her way.

The many difficulties that attend the following the dictates of the goddeſs Virtus, as they called it of old, (or of a virtuous life, as we call it now,) were ſtrongly expreſſed in that very juſt and very antient emblem (20), of a perſon climbing up the ſide of a vaſt, ſteep, rocky mountain; often ready to fall, and meeting with many things to oppoſe him or divert him from his way; but, when he has once gained the ſummit, finding himſelf at once got into a delicious tract of country, with a purer air and a ſerene ſky, and with every object about him pleaſing and charming to his ſenſes. This is what Pythagoras partly ſhadowed out, (in that ſhort (21) hieroglyphical way, which he probably learned from the Egyptians,) by a ſingle letter in the Greek alphabet of his time; and what Cebes has laid out, ſo much at large, in his moſt excellent picture of human life.

There can be no virtue without choice. Had all the labours of Hercules been as fated and neceſſary, as his twelve known ones, they could not ſo well have made him their great exemplar for virtue of old. Cicero in his very definition of Virtus inſerts, that it is the going thorough all manner of difficulties and troubles, out of judgment and choice. And here you may obſerve that the antients have done by Virtus, as I have ſaid before they did by Minerva: they have made her character and appearance, rather too

(18) Solet Virtutis ſimulachrum depingi ſuccinctum. Lactantius, Lib. 10.

(Ariſtolai Pictoris) ſunt Medea; Virtus; Theſeus; imago Atticæ plebis; &c. Pliny, Lib. 35. c. 11. p. 448. Ed. Elz.——(Pinxit Parrhaſius) Liberum Patrem, aſtante Virtute. Ib. c. 10. p. 432.——Fecit (Euphranor) Virtutem, et Græciam; utraſque coloſſeas. Id. Lib. 34. c. 8. p. 388.

(19) Thus in the famous collection of relievo's by P. Bartoli, called the Admiranda, what he takes to be the genius of Rome, I ſhould rather take to be the goddeſs Virtus. As where ſhe is giving the globe to Marcus Aurelius, Adm. Pl. 6. and attending Balbinus, at the chace, ib. Pl. 24. So in the old triumphal arches, (publiſhed by the ſame author;) where ſhe is guiding Titus's triumphal chariot, Arc. Tri. Pl. 4. and where ſhe is conducting Trajan home. Ib. Pl. 28.

(20) This the Roman poets often ſeem to allude to.

Magnum pauperies opprobrium, jubet
Quidvis & facere & pati;
Virtutiſque viam deſerit arduæ.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 24. ℣. 44.

Ardua molimur: ſed nulla niſi ardua Virtus.
Ovid. de Art. Am. 2. ℣. 537.

Mille doli reſtant; clivo ſudamus in imo.
Id. Her. Ep. 20. ℣. 41. Acontius, Cyd.

——Nil ſine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 9. ℣. 60. (Spoke by a buſtling impertinent fellow, alluding to his great virtues.)

Caſta mihi domus, & celſo ſtant colle penates,
Ardua ſaxoſo perducit ſemita clivo;
Aſpera principio: (nec enim mihi fallere mos eſt,)
Proſequitur labor ad nitendum intrare volenti;
Nec bona cenſendum, quæ fors infida dediſſet,
Atque eadem rapuiſſe valet. Mox celſus, ab alto
Infra te cernes hominum genus.——
Spoke by Virtus, in Sil. Ital. 15. ℣. 107.

Lucian alludes very frequently to this ſort of idea; but no where ſo fully, as in his Ῥητόρων Διδάσκαλος. Tom. II. p. 309, &c. Ed. Blaeu. It is very fully deſcribed too, in the picture of Cebes; which we vulgarly call, Cebes's Table.

(21) Pythagoras uſed to point out the two different paths of life, to his diſciples, in the make of the old Ypſilon. The generality, he ſaid, took the broad eaſy road, to the left hand; and the virtuous, the narrow ſteep line to the right.

Haud tibi inexpertum curvos deprendere mores,
Quæque docet ſapiens braccatis illita Medis
Porticus; inſomnis quibus & detonſa juventus
Invigilat, ſiliquis & grandi paſta polentâ:
Et tibi, quæ Samios deduxit litera ramos,
Surgentem dextro monſtravit tramite callem:
Stertis adhuc?——
Perſius, 3. ℣. 78.

too (22) rigid and ſevere. They generally oppoſe Virtus, to Voluptas: and when they talk of the two different paths of life; this of the good, and that of the bad; they ſtrow the latter with roſes, and the former with thorns. In a word, they have made the ways of Virtue to appear at leaſt like the ways of unpleaſantneſs: and yet they always ſay, that ſhe is to be choſen with all her difficulties and troubles. She is to be choſen for the end; (which is the chief thing always in determining one's choice:) for they deſcribe (23) the path of virtue, as leading thro' difficulties and troubles, to glory and happineſs; and the path of pleaſure, as leading thro' gaieties and enjoyments, to miſery and diſhonour.

As the determining this choice is the moſt important thing to every man that is born into the world, we find it ſhadowed out by the poets and moraliſts of all ages: in fables very different indeed, but all of them pointing to the ſame end.

SILIUS ITALICUS introduces a Choice into his poem, where he is ſpeaking of Scipio Africanus; the greateſt man perhaps that ever Rome produced, if we take his character all round. He ſpeaks of him as very young; for it was juſt after his father and uncle had loſt their lives in fighting againſt the Carthaginians. The ſenate debate, who they ſhall ſend to head their armies in Spain: while they are debating, young Scipio retires in the depth of his concern into a ſolitary place, to conſider with himſelf whether he ſhould follow the example of his relations, and fling himſelf into the war; or whether he ſhould retire, and ſave the poor remains of his family. Whilſt he is ruminating and doubtful what to fix on (24), Virtus and Voluptas appear to him. Each makes a ſpeech to

(22) There is a head of Virtus, publiſhed by Fulvio Orſini, with the hair lank and rude; and entirely with the look of a common ſoldier.

We meet with ſeveral deſcriptions in the poets, which ſhew that they had much the ſame idea of her.

When Lucan deſcribes Scæva, as all horrible with wounds; he ſays, that his companions looked upon him as an exact repreſentation of this goddeſs.

Perdiderat vultum rabies; ſtetit imbre cruento
Informis facies.—Labentem turba ſuorum
Excipit, atque humeris defectum imponere gaudet:
Ac veluti incluſum perfoſſo in pectore numen,
Et vivam magnæ ſpeciem Virtutis adorant.
Pharſ. 6. ℣. 254.

Virtus, coming from the throne of Jupiter, and changing herſelf into the ſhape of Manto, (to perſuade Menæceus to ſacrifice his life for his country;) is thus deſcribed by Statius.

——Abiit horrorque vigorque
Ex oculis: paulum decoris permanſit; honoſque
Mollior: et poſito vatum geſtamina ferro
Subdita: deſcendunt veſtes, torviſque ligatur
Vitta comis; nam laurus erat. Tamen aſpera produnt
Ora deam; nimiique gradus.——
Theb. 10. ℣. 646.

This author is full of theſe ideas; for he ſays, in another place:

Ridet Mars Pater, & cruenta Virtus:
Lib. 1. Sylv. 6. ℣. 62.

And, where he is deſcribing the court of Mars,

Innumeris ſtrepit aula Minis. Triſtiſſima Virtus
Stat medio; lætuſque Furor: vultuque cruento
Mors armata ſedet.——
Theb. 7. ℣. 53.

(23) Orandum eſt ut ſit mens ſana in corpore ſano;
Fortem poſce animum & mortis terrore carentem,
Qui ſpatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ; qui ferre queat quoſcumque labores;
Neſciat iraſci, cupiat nihil: & potiores
Herculis ærumnas credat ſævoſque labores,
Et Venere, & cœnis & plumis Sardanapali.
Monſtro quod ipſe tibi poſſis dare. Semita certe
Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ.
Juvenal. Sat. 10. ℣. 364.

(24) Has lauri reſidens juvenis viridante ſub umbrâ,
Ædibus extremis, volvebat pectore curas;
Quum ſubitò adſiſtunt dextrâ lævâque, per auras
Adlapſæ, haud paulum mortali major imago,
Hinc Virtus, illinc Virtuti inimica Voluptas.
Altera Achemænium ſpirabat vertice odorem,
Ambroſias diffuſa comas; & veſte refulgens,
Oſtrum quæ fulvo Tyrium ſuffuderat auro:
Fronte decor quæſitus acu; laſcivaque crebras
Ancipiti motu jaciebant lumina flammas.
Alterius diſpar habitus. Frons hirta; nec unquam
Compoſitâ mutata comâ. Stans vultus: & ore
Inceſſuque viro propior; lætique pudoris.
Celſa humeros niveæ fulgebat ſtamine pallæ.
Occupat inde prior, promiſſis fiſa, Voluptas.
"Quis furor hic, non digne puer conſumere bello
Florem ævi? Cannænе tibi, graviorque palude
Mæonius Stygiâ lacus exceſſere, Paduſque?
Quem tandem ad finem bellando fata laceſſes?
Tune etiam tentare paras Atlantia regna,
Sidoniaſque domos? Moneo, certare periclis
Deſine, & armiſonæ caput objectare procellæ.
Ni fugis hos ritus, Virtus te ſæva jubebit
Per medias volitare acies, medioſque per ignes.
Hæc patrem patruumque tuos; hæc prodiga Paulum,
Hæc Decios, Stygias Erebi detruſit ad undas;
Dum cineri titulum memorandaque nomina buſtis
Prætendit, nec ſenſuræ quid geſſerit umbræ.
At ſi me comitere, puer, non limite duro
Jam tibi decurret conceſſi temporis ætas:
Haud unquam trepidos abrumpet buccina ſomnos;
Non glaciem Arctoam, non experiere furentis
Ardorem Cancri; nec menſas, ſæpe cruento
Gramine compoſitas: aberunt ſitis aſpera, & hauſtus
Sub galeâ pulvis, partique timore labores:
Sed current albuſque dies, horæque ſerenæ;
Et molli dabitur victu ſperare ſenectam.
Quantas

to draw him over to her party. He is determined by what Virtus ſays to him; haſtes to the ſenate; demands to lead the army into Spain; and goes on in a continued courſe of great and good actions. I know not whether Silius might borrow any ſtrokes in the deſcriptive part of this ſtory, from any pictures of a (25) choice, at Rome in his time; but his deſcription might certainly furniſh a good painter now with all the ideas neceſſary to make a good picture on this ſubject. The place; the perſonages; their air, their looks, their robes, and the very colour of them, being all fixed by the poet; and only wanting a good hand, to tranſplant them on the canvas.

This ſtory of Scipio in Silius, is evidently taken from that of Hercules in Xenophon's memoirs of Socrates. It was a leſſon which that great philoſopher gave his diſciples; and one of the nobleſt leſſons in all antiquity. He borrowed it from Prodicus; who he ſays, uſed to tell it in a much more ornamented manner than he has done: but perhaps we have not it the worſe, for having it plainer. I have heard you ſay, Philander, that a particular friend of yours has turned it into verſe, in our own language, from the Greek of Xenophon; and I think you promiſed me ſome time ago, that you would be ſo good as to ſhew it to me. I am ſo far from forgetting that promiſe, ſays Philander, that I brought it with me into the country, on purpoſe. I took it with me yeſterday, when you was to conſider the character of Hercules; and have it ſtill about me. I would not interrupt you with it now; but when you have finiſhed your round of the Virtues and Deities before us, if you pleaſe, I will have the pleaſure of reading it to you.

We ſhall be both obliged to you, ſays Polymetis; but before I go on with my other goddeſſes, I muſt beg leave to explain a thing a little, which I only juſt hinted at before.

I

Quantas ipſe deus lætos generavit in uſus
Res homini, plenâque dedit bona gaudia dextrâ?
Atque idem, exemplar lenis mortalibus ævi,
Imperturbatâ placidus tenet otia mente.
Illa ego ſum, Anchiſæ Venerem Simoentis ad undas
Quæ junxi; generis vobis unde editus auctor:
Illa ego ſum, verti ſuperum qui ſæpe parentem,
Nunc avis in formam, nunc torvi in cornua tauri.
Huc adverte aures. Currit mortalibus ævum:
Nec naſci bis poſſe datur. Fugit hora; rapitque
Tartareus torrens: ac ſecum ferre ſub umbras,
Si qua animo placuere, negat. Quis, luce ſuprema,
Dimiſiſſe meas ſerò non ingemit horas!"
Poſtquam conticuit, finiſque eſt addita dictis;
Tum Virtus. "Quaſnam juvenem florentibus (inquit)
Pellicis in fraudes annis vitæque tenebras,
Cui ratio & magnæ cœleſtia ſemina mentis
Munere ſunt conceſſa deum? Mortalibus alti
Quantum Cœlicolæ, tantundem animalibus iſti
Præcellunt cunctis: tribuit namque ipſa minores
Hos terris natura deos; ſed, fœdere certo,
Degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernis:
At queis ætherei ſervatur ſeminis ortus,
Cœli porta patet. Referam quid cuncta domantem
Amphitryoniadem? Quid, cui poſt Seras & Indos,
Captivo Liber quum ſigna referret ab Euro,
Caucaſeæ currum duxere per oppida tigres?
Quid ſuſpiratos magno in diſcrimine nautis
Ledæos referam fratres, veſtrumque Quirinum?
Nonne vides, hominum ut celſos ad ſidera vultus
Suſtulerit deus, ac ſublimia finxerit ora;
Quum pecudes, volucrumque genus, formaſq; ferarum,
Segnem atque obſcœnam paſſim ſtraviſſet in alvum?
Ad laudes genitum, capiat ſi munera divum,
Felix ad laudes hominum genus. Huc age, paullum
Adſpice, (nec longè repetam,) modò Roma minanti
Impar Fidenæ, contentaque creſcere aſylo,
Quo ſeſe extulerit dextris! idem adſpice, latè
Florentes quondam luxus quas verterit urbes!
Quippe nec ira deum tantum, nec tela; nec hoſtes;
Quantum ſola noces, animis illapſa, Voluptas!
Circa te ſemper volitans Infamia pennis:
Mecum, Honor, & Laudes, & læto Gloria vultu;
Et Decus, & niveis Victoria concolor alis;
Me, cinctus lauro, perducit ad aſtra Triumphus.
Caſta mihi domus, & celſo ſtant colle penates:
Ardua ſaxoſo perducit ſemita clivo,
Aſpera principio; (nec enim mihi fallere mos eſt;)
Proſequitur labor ad nitendum intrare volenti:
Nec bona cenſendum quæ fors infida dediſſet,
Atque eadem rapuiſſe valet: mox celſus ab alto
Infra te cernes hominum genus. Omnia contra
Experienda manent, quàm ſpondet blanda Voluptas.
Stramine projectus duro, patiere ſub aſtris
Inſomnes noctes; friguſque famemque domabis.
Idem, juſtitiæ cultor, quæcunque capeſſes
Teſtes factorum ſtare arbitrabere Divos.
Tunc, quoties patriæ rerumque pericula poſcent,
Arma feres primus; primus te in mœnia tolles
Hoſtica: nec ferro mentem vincêre, nec auro.
Hinc tibi, non Tyrio vitiatas murice veſtes;
Nec donum, deforme viro, flagrantis amomi:
Sed dabo, qui veſtrum ſævo nunc Marte fatigat
Imperium, ſuperare manu; laurumque ſuperbam
In gremio Jovis exciſis deponere Pœnis."
Quæ poſtquam cecinit ſacrato pectore Virtus,
Exemplis lætum, vultuque audita probantem,
Convertit juvenem. Sed enim indignata Voluptas
Non tenuit voces. "Nil vos jam demoror ultra,
Exclamat. Venient, venient mea tempora quondam!
Quum docilis noſtris, magno certamine, Roma
Serviet imperiis; & honor mihi habebitur uni:"
Sic, quaſſans caput, in nubes ſe ſuſtulit atras.
At juvenis, plenus monitis, ingentia corde
Molitur; viſæque calet Virtutis amore.
Silius Ital. Lib. 15. ℣. 130.

(25) The choice of Hercules, in particular, was a ſubject for pictures of old. See Philoſtratus in Vitâ Apollonii. Lib. 6. c. 10. p. 239, 240, &c. Ed. Lipſ.

I ſaid that theſe choices were much more common in antiquity, than has been generally imagined. Thus, I ſuſpect at leaſt, that the ſtory of Ulyſſes and Circe was ſomething of this kind; the debate there was, whether he ſhould give himſelf up to that goddeſs, or go on to ſeek Ithaca and the chaſte partner of his bed. The trial of the ſame hero, when he reſiſted the bewitching muſic of the Sirens, is another dreſs for the ſame ſort of moral; and, if I miſtake not, Horace (26) alludes to both theſe ſtories of this hero, in a manner that may partly ſerve to juſtify this conjecture. The Choice, or (as it is more commonly called,) the Judgment of Paris, ſeems to me to be the Aſiatic way of telling the ſame ſtory; and it is formed on a larger plan, than any of the former. The goddeſs of (27) Wiſdom, the goddeſs of Pleaſure, and the goddeſs of Power, appear to Paris in his youth. They each make him their offers. He prefers pleaſure, to whatever the others could give him: and the conſequence of this bad choice of his was, the loſs of his own life, the ſufferings of all his friends, and of his country; and finally, the overturning of the Aſiatic monarchy. But what dignifies this matter in general more than any thing I have ſaid, and more than any thing I could ſay, is; that one might give inſtances of ſome ſtrokes reſembling this method of inſtruction, from the ſacred writers: as in the choice of Solomon, recorded in the Old Teſtament; and that of a greater than Solomon, in the New.

ONE word more on this ſubject; and I have done with it. The account of theſe Choices were ſo familiar and well known of old, that the Roman poets often allude to them, in other things beſide fixing on a virtuous or vitious courſe of living. So Perſius, (28) of chuſing between two vices, Avaritia and Luxuria: and Ovid in his doubt (29), whether he ſhould take to writing elegies or tragedies.

THE figure that you ſee next to Virtus, is placed here to repreſent Temperantia; who was ſuppoſed to inſpire men with the reſolution of (30) bridling in their deſires and appetites; and it is therefore that you ſee her with a bit, in her right hand. I could never meet with any figure of Temperantia, on any Roman medal: and was therefore forced to ſteal this from a Grecian one; and to adapt it to my purpoſe: for, to ſay the truth, the artiſt meant it for a different goddeſs. What made me take this extraordinary licence, PL. XXI. FIG. 6.

was

(26) Hic, in reductâ valle Caniculæ,
Vitabis æſtus; & fide Teïâ
Dices laborantes in uno
Penelopen, vitreamque Circen.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 17. ℣. 20.

Rurſum quid Virtus & quod Sapientia poſſit
Utile propoſuit nobis exemplar Ulyſſem;
Qui domitor Trojæ, multorum providus urbes
Et mores hominum inſpexit: latumque per æquor
Dum ſibi, dum ſociis reditum parat, aſpera multa
Pertulit; adverſis rerum immerſabilis undis.
Sirenûm voces, & Circes pocula noſti:
Quæ, ſi cum ſociis ſtultus cupiduſque bibiſſet,
Sub dominâ meretrice fuiſſet turpis & excors;
Vixiſſet canis immundus, vel amica luto ſus.
Id. Lib. 1. Ep. 2. ℣. 26.

(27) ——Venus, et cum Pallade Juno,
Graminibus teneros impoſuere pedes.——
Tantaque vincendi cura eſt, ingentibus ardent
Judicium donis ſollicitare meum:
Regna Jovis conjux, virtutem filia jactat;
Ipſe potens dubito, fortis an eſſe velim.
Dulce Venus riſit, ("Nec te, Pari, munera tangant;"
Utraque ſuſpenſi plena timoris, ait.)
"Nos dabimus quod ames; & pulchræ filia Ledæ
Ibit in amplexus, pulchrior ipſa, tuos."
Dixit; &, ex æquo donis formâque probatâ,
Victorem cœlo rettulit illa pedem.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 16. ℣. 88. (Paris, Hel.)

Unaque cum regnum, belli daret altera laudem;
Tyndaridos conjux tertia dixit, eris.——
Ergo ego ſum Virtus? Ego ſum tibi nobile regnum?
Id. Ibid. 17. ℣. 135. (Helena, Par.)

This whole ſtory is told moſt fully, and in the moſt pictureſque manner that can be, by Lucian. In him, Juno offers to make Paris king of all Aſia; or, in other words, the greateſt monarch then in the world:——Minerva promiſes to make him great in war, and always ſucceſsful:——and Venus tempts him with the fineſt woman in the world. Tom. I. p. 224, & 225. Ed. Blaeu.

(28) Sat. 5. ℣. 132—153.

(29) Lib. 3. El. 1. That whole elegy is on this ſubject; and flung into the manner of the antient Choices. The place is the grove of Egeria; the perſon to determine, Ovid himſelf; the goddeſſes that appear to him, Elegeïa and Tragœdia. The character he has given to the former, reſembles that of Deſidia; as that of the latter, ſeems to anſwer Virtus.—Lucian has uſed much the ſame method in his choice between Eloquence and Sculpture. Tom. I. p. 4. Ed. Blaeu.

(30) Temperantia, moderatio eſt cupiditatum, rationi obediens. Cicero, 2. §. 19. de Fin.

was my desire of compleating my set of Cardinal Virtues. I could not find out any figure fitter for my purpose; and one may presume, from several expressions in the Roman writers (31), that the goddess Temperantia was represented among the Romans, in the same manner as the deity which you see before you. Cicero's definitions of Temperance say just the same thing, in words; that this bit or bridle does, in the figure. The same author, in his Tusculan Questions, speaks of all (32) the Cardinal Virtues, in a personal manner. The moderns too represent them all personally; as, particularly, in the celebrated paintings of them, in the Jesuits church at Rome: which, (as they were done by one of the very best, and most judicious, of all our modern painters,) may I think serve as a very fair instance, how much the antient artists excel the moderns, in their manner of treating allegorical subjects. The antients had more of simplicity in their designs: they express what they would mean in a shorter, and stronger manner, than the moderns. Thus, in the statues of the four Cardinal Virtues before you, the character of each is fully expressed by one single attribute. Prudence, who is to guide every thing, has the directing wand in her hand; Justice, who is to weigh every thing aright, her scales; Fortitude, who is to act, her sword; and Temperance, who is to restrain, a bit. On the contrary, in the paintings I was speaking of, Dominiquin, (who is as much to be admired for his correctness, as any of the moderns perhaps, except Raphael,) expresses less, by endeavouring to express too much. Prudence he paints as supported by Time, and holding a looking-glass in her hand; (I suppose, to shew that she is produced by Experience and Reflection:) and by her is a boy, holding a serpent and a dove; (in compliment, possibly, to the Jesuits who employed him; and to signify that they are wise as serpents, and innocent as doves.) Justice, in his painting, cannot hold the scales for the scepter, she has in her hand: there are three little angels (or Cupids) about her, with a crown, the scales, and the fasces; and she is supported, (I do not well know why,) by Charity. Fortitude, is with a sword and shield; supported by a man with a dart in his hand, and a lion: on her right hand, is the motto of the Jesuits; and on her left, a column; not erect. Temperance, has a bit in her right hand, and a palm-branch in her left; a camel on one side, and two boys with pitchers, (perhaps as pouring water into wine,) on the other: she is supported by Chastity.——By comparing Dominiquin's manner of expressing these Virtues, with my figures of them here, you may form some idea of the superior excellence of the antient artists, in things of this nature: and of that simplicity, which indeed runs generally thorough all their designs.

PL. XXI. FIG. 7. NEXT to the Cardinal Virtues, I have placed Piety. She is veiled, you see; and in the act of casting some frankincense, on the little altar that stands by her. The Romans, in their more solemn devotions, had their heads (33) covered with a long veil; and the Vestal

(31) Cicero's definitions of Temperantia, agree exactly with the idea of a bit or bridle, in the hand of that goddess. There is one, from his treatise de Finibus, quoted the note before this: we have another, in his Lib. de Inventione; Temperantia est rationis, in libidinem atque in alios non rectos impetus animi, firma & moderata dominatio: and a third, in his Tusculan Questions; Temperantia est moderatrix omnium commotionum.

The Roman writers seem to allude frequently to this idea; in speaking of the effects of Temperance. Thus, frænare animum, is used by Cicero; iras frænare, by the author of Medea; and, frænare spes, by Silius Italicus.——So, animum frænis compesce, in Horace; and——pone iræ fræna modumque, in Juvenal.

In the same manner when they speak of any thing excessive, or intemperate; they use the words, effrænus, and effrænatus. Thus animus effrænatus, effrænata libido, cupiditas effrænata, furor effrænatus, violentia hominis effrænata; amor effrænus, & juventa effræna; all occur in some or other of the best writers, in their best ages.

(32) Jam tibi aderit princeps Fortitudo; quæ te animo tanto esse coget, ut omnia quæ possint homini evenire contemnas, & pro nihilo putes.—Aderit Temperantia; quæ te turpiter & nequiter facere nihil patietur.—Justitia dicet, dupliciter esse te injustum; cum & alienum appetas qui mortalis natus conditionem postulas immortalium, & graviter feras te quod utendum acceperis reddidisse.—Prudentiæ verò quid respondebis? dicenti virtute se esse contentam, quo modo ad bene vivendum, sic ad beatè. Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 3. §. 36, & 37.

(33) Constitit; atque caput niveo velatus amictu,
Jam bene diis notas sustulit ille manus.
Ovid. Fast. L. 3. ℣. 364. (Of Numa.)
Nec pietas ulla est, velatum sæpe videre
Vertier ad lapidem; atque omnes accedere ad aras.
Lucretius, l. 5. ℣. 1198.

Veſtal Virgins, as people that were to be almoſt always praying, went always veiled. The poets ſpeak of the (34) ſerene face, and modeſt air of this goddeſs: they deſcribe her (35) dreſs, in the ſame manner as you ſee it here; and add that her robes were white; the colour of innocence, and therefore the moſt proper for devotion. Statius invokes this goddeſs, to wipe away the (36) tears from the face of a good man, that is in great trouble: an idea of piety, which is very juſt; and which might give, I think, a very good hint for a painter now, who was to draw any ſon, or daughter, amidſt their deepeſt concern for the loſs of an affectionate parent.

THO' piety is here repreſented only under the character of devotion; I muſt juſt obſerve to you, (for the honour of the antient artiſts,) that they often repreſent her too as productive of the good and virtuous offices of life. Thus inſtead of an altar, ſhe has ſometimes a ſtork by her; and then ſignifies the dutiful actions of children toward their parents: as, at other times, ſhe ſignifies the affectionate behaviour of parents toward their children. I have ſeen figures of her with one, two, and ſometimes three children before her. In the latter caſe, ſhe puts one in mind of our modern figures of Charity; and under this part of her character, may ſignify in general, that our love of God is beſt ſhown in our good deeds to one another. PL. XXI. FIG. 8.

THE next figure here, is that of Honeſty, or Fidelity. The Romans called her, Fides: and when they called her (37) Sola Fides, ſeem to mean the ſame as we do by the words, downright honeſty. She is repreſented (38) with an erect open air; and with nothing but a thin robe on, ſo fine that one might ſee through it. Horace therefore calls her (39) thin-dreſſed, in one of his odes; and tranſparent, in another. This, in the language of the poets and ſtatuaries, is juſt the ſame as when we ſay, (in our profeſſions of fidelity and honeſty,) "I wiſh you could ſee into my breaſt;" or, "I wiſh that you could ſee thorough me." The poets call her (40) Blameleſs, and not to be corrupted; and the (41) Companion, or Siſter, of Juſtice: and repreſent her as (42) very old, and grey-headed; a particular which can not appear in the figures of this goddeſs; as they are, I think, only to be met with on medals. PL. XXI. FIG. 9.

WHEN

(34) Aversâ cœli Pietas in parte ſedebat:
Non habitu quo nota priùs, non ore ſereno;
Sed vittis exuta comam.——
Statius, Theb. 11. ℣. 460.
——Vitantem aſpectus etiam, pudibundaque longè
Ora reducentem——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 494.

(35) —— Dejectam in lumina pallam
Diva trahit.——
Statius, Theb. 11. ℣. 496.
See the following note.

(36) Summa deum, Pietas! cujus gratiſſima cœlo
Rara profanatas inſpectant numina terras;
Huc vittata comam niveoſque infignis amictu,
Qualis adhuc præſens nullâque expulſa nocentum
Fraude rudes populos atque aurea regna colebas,
Mitibus exequiis ades! & lugentis Hetruſci
Cerne pios fletus, laudataque lumina terge!
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 3. ℣. 7. (To Hetruſcus, on the death of his father.)

(37) Et ſoli Fidei ſolenne inſtituit. Livy, Lib. 1. §. 21. (of Numa.) Thus; ſolâ innocentiâ vivere. Id. Lib. 2. §. 3.

(38) Where Petronius is deſcribing the Virtues, by contraries, he ſays;
Huic comes it ſubmiſſa Fides; & crine ſoluto
Juſtitia: ac mœrens lacerâ Concordia pallâ.
℣. 253.

(39) Te ſpes, & albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. ℣. 22.
Arcanique Fides prodiga, pellucidior vitro.
Id. Lib. 1. Od. 18. ℣. ult.

(40) Incorrupta Fides.——
Id. Lib. 1. Od. 24. ℣. 7.
Culpari metuit Fides.
Id. Lib. 4. Od. 5. ℣. 20.

(41) Juſtitiæ conſors.
Sil. Ital. 2. ℣. 484.
——Pudor, & Juſtitiæ ſoror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 24. ℣. 7.

(42) Ante Jovem generata, decus divumque hominumque.
Silius Ital. 2. ℣. 484.
Cana Fides, & Veſta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Jura dabunt.——
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 293.

When they promiſed any thing of old, they gave their hand on it, (as we do now;) and therefore this goddeſs, is repreſented ſometimes, on medals (43), as giving her hand; and ſometimes, only by two hands joined together.

Pl. XXI. Fig. 10. The following figure is that of Chaſtity; which chiefly ſignified, among the Romans, one ſpecies of fidelity, that to the marriage-bed. They called her, the goddeſs Pudicitia; and repreſented her like a Roman matron. You ſee, ſhe has her veil on here; and is in the modeſt attitude of pulling it over part of her face. Juvenal ſpeaks of her perſonally; and ſays, humouroufly enough (44), "that he believes ſhe was once upon our earth; in the reign of Saturn: but that ſhe quitted it about the time, that Jupiter began to have a beard." Even their proſe (45) writers ſpeak perſonally of her too. The Romans made an odd diſtinction in relation to this goddeſs: there was one ſtatue of her that was to be worſhipped (46) only by the ladies of quality; and others, for the women of a lower rank.

Pl. XXI. Fig. 11. This goddeſs is Clemency; whoſe diſtinguiſhing character, both in her ſtatues and in the poets, is the mildneſs of her countenance. She has an olive-branch in her hand, as a mark of her peaceful and gentle temper. The Romans were at firſt of ſo rough a turn, that I queſtion whether ſhe was admitted as a goddeſs among them in the earlier ages of the ſtate. I do not remember that ſhe is ever mentioned as ſuch, by any poet of the two firſt ages; and the (47) fulleſt paſſage relating to her in one of the third, ſpeaks of an altar to her indeed; but it is of an altar at Athens, and not at Rome. The Athenians as leſs warlike, were more compaſſionate: they made a goddeſs of (48) Miſericordia too; who, perhaps, was never received as a goddeſs among the Romans, at all.

These are all the Virtues that I have as yet in my collection: we come now to thoſe Beings, who were ſuppoſed to be the givers of any of the comforts and bleſſings of human life. This firſt of them is Happineſs: you ſee ſhe has the Caduceus of Mercury in one hand, and a Cornucopia in the other. This in the language of the ſtatuaries ſeems to ſignify much the ſame with the old Latin proverb, Quiſque ſuæ fortunæ faber; "that every one's own good ſenſe is the maker of his good fortune, or happineſs in the world:" Or the Caduceus may ſignify peace, and the Cornucopia plenty; which are two of the principal ingredients of happineſs. The medaliſts call her, Felicitas; and it is the ſame goddeſs, (or ſome very near relation of hers,) that Horace ſpeaks of (49), perſonally, by the name of Fauſtitas; where, by the way, he ſeems to hint, that ſhe chuſes rather to dwell in the country, than in cities.—Health ſtands next to her here; who is diſtinguiſhed (as Eſculapius, and the medicinal Apollo,) by her ſerpent. The Roman poets ſcarce ſay any thing of her; perhaps becauſe they gave up ſo large a part of her honour, and

Pl. XXII. Fig. 1.

Pl. XXII. Fig. 2.

(43) Hujus imagine ante oculos poſitâ, venerabile Fidei numen dexteram ſuam, certiſſimum ſalutis humanæ pignus, oſtentat. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. (de Fide publicâ.)

(44) Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
In terris, viſamque diu: &c.——
——Et ſub Jove; ſed Jove nondum
Barbato.——
Juvenal. Sat. 6. ℣. 16.

(45) Unde te, virorum pariter ac fæminarum firmamentum, Pudicitia, invocem? Tu enim priſcâ religione conſecratos Veſtæ focos incolis; tu Capitolinæ Junonis pulvinaribus incubas: tu, Palatii columen, auguſtos penates, ſanctiſſimumque Juliæ gentis genialem thorum, aſſiduâ ſtatione celebras. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 6. Cap. 1.

(46) In ſacello Pudicitiæ Patriciæ, quæ in Foro Boario eſt, ad ædem rotundam Herculis. Livy, Lib. 10. §. 23.——Aræ Pudicitiæ Plebeæ. Ibid.

(47) Urbe fuit mediâ nulli conceſſa potentum
Ara deûm: mitis poſuit Clementia ſedem;
Et miſeri fecere ſacram.——
——Non thurea flamma, nec altus
Accipitur ſanguis. Lachrymis altaria ſudant;
Mœſtarumque ſuper libamina ſerta comarum
Pendent, & veſtes mutatâ ſorte relictæ.
Mite nemus circa, cultuque inſigne verendo;
Vittatæ laurus, & ſupplicis arbor olivæ.
Statius, Theb. 12. ℣. 492.

(48) Si Miſericordiam commendabo judici, nihil proderit, quod prudentiſſima civitas Athenienſium non eam pro affectu, ſed pro numine, accepit? Quintilian. Inſtit. Orat. Lib. 5. c 12. p. 400. Ed. Hack.

(49) Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Fauſtitas.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 5. ℣. 18.

and office, to their great favourite, Eſculapius.——Liberty you may eaſily know, by her cap and wand: both of which refer to the cuſtoms uſed among the Romans in ſetting their ſlaves free. The poets allude to theſe (50) badges of liberty; but never deſcribe the goddeſs herſelf, that I know of. PL. XXII. FIG. 3.

IN this range of the Moral Beings relating to Happineſs, I ſhould have done very wrong, had I omitted the three that follow next in order; Serenity of Mind, Chearfulneſs, and Jollity: (which laſt I think had better have been called, Joviality.) The Romans call them, Tranquillitas, Hilaritas, and Lætitia. As their poets are ſilent about them, I ſhall ſay but very little as to each of them. Serenity of Mind might very well have been placed a little higher, with Health: but theſe three deities hit one another ſo well, and there is ſuch a regular gradation in their characters, that I choſe to ſet them together.—Serenity, looks firm and eaſy; ſhe reſts on a column, with one hand; and holds a ſcepter, in the other. It is ſhe that rules the mind, in the ſteddieſt and beſt manner. ——Chearfulneſs has a ſprig of myrtle, (the plant of Venus, or the goddeſs of gaiety,) for her diſtinguiſhing mark; and a Cornucopia. We may be eaſy, under want; but it is a ſufficiency, or plenty, that makes us chearful. I have ſeen this goddeſs often on medals with a palm-branch, (the token of peace,) ſometimes with two or three children about her; and ſometimes without any. The former I ſuppoſe is meant to ſignify the happy ſtate of married men; and the other, that of batchelors.——Joviality, is diſtinguiſhed, by the wreath of flowers in her hand: a thing, generally made uſe of among the Romans, in their feſtivals, and treats: and, indeed, the gaiety and ſhort duration of ſuch pleaſures, were very morally and ſtrongly pointed out to them, by the roſes which they wore on their heads, and ſcattered all about their couches and tables on thoſe occaſions. PL. XXII. FIG. 4, 5, 6.

THE next figure to theſe three, is that of Spes, or the goddeſs of Hope. Hope is the great ſoftner of the various diſtreſſes of life; and was left, you know, at the bottom of Pandora's box, as the only refuge againſt all the evils ſhe let looſe into the world. Like the ſpring, ſhe is ſtill promiſing ſomething blooming and pleaſing, after all the chillneſs and gloomineſs of the winter. She is therefore very well repreſented with a bud, juſt opening, in her hand. This, I think, is as pretty an imagination, as any I have met with among the works of the old artiſts; and I wonder the poets have touched upon it only ſo (51) ſlightly, as they ſeem to have done. It is as juſt too, as it is pretty. Had the flower been full blown, it would have been too much for this goddeſs to hold in her hand; and were the bud quite cloſed up, it would not be enough. It is therefore only opening; like a morning roſe, that promiſes to diſplay more of its beauties gradually, as the ſun gets higher and higher.—The ſitting figure by her is Security; ſhe reſts her head againſt her hand, in an eaſy and careleſs poſture. I believe ſhe was ſometimes repreſented too, as leaning againſt a column: an attribute of this goddeſs, which Horace ſeems to (52) allude to; tho' neither he, nor I believe any of the Roman poets, deſcribe the goddeſs herſelf.——The two next deities who are ſo like one another, are Concord, and Peace: this, the giver of amity and good-will, between the people under the ſame prince: and the other, between them, and the nations under different princes. They are both of a mild countenance; and they are ſometimes both crowned with laurel, in their PL. XXII. FIG. 7. PL. XXII. FIG. 8. PL. XXII. FIG. 9, 10.

(50) ——Donatum jam rude, quæris
Mæcenas iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Horat. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. ℣. 3.
Hæc mera libertas; hanc nobis pilea donant.
Perſius, Sat. 5. ℣. 82.
This latter was the mark of liberty, uſed of old on all occaſions. Flaminini de Philippo rege triumphantis currum—duo millia civium Romanorum pileata comitata ſunt; quæ Punicis bellis intercepta & in Græciâ ſervientia,—in priſtinum gradum reſtituerat. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 5. Cap. 2.—— In modum vexilli pileum ſervituti, ad arma capienda, oſtentatum erat. Ibid. Lib. 8. Cap. 6.

(51) Only, by the way; and in a manner of ſpeaking borrowed, perhaps, from the repreſentations of this goddeſs: as Horace's, Spem mentita ſeges; and Ovid's, In ſpe vitis erat.

(52) Injurioſo ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam.————
Horace; (in his prayer to Fortune, for the continuance of the Roman ſtate.) Lib. 1. Od. 35. ℣. 14.

their figures; as they are deſcribed too (53) by the poets. Concord, you ſee, holds two Cornucopia's together, in one of her hands; a thing, which I do not remember to have ſeen in any other figure but hers: and as agreement often doubles the advantages we receive in the world, they ſeem to be given her with more propriety, than perhaps they could be to any other. Peace is diſtinguiſhed by her olive branch and Caduceus, held together: which the Romans formerly uſed as the joint emblems of peace, with any of their neighbours. She is ſometimes repreſented too with corn in her hand, and ſeveral ſorts of fruits in her lap: as on a medal given us by Mr. Addiſon (54); and in the deſcription of this goddeſs (55), quoted by the ſame author, from Tibullus. Part of that deſcription ſhews, that ſhe was dreſſed in white robes; as indeed moſt of the good Moral Beings ſeem to have been. The author of one of the Latin tragedies gives us a ſketch for a picture of this goddeſs (56) tying Mars his hands behind him. I have never met with it on any relievo. There was indeed a repreſentation of War, or Diſcord, in the temple of Janus at Rome of old; and a ſtatue of Peace, in the ſame temple: and the meaning of ſhutting the gates of that temple in time of peace, ſeems to have been as much (57) to keep this goddeſs from flying away; as it was to hinder the god of war from breaking looſe, and flinging the world into confuſion.——Next to Peace and Concord, you have the goddeſs of Plenty. She is moſt uſually called by the name of Copia in the poets, and that of Abundantia on medals; for theſe two names, as I take it, ſignify exactly the ſame goddeſs. We meet indeed with another goddeſs of this ſort on medals, who is called Annona; and differs from the former as ſhe had a leſs diſtrict, and preſided over one ſeaſon only; for, (as the word ſeems to ſignify,) ſhe was looked on as the giver of plenty of proviſion, for the current year: whereas Abundantia was the giver of other things, as well as proviſion, and that at all times, and in all places. You ſee Abundantia here is ſeated on a chair, not unlike the common Roman chairs in its make in general, only its two ſides are wrought into the ſhape of Cornucopia's (58), to denote the character of this goddeſs: as Annona has corn in her hand, and the beak of a ſhip by her; to ſhew ſome temporary ſupply of corn, which was probably brought by ſea to Rome, by the emperor's

Pl. XXII. Fig. 11.

Pl. XXII. Fig. 12.

(53) Frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax ades, & toto mitis in orbe mane!
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 712.

Venit Apollineâ longas Concordia lauro
Nexa comas.——
Ibid. 6. ℣. 92.

(54) Treatiſe on medals, p. 39.

(55) At nobis Pax alma veni, ſpicamque teneto;
Perfluat & pomis candidus ante ſinus.
Tibullus, Lib. 1. El. 10. ℣. 70.

(56) ——Aſperi
Martis ſanguineas quæ cohibet manus;
Quæ dat belligeris fœdera gentibus,
Et cornu retinet divite copiam;
Donetur tenerâ mitior hoſtiâ.
Medea. Act. 1. Chor. ℣. 66.

(57) Pace fores obdo, ne qua diſcedere poſſit.
Says Janus, in Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 281.

(58) ——Apparet beata pleno
Copia cornu.
Horat. Carm. Sæc. ℣. 60.

——Aurea fruges
Italiæ pleno diffudit copia cornu.
Id. Lib. 1. Ep. 12. ℣. 29.

——Hinc tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Id. Lib. 1. Od. 17. ℣. 16.

Lac dabat illa deo; ſed fregit in arbore cornu,
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat. (*Amalthea.)
Suſtulit hoc Nymphe *; cinctumque recentibus herbis,
Et plenum pomis, ad Jovis ora tulit.
Ille (ubi res cœli tenuit ſolioque paterno
Sedit, & invicto nil Jove majus erat)
Sidera nutricem; nutricis, fertile cornu
Fecit: quod dominæ nunc quoque nomen habet.
Faſt. 5. ℣. 128.

——Rigidum fera dextera cornu
Dum tenet, infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.
Naïdes hoc, pomis & odoro flore repletum,
Sacrarunt; diveſque meo bona copia cornu eſt.
(Says Achelous,) Met. 9. ℣. 88.

If Plenty be ever repreſented with two Cornucopia's, (as Concord ſometimes is,) one might account for both of them from theſe two differing paſſages, in Ovid.—I do not love critical conjectures; but beg leave juſt to offer one here.—If Ovid, in the laſt line, had wrote originally; diveſque meo quoque Copia cornu eſt; it would have agreed very well with this account, that the goddeſs of Plenty had firſt Amalthea's horn; and then a ſecond, from Achelous: and yet an editor, who had never heard of theſe two ſtories, might think, quoque, a ſtrange word there; and might therefore according to cuſtom, at his own (and the author's) peril, put in, bona. I queſtion whether that epithet be ever applied to this goddeſs, in any antient author; and believe it is not: becauſe Copia is never uſed in a bad ſenſe; and therefore never wants this epithet, to diſtinguiſh her. Venus indeed is ſometimes called, Bona; but that is becauſe there was a Venus Improba too.

emperor's order; when they were in great want of it. My figure of her here was borrowed from the reverſe of a medal ſtruck in honour of that good emperor, Antoninus Pius.

AS this claſs of Moral Beings make the bleſſings of thoſe who live in a lower ſphere of life; the two firſt, in the following claſs, have (either from the caprice, or folly, of mankind,) been moſt uſually ſuppoſed to belong only to ſuch as have made a noiſe and buſtle in the world. This winged deity, almoſt in the attitude of flying, and with her robe as carried back with the wind, is the goddeſs of Victory. She holds a laurel-crown in her hand; the peculiar (59) reward of ſucceſsful generals and great conquerors, of old. We learn from the poets, that her wings were (60) white, and her robe of the ſame colour. They ſometimes deſcribe her hovering between two armies engaged in battle (61), as doubtful which ſide ſhe ſhall chuſe; and ſometimes ſtanding (62) fixed by one ſhe is reſolved to favour; as you often ſee her on the medals of the Roman emperors. PL. XXIII. FIG. 1.

THIS goddeſs is very frequently repreſented in a chariot, drawn rapidly along by two horſes; and particularly in numbers of the Roman family-medals, which had their name from her (63); as we learn from Pliny. The ſame author ſpeaks of a picture of Victory at Rome, in which ſhe was aſcending up to heaven, in a chariot with four (64) horſes: as ſhe appears on the Antonine pillar, carrying ſome heroe thither with her; and with a (65) palm-branch in her hand. This, and the crown of laurel, were her general attributes; and a third was a trophy; and ſometimes two, one on each ſide of her. This was a properer mark for this goddeſs at Rome, than any where elſe; for, of old, one could not have walked through that city, without ſeeing one or more trophies before the houſe of every officer, that had (66) ever gained any advantage over their enemies.

VICTORY is one of the attendants of Virtus; and ſo is Glory, or Honos: the only male in this circle of Moral Beings. He holds a ſpear in his right hand, and treads on a globe: probably, for the ſame reaſon that I gave you, when we were conſidering the figure of Virtus, juſt now. He is called Honos on a medal too, where you ſee him joined with Virtus; and they perhaps generally made a male of this deity, and called him by the name of Honos, rather than Gloria; becauſe the latter was (67) ſometimes uſed in a bad ſenſe PL. XXIII. FIG. 2.

(59) Illum non labor Iſthmius
Clarabit pugilem; non equus impiger
Curru ducet Achaïco
Victorem: neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
Quòd regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Oſtendet Capitolio.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 3. ℣. 9.

(60) ——Niveis Victoria concolor alis.
Silius Ital. 15. ℣. 99.

(61) Inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pennis.
Ovid. Met. 8. ℣. 13.

(62) ——Victoria tecum
Stabit; eris magni victor in arce Jovis.
Id. de Art. Am. 2. ℣. 540.

(63) Nota argenti fuere bigæ, atque quadrigæ; & inde Bigati Quadrigatique dicti.—Qui nunc Victoriatus appellatur, lege Clodiâ percuſſus eſt; antea enim hic nummus ex Illyrico advectus mercis loco habebatur; eſt autem ſignatus Victoriâ, & inde nomen. Pliny, Lib. 33. c. 3. p. 340. Ed. Elz.

(64) Ibid. c. 10. p. 441.

(65) Horace may, poſſibly, allude to ſome ſuch repreſentation of Victory as this, where he ſays;
——Palma nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.
Lib. 1. Od. 1. ℣. 6.

(66) Aliæ foris, & circa limina, animorum ingentium imagines erant; affixis hoſtium ſpoliis; quæ nec emptori refringere liceret: triumphabantque, etiam dominis mutatis, ipſæ domus. Pliny, Lib. 35. c. 2. p. 415. Ed. Elz.

(67) I have never obſerved any figure of Gloria, among the antiques I have met with. The Roman poets ſpeak of her ſometimes in a good, and ſometimes in a bad ſenſe.
Thus Horace, in a bad ſenſe:
Quem tulit ad ſcenam ventoſo Gloria curru.
Lib. 2. Ep. 1. ℣. 178.
And Silius, in a good:
Mecum Honor, & Laudes, & læto Gloria vultu.
(Says Virtus) Lib. 15. ℣. 98.
So, Cicero. Virtus, noctes atque dies animum Gloriæ ſtimulis concitat atque admonet. Pro Archia.
Flaccus gives us a fine image of this goddeſs, encouraging and calling Jaſon and his companions to their famous expedition for the golden fleece.
——Tu ſola animos mentemque peruris,
Gloria! Te viridem videt immunemque ſenectæ,
Phaſidis in ripâ ſtantem, juveneſque vocantem.
Argon. 1. ℣. 78.

ſenſe, (for Vain-Glory,) among them. The artiſts give Honos a grave ſteddy look, perhaps on much the ſame account; for if his face was too much elevated or affected, he might ſeem too much like Vain-Glory: and ſo ceaſe to deſerve a place, in the rank of Virtues, or the good Moral Beings.

We are now got to the laſt figure in this round, which is that of Providentia, or divine Providence: the giver and diſpenſer of all the Virtues and Bleſſings we have been conſidering. She therefore cloſes the round of them, tho' there are the drawings of ſome other deities, in the baſe, under her feet: which I placed there as ſubject to her, and as not deſerving to appear ranged on an equality with the other figures in this circle.

Pl. XXIII. Fig. 3. Providence, you ſee, is repreſented here, as reſting on her ſcepter with one hand; and pointing with the other, to a globe at her feet. This ſignifies that ſhe governs all things here below. The globe indeed might ſtand for the whole univerſe; but by her pointing downwards, I rather believe that it was meant of our world only. For tho' the antient Romans ſuppoſed Providence to preſide over (68) the univerſe; they ſeem generally to have followed that great and excellent rule, of reaſoning only from what they knew. They experienced the influence of Providence in the ſtation allotted to them; and therefore repreſented her with the globe of the earth at her feet. I have ſeen another repreſentation of Providence, which pleaſed me better than this; but which could not ſerve for a ſtatue. It is on the reverſe of a medal of Pertinax. The goddeſs ſtands in an erect noble poſture; with her hands lifted upwards, as if ſhe had juſt flung the globe of the earth, (which you there ſee above her,) into the air; and as if ſhe was ſaying, either "Remain thou fixed in that point;" or, "Take the ſettled courſe that I have appointed you." For if this idea among the artiſts was of the higheſt antiquity, it might as well ſignify the latter, as the former. Might not one carry this idea yet farther? For as Pythagoras, and perhaps many of the philoſophers before him, are ſaid to have believed the motion of the earth, and its ſettled courſe thro' ſo many ages; it is not impoſſible but they had a notion too, of what we call the Projectile Force; of which this I think would be as ſtrong a repreſentation, as any our artiſts could poſſibly invent; even ſince that doctrine has been reſtored, or diſcovered, call it which you pleaſe.

Pl. XXIII. Fig. 4.

I Do not know that any of the Roman poets, of the three good ages, have ever deſcribed, or even ſpoke of Providence, perſonally. With them, I fear, ſome of the deities I have here placed under her feet, ran away with the honours and acknowledgments that were due rather to herſelf. I have obſerved to you before, that Providentia and Prudentia had much the ſame ſignification, and were uſed indifferently for one another, among the Romans. Providentia indeed was ſo unlucky a word for verſe, that it could not have a place in the writers of either of the ſorts that was moſt uſual among them: it is diſqualified from appearing in any of their heroic or elegiac compoſitions: but this does not help them to any excuſe; becauſe Prudentia, (which ſignifies the ſame thing,) might have ſerved very well in either: and I do not remember any deſcription of this deity in them under that name, any more than the other. I once imagined that ſhe was ſpoken of by Juvenal, under the name of Prudentia; in a line that would contain a very great ſentiment, if this might be allowed of: but from the force of the context, I am now perſuaded, that ſhe is not meant even (69) there.

The

(68) Providentiâ deorum mundus adminiſtratur. Cicero, de Divin. 1. §. 51.

(69) This paſſage of Juvenal is read differently. By ſome;

Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit Prudentia; ſed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam; cœloque locamus.
Sat. 10. ℣. 366.

I ſome time thought Juvenal's meaning in this place, was; "We have no need of all our multitude of gods, if we only allow a Providence preſiding over all things: but inſtead of diſcarding our old gods, we make new ones: we make a deity of Fortune, who antiently was not ſuppoſed to be of the number; and give her a ſeat in heaven, which ſhe never deſerved."

THE deities I have placed here, under the feet of Providence, are ſuch as have been ſuppoſed, (from the different ſorts of ignorance, that have prevailed in different ages,) to direct the world, and guide the actions of man; ſuch as Neceſſity, the Deſtinies, Genius's, and Fortune.

IN the old heathen ſcheme, (at leaſt as high up as the days of Homer,) every thing was ſuppoſed to be fixed from the beginning: not only all the happy or unfortunate events in life; but even all the good and bad actions of men. Homer, in the very propoſition to his Iliad, ſays that both the miſbehaviour of Achilles, and the deſtruction it brought on the Grecians, were only the fulfilling of the decrees of Jupiter. Theſe eternal decrees, of what every one was to do and ſuffer, were repreſented among the antients by orders written on tablets of braſs; kept by the Parcæ or Deſtinies: one of which, and ſometimes all three, were alſo ſuppoſed to ſpin out the thread of each man's life, checquered unequally with two colours; with more of white, or more of black, according as each man was to have a greater ſhare of happineſs or unhappineſs. This was the notion among the Greeks; and was borrowed from them by the Romans: tho' it was an idea capable of undermining all the Virtues, and in particular their great favourite, Induſtry: but it was the idea received among them; and I have nothing to do with their ways of reaſoning, but only with facts. I do not well know whether there was any ſuch perſonage as Fate, received among the Romans or not. I am rather inclined to think, that with them it included every thing that Jupiter had (70) ſaid; and what therefore muſt be. If this be true, fata will ſignify only the words, or decrees, of Jupiter; and the perſons to put theſe decrees in execution will be the Parcæ; or Deſtinies, as we call them: for according to the old theology, whatever was originally ſaid (or decreed) by Jupiter, was neceſſarily to have its effect, in its proper time and place, by the miniſtry of theſe three deities.

WHETHER the Romans had any perſonal repreſentation of Fate or not, it is certain that they made a perſon of this Neceſſity. Horace ſpeaks of her as ſuch; and among other of her attributes, mentions one which you may ſee in the drawing of her, which I have juſt taken out of the baſe before us. She holds, you ſee, in her right hand one of thoſe vaſt nails (or pins) which were antiently made uſe of by the Romans, for faſtening the beams of braſs in ſome of their ſtrongeſt buildings. I have ſeen one of them, which was formerly thus uſed in Agrippa's Portico to the Rotunda at Rome; and which is ſtill kept as a curioſity in the Great Duke's gallery at Florence. It is itſelf of braſs; and ſo large, that it weighs near fifty pound. The firmneſs of a building depended ſo much upon theſe Clavi trabales, that they are uſed as an emblem of firmneſs, or ſtability: and perhaps

PL. XXIII. FIG. 5.

The reading of this paſſage, according to others, is,

Nullum numen habes, ſi ſit prudentia; ſed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam cœloque locamus.

which, I ſhould think agrees beſt with the context.

Juvenal ſays, ℣. 356, that "the two things we ſhould pray for, are good health, and good ſenſe:—that we might be the authors of our own happineſs, if we pleaſed; ℣. 363.—that virtue is the only way to true happineſs; ℣. 364.—that if we ourſelves are prudent, Fortune has no power over us;—and that in truth ſhe is no goddeſs at all; and has only uſurped a ſeat in heaven, from the folly of mankind." ℣. 366.

Agreeably to what is here ſaid, it appears from Note 79, poſth. that Fortune was not really looked upon as a deity by the old Romans; but was made ſo latterly, by the devotion and folly of the vulgar. By which, I would be underſtood to mean the great vulgar, as well as the ſmall; for there were ſeveral of the emperors, who paid a very particular reſpect to this ſurreptitious goddeſs.

(70) What was ſaid, or ſpoken, by Jupiter; fatum.——Fatum eſt, quod Dii fantur. An old poet, quoted by Servius.—Fatum dicunt eſſe, quod Dii fantur; vel quod Jupiter fatur. Iſidorus. Origin. Lib. 8. Cap. 2.——Minutius Felix has chriſtianized this idea, where he ſays; Quid aliud eſt fatum, quàm quod de unoquoque noſtrum Deus fatus eſt? Min. Fel. §. 36. p. 175. Ed. Davis.

perhaps all the other attributes of this goddeſs, mentioned with this by (71) Horace, had much the ſame ſignification.

THE three Deſtinies, as I ſaid before, were looked upon as the diſpenſers of the eternal decrees of Jupiter; and were, all of them, ſometimes ſuppoſed to ſpin the particoloured thread of each man's life. Thus are they repreſented on this medal; each with a diſtaff in her hand. Martial calls them, (72) the Three Spinning Siſters: and ſeveral (73) of the Roman poets have expreſſions that refer to the ſame idea.

PL. XXIII. FIG. 6.

THE figures of theſe goddeſſes are very uncommon; I do not know that I ever met with them any where but on this medal: unleſs they are meant by the figures on a Sarcophagus, in that noble collection made by the late, and preſent Pope, in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome. The long ſlip in the front of the cover of this Sarcophagus is full worked; and the figures on it are divided into five compartiments: which all relate to the death, and future ſtate, of ſome old Roman and his wife. In the firſt compartiment, you ſee them reclined on a tricliniar bed, as ſtill alive; the uſual way of repreſenting perſons departed on the old Roman ſepulchres, and which (by the way) ſhewed their general belief of the immortality of the ſoul. In the ſecond, is Mercury; the conductor of departed ſouls to the regions of miſery or bliſs. In the third, is Proſerpine and Pluto; the deities that preſide over thoſe regions. In the fourth, is a ſpectre or departed ſoul: and in the fifth, three perſons ſtanding in the middle, with a woman kneeling on one ſide of them,

(71) Te ſemper anteit ſæva neceſſitas:
Clavos trabales & cuneos manu
Geſtans ahenâ; nec ſeverus
Uncus abeſt liquidumque plumbum.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. ỳ. 20.

I uſed formerly to think, (as, I believe, it generally is thought,) that theſe were inſtruments of puniſhing criminals: but there are ſome things here that cannot be underſtood that way, and they may all be underſtood as ſigns of ſtability; and conſequently are very proper attributes for Neceſſitas.

The Clavi trabales are ſo called becauſe they were uſed to pin and faſten the great beams in their ſtrongeſt buildings.——The Cunei were ſometimes uſed to make things cloſer and firmer together: and thence, cuneo, ſignifies "to faſten with a wedge or pin; to join or faſten in buildings, as one joint or ſtone is coquetted within another;" as the word is explained in the beſt vocabulary we have for the Latin tongue: ſee the word, cuneo, in Ainſworth.—The Romans uſed no cement in their nobleſt buildings. The ſtones were very large; and were often faſtened together by cramping-irons, and lead poured into the interſtices: as is to be ſeen in moſt of the nobleſt remains now at Rome; and particularly, in the Coloſſeum. This anſwers very well to the uncus, and liquidum plumbum, in this paſſage. The uncus may be called ſeverus, becauſe it was ſometimes uſed in the executions of criminals. That might annex the idea of ſeverus to it; and when it was ſo annexed to it, it may be uſed with it as a general character: or poſſibly ſeverus uncus, in this place, may ſignify ſomething equivalent to our term, cramping-iron, in Engliſh.

The expreſſion of manu ahenâ here, has ſomething that ſtill wants to be explained. This ode of Horace is a hymn, addreſſed to the great goddeſs of Fortune, at Antium: and he ſeems, in this part of it, to allude to ſome of the proceſſions antiently uſed in honour of that goddeſs. The ſtatue of Neceſſity ſeems to have been carried before the figure of the goddeſs herſelf. Te ſemper anteit ſæva Neceſſitas. This ſtatue was probably of braſs; the known emblem of ſtability or firmneſs, of old. The antient ſtatuaries obſerved a certain propriety, even in the materials they worked upon, on ſuch and ſuch occaſions; as might be proved from a number of inſtances in the ſtatues ſtill remaining to us.

Braſs and Adamant were always uſed, as the expreſſions for the moſt durable things. The tablets, on which the eternal decrees were ſuppoſed to be engraved, were of braſs; the ſtatue of Neceſſitas might, for the ſame reaſon, be of the ſame metal: as Horace, in another place, where he ſpeaks of the clavi of this goddeſs, ſays they were of adamant.

Intactis opulentior
Theſauris Arabûm & divitis Indiæ,
Cæmentis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis & mare Ponticum;
Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Neceſſitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Lib. 3. Od. 24. ỳ. 8.

Valerius Maximus ſeems to allude to the nail, which this goddeſs holds in her hand; and which is not unlike the ſtyle they wrote with formerly; in a paſſage, where he ſpeaks very diſreſpectfully of her. Non ergo Patrum Conſcriptorum voluntas; ſed tua, teterrima Neceſſitas, truculenta manus, illi conſulto ſtylum impreſſit. Memorab. Lib. 7. Cap. 6.

(72) Lanificas nulli tres exorare ſorores
Contigit.——
Lib. 4. Ep. 54.

(73) Talia ſæcla ſuis dixerunt, currite, fuſis
Concordes ſtabili fatorum numine Parcæ.
Virgil. Ecl. 4. ỳ. 47.
Hanc lucem celeri turbine Parca neat.
Ovid, (of his own death,) ad Liv. ỳ. 164.
Septima lux venit, non exhibitura ſequentem,
Et ſtabat vacuâ jam tibi Parca colo.
(On the death of a parrot,) Id. Lib. 2. El. 6. ỳ. 46.

them, and a man on the other. Theſe three deities, which they addreſs themſelves to, I imagine to be the three Deſtinies. She, in the midſt of the three, holds a balance even in her hand; and may ſignify the juſtice of the eternal decrees of heaven: another is reading to them out of a roll (74), (or volume,) that ſhe holds in her hands; and may ſignify the declaration of their fate to them; (anſwerable to that expreſſion in ſcripture, "In the volume of the book it is written:") and the third, who is ſpinning, may ſignify the execution of the divine decree; and the determination of their ſtate, in the other life. I mention this only as a curioſity, and as an uncommon thing; for I have no paſſages in the poets to confront with it: and indeed the action of the laſt, with the ſenſe I have given to it, attributes ſomething farther to the Deſtinies, than ſeems to have been allowed them by the poets.

THE fulleſt and beſt deſcription of the Deſtinies I have met with, in any of the poets, is (75) in Catullus. He repreſents them all as ſpinning; and at the ſame time ſinging, and foretelling the birth and fortunes of Achilles, at Peleus' wedding. His deſcription is an abſolute picture of them. They are extremely old; and dreſſed cloſe in long robes, that reach down to their feet. Their robes, he ſays, are white; edged at the bottom, with purple. They have roſe-coloured veils on their heads, faſtened with white vittæ, or rubans. Catullus is not only ſo particular, as to their dreſs; but has given us too, the form of one of their ſongs. It is divided into ſeveral ſtanza's, with a chorus: ſo that one may ſuppoſe each of them to ſing a ſtanza, by turns; and to join all in the concluding line of each ſtanza, which is always the ſame, and what I therefore before called the chorus.

BESIDE theſe great directors of the lives and fortunes of men; the old Romans had an idea of a ſort of divinity, which conſtantly attended each ſingle perſon, thro' the whole courſe of his life. Theſe were certainly divinities of the loweſt rank: each of them beginning to exiſt only at the ſame time that the perſons they were to attend, were born into the world; and ceaſing to exiſt, the moment they died. Thoſe that attended women were females, and called Junones (76); as thoſe which attended men were males, and called Genius's. They ſeem to be nothing elſe but the particular bent and temper of each perſon, made into a deity: and as every body's own temper is in a great meaſure the

(74) This, according to Lucian, ſhould be Clotho: for he introduces her in one of his dialogues, with a written roll in her hand; and makes her ſay: Πρωτον μοι ειπαϊε, οπως αποθανουτες ηκεϊε; Μαλλου δε αυτη, προς τα γεγραμμενα, υμας επισκεψομαι.——Πολεμωντας αποθανειν εδει χθες, ευ Μηδια, τετϊαρας επι ογδοηκουτα· &c. Tom. I. p. 426. Ed. Blaeu.

(75) Interea, infirmo quatientes corpora motu,
Veridicos Parcæ cœperunt edere cantus;
His corpus tremulum complectens undique veſtis
Candida purpureâ talos incinxerat orâ;
At roſeo niveæ reſidebant vertice vittæ;
Æternumque manus carpebant rite laborem.
Læva colum molli lanâ retinebat amictum:
Dextera tum leviter deducens fila, ſupinis
Formabat digitis; tum, prono in pollice torquens,
Libratum tereti verſabat turbine fuſum.
Atque ita decerpens æquabat ſemper opus dens;
Laneaque aridulis hærebant morſa labellis,
Quæ priùs in leni fuerant extantia filo:
Ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanæ
Vellera virgati cuſtodibant calathiſci.
Catullus de Nupt. Pelei, 62. ℣. 319.

Their ſong follows in that poem; and the chorus-line, is;

Currite ducentes ſubtemina, currite fuſi!

To which Virgil ſeems to allude, as to an old known verſe; in his famous eclogue, to Pollio:

Talia ſæcla ſuis dicebant, currite, fuſis
Concordes ſtabili fatorum numine Parcæ.
Ecl. 4. ℣. 47.

(76) Quamobrem major cælitum populus quàm hominum intelligi poteſt; cum ſinguli quoque ex ſemetipſis totidem deos faciunt, Junones Genioſque adoptando ſibi. Pliny, Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 82. Ed. Elz.

The women ſwore by their Juno's, or preſiding Genius's. Thus that pleaſant oath in Petronius. Junonem meam iratam habeam, ſi me unquam virginem fuiſſe memini!

And the lovers ſwore ſometimes by the ſame; as Tibullus to his miſtreſs:

Nunc licet e cœlo mittatur amica Tibullo;
Mittetur fruſtra, deficietque Venus:
Hic per ſancta tuæ Junonis numina juro!
Quæ ſola ante alios eſt mihi magna deos.
Lib. 4. El. 13. ℣. 16.

This ſhews the force of that line in Juvenal:

Et per Junonem domini, jurante miniſtro.
Sat. 2. ℣. 98.

On which the old ſcholiaſt ſays: Servi illi jurant, quomodo ſolebant ancillæ Neronis, ipſi adulantes; "Per Junonem tuam!"

the cauſe of his happineſs, or miſery; each of theſe were ſuppoſed to ſhare, and have an equal feeling, in all the enjoyments and ſufferings of the perſons they attended. Hence, I imagine, come thoſe expreſſions among the antients, of indulging or defrauding your (77) Genius: for, in their ſcheme, when you took any diverſion, your Genius partook of the pleaſure; and whenever you puniſhed yourſelf, you muſt make him uneaſy. A man's turn and temper is the chief cauſe and former of his good or bad fortune, ſaid (78) the antients; and therefore this genius may be ſaid to preſide over every man's life. Theſe ideas, if well grounded, will go a great way toward explaining three lines in Horace (79), that I uſed to think as difficult as any in that author. He cloſes them with ſaying that this deity had two very different airs in his face; that he looked ſometimes white, and ſometimes black upon you. Which may ſignify no more, than that your Genius looks pleaſed and chearful, when things go well with you; and ſad and gloomy, when they go ill: as Hanibal's Genius came ſmiling to him, when he is ſaid to have appeared to that general, amidſt his ſucceſſes in Spain, to animate him to go into Italy; and as Brutus's Genius looked frowning on him, a little before the fatal battle of Philippi. I do not know that the poets ſay any thing as to the dreſs or attributes of theſe deities: but I have met with them in ſome antiques; and particularly on medals: from which we learn, that they were ſometimes dreſſed juſt like the perſons over whom they preſided: for the Pl. XXIII. Fig. 7. Juno (or female Genius) of a Veſtal, appears in the habit of that order of nuns. This medal ſhews you the appearance of the Genius of one of the Roman empreſſes: and as Pl. XXIII. Fig. 8. the artiſts were very great flatterers, ſhe holds you ſee the emblem of Spes in one hand, and of Virtus in the other; to ſignify, that the Genius of this empreſs was the defence and hope of the empire. Their compliments indeed are not at all to be regarded; for Pl. XXIII. Fig. 9. they repreſent the Genius's of the vileſt tyrants that ever were, (and in particular that of Nero,) with an altar, patera, and cornucopia; as marks of that emperor's ſignal piety, and of the general plenty and proſperity under his reign.

One would have thought, that all the events of human life might have been ſufficiently accounted for, between theſe Deſtinies, and Genius's: but the Romans were not ſatisfied with this. They ſoon found out another deity for the ſame purpoſes; who, in time, came to be regarded by them more than either of the others. This was the goddeſs Fortune. She was looked on indeed by the wiſe as an uſurper, rather than as a natural inhabitant of heaven (80). It was the populace, that firſt gave her that high ſtation; which made them apply to her, at laſt, for every thing that they wanted: altho' their own writers all the while treated her, as a divinity that could not deſerve much reſpect; for

(77) Indulge Genio; carpamus dulcia.——
Perſius, Sat. 5. ℣. 151.
Quod ille uaciatim vix de demenſo ſuo,
Suum defraudans Genium, comparſit miſer.
Terence, Phormio, Act. 1. Sc. 1.

(78) Suæ quiſque fortunæ faber.

(79) The whole paſſage is as follows.
Cur alter fratrum ceſſare & ludere & ungi,
Præferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus; alter
Dives & importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
Sylveſtrem flammis & ferro mitiget agrum;
" Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat aſtrum:
Naturæ deus humanæ; mortalis in unum
Quodque caput; vultu mutabilis, albus & ater."
Horat. Lib. 2. Ep. 2. ℣. 189.

(80) Nullum numen habes, ſi ſit prudentia: ſed te
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam; cœloque locamus.
Juvenal, Sat. 10. ℣. ult.

Invenit inter has utraſque ſententias, (that of one great God, and that of an infinity of leſſer ones,) medium ſibi ipſa mortalitas numen; quo minùs etiam plana de deo conjectatio eſſet. Toto quippe mundo, & locis omnibus, omnibuſque horis, omnium vocibus Fortuna ſola invocatur. Una nominatur, una accuſatur; una agitur rea, una cogitatur; ſola laudatur, ſola arguitur; & cum conviciis colitur. Volubilis à pleriſque verò, & cæca etiam exiſtimata; vaga, inconſtans, incerta, varia, indignorum fautrix. Huic omnia expenſa, huic omnia feruntur accepta; & in totâ ratione mortalium, ſola utramque paginam facit. Pliny, Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 84. Ed. Elz.

I have ſeen an antient gem, in which Cybele, (the mother of all the gods,) is repreſented as turning away her head, from Fortune; in an attitude of diſowning and rejecting her. It is publiſhed by Gorlæus, in his gems, 1. 142. and Montfaucon, in his Antiquities. Vol. I. Pl. 2. 8.

for they uſually ſpeak of her as blind (81); inconſtant (82); unjuſt (83); and as (84) delighting in miſchiefs.

I CAN recollect but one paſſage in the Roman poets, that ſpeaks of Fortune as (85) ſtanding on a wheel: and never ſaw her ſo repreſented in any work of the antient artiſts. Indeed they ſometimes repreſent her with wings, and a wheel by her; to ſhew her inconſtancy: and ſometimes without wings, and a wheel by her; to ſhew that ſhe preſided over the expeditions of their emperors into other countries, and their happy return home again: for where you ſee her thus on medals, ſhe is generally called Fortuna Redux. Her moſt uſual attributes are her Cornucopia, as the giver of all riches; and the Rudder in her hand, which is often reſted on a globe; to ſhew that ſhe is the directreſs of all worldly affairs.

THE incoherences in this goddeſs's character obliged the Romans to make ſeveral diſtinctions; they had a (86) Good, and a Bad Fortune: a Conſtant, and an Inconſtant one. It ſhould ſeem from a (87) paſſage in Horace that the Bona Fortuna was dreſſed in a rich habit, and the Mala Fortuna in a mean one. The Conſtant Fortune, or Fortuna Manens, you ſee on this medal, is without wings; and ſitting in a ſteddy poſture: ſhe has a horſe by her, as an animal noted for ſwiftneſs, which ſhe holds ſtill by the bridle. PL. XXIII. FIG. 10. The Inconſtant Fortune, is winged; as ready to take her flight. Horace ſpeaks of both of them (88) in a paſſage which ſhews that he deſerved the favour, of the former; and that he was above the power, of the latter. PL. XXIII. FIG. 11.

IT was common among the old Romans to talk of the ſtatues of the deities they worſhipped, as turning their faces toward them, if they aſſented to their prayers; and from them, if they diſſented. No doubt, the prieſts of thoſe days uſed many more practices of this kind, than we can well imagine: and had not only the art of making ſome of their ſtatues move their heads, but could make them weep, or roll their eyes; and even ſpeak too, upon ſome occaſions. From this turning of her head, Fortune had one of her titles among the Romans: ſhe was called Fortuna Reſpiciens. Statius uſes this (89) word, of Fortune; and Virgil, in relation to the goddeſs of Liberty. I have ſeen the figure of the latter on a (90) medal, inſcribed Libertas Reſtituta; juſt in the ſame attitude, that one would imagine the Fortuna Reſpiciens to have been repreſented. Livy ſpeaks of a (91) Fortuna Vertens, or averſe Fortune; whoſe figure turned its head from you, as this would toward you.

JUVENAL alludes to a (92) ſtatue of Fortune, which repreſented her under a very good character; as the patroneſs of the poor infants, that were expoſed by their parents in the ſtreets.

(81) Quaque ruit, furibunda ruit: totumque per orbem
Fulminat, & cæcis cæca triumphat equis.
Ovid. ad Liv. ℣. 374.

(82) ——Hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna, cum ſtridore acuto,
Suſtulit; hic poſuiſſe gaudet.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 34. ℣. 16.

(83) ——A juſtis Fortuna recederet aris.
Statius, Theb. 12. ℣. 505.

(84) Fortuna, ſævo læta negotio &
Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax,
Tranſmutat incertos honores.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 29. ℣. 51.

(85) ——Per hos etiam Fortunæ injuria mores
Regnat; & incertâ eſt hic quoque nixa rotâ.
Ovid, (ſpeaking of good princes,) ad Liv. ℣. 52.

(86) Bonæ Fortunæ ſimulacra in Capitolio. Pliny, Lib. 36. c. 5. p. 471. Ed. Elz.——Ara & malæ Fortunæ, Exquiliis. Id. Lib. 2. c. 7. p. 82.

(87) Utcumque mutatâ potentes
Veſte domos inimica linquis.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. ℣. 24.

(88) Fortuna, ſævo læta negotio &
Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax,
Tranſmutat incertos honores;
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem: ſi celeres quatit
Pennas, reſigno quæ dedit, & meâ
Virtute me involvo; probamque
Pauperiem ſine dote quæro.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 29. ℣. 56.

(89) ——Fors æqua merentes
Reſpicit.——
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 662.
Libertas, quæ ſera tamen reſpexit inertem.
Virgil. Ecl. 1. ℣. 28.

(90) A gold medal, of Vitellius; in the Strozzi collection at Rome.

(91) Livy, Lib. 9. §. 17.

(92) ——Stat Fortuna improba noctu,
Arridens nudis infantibus.——
Sat. 6. ℣. 605.

The

ſtreets. This Fortune was repreſented, holding a naked child tenderly in her arms, and looking kindly upon it. There is a figure of her, in a piece written by Senator Buonaroti; which I cannot ſhew you here, becauſe it is taken from a Tuſcan antiquity. This that I have is a copy from Agoſtini, who calls it Dea Rumilia; a goddeſs who, I think, we ſhould ſee employed in a different (93) action, if we had any figure of her at all.

Pl. XXIII. Fig. 12.

The Fortune worſhipped at Antium was probably of the moſt exalted character, of any among the Romans. Horace ſeems to allude to one of the great ſolemn proceſſions that were made to her: for I doubt not but that the antient Romans dealt almoſt as much in proceſſions, as the modern. They carried the ſtatues of their gods with a great deal of pomp, to ſome fixed place; and then back again, to their ſhrines. In this proceſſion to the honour of the Fortuna Antiatica, the ſtatue of Neceſſitas (94) ſeems to have been carried before the goddeſs herſelf; and after her, the ſtatues of Hope and Fidelity. This ſhews, that ſhe was a Fortuna of a higher character than ordinary. Every thing ſhe decrees is as fixed as fate; and ſhe has two of the moſt conſiderable Virtues, as attendants in her train. What a treaſure would it be for the virtuoſo's, could one find any picture, or relievo, that repreſented this proceſſion? When I was at Antium, I wanted very much to be digging, in ſearch of ſuch a treaſure; but, to ſay the truth, I had not time enough there to carry on ſo noble a deſign.

Prænesте was another place, where Fortune was highly worſhipped. Statius ſpeaks of ſeveral Fortunes there; and calls them, the (95) Prænestinæ Sorores. Who theſe were, or what their diſtinguiſhing characters, I know no more than I do who (96) the three Fortunes are mentioned by Vitruvius. This is certain, that there were ſeveral different ones, beſides thoſe I have had occaſion to ſpeak of already; as the Fortis Fortuna, the Fortuna Romana, the Fortuna Virilis, the Fortuna Muliebris; and many others.

One of theſe Fortunes, the Fortuna Romana, is mentioned by Lucan (97) in a verſe from which we learn, either that the Romans had taken off the head of it, and put on that of Pompey in its place; or that the ſtatue was made to reſemble Pompey's air and features: which, in the ſtatuary language, was juſt the ſame as ſaying, that the happineſs of the Roman ſtate depended wholly upon that general; or that he was their good Fortune. This ſort of compliment grew ſo common afterwards, under the emperors; that a great number of the ſtatues which paſs for deities at preſent, are nothing elſe but emperors, or empreſſes, in maſquerade: particularly under the characters of Apollo, Mars, and Hercules, for the former; and thoſe of Juno, Venus, and Ceres, for the latter.

I Have now done with this odd deity, at laſt; and with all that any way belong to this circle. I leave her with the more pleaſure, becauſe you, Philander, promiſed to read us your

The diſtinction of the Bona and Mala Fortuna above, is very neceſſary to explain this paſſage. It is in Juvenal's Satire againſt the women; and where he is ſpeaking of a lady of quality, who had never any children herſelf; but brought ſuppoſititious ones into the family, to heir a conſiderable eſtate. "She ſtands like Fortune, ſays he, in the ſtreets; (not the Good Fortune, but a very bad one;) and gets up all the children ſhe can, to intrude them into the family; and boaſt of them as her own." ℣. 600, to 608.

The commentators have generally taken Improba to be applied to Fortune herſelf, on this occaſion; which is one of the very few, in which ſhe deſerved a good name rather than a bad one.

(93) Her proper character is that of ſuckling children. Ruma, in the older Latin, ſignified a breaſt; whence the famous fig-tree, under which Romulus and Remus were ſuckled, might be called Ficus Ruminalis.

(94) Te ſemper anteit ſæva Neceſſitas——
Te Spes, & albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno.———
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 35. ℣. 22.

(95) Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. ℣. 80.

(96) Tres Fortunas: the three Fortunes, or temples to this goddeſs under three different characters. They ſeem to have ſtood together; ſomewhere near the Porta Collina: according to Vitruvius. Lib. 3. c. 1.

(97) Hâc facie, Fortuna tibi Romana placebas.
Lucan. 8. ℣. 686.

your friend's poem, when I had finiſhed my round. I long to hear it: and if you will follow me, I will find you out a place, juſt by here, where you may ſit down and read it more at your eaſe. In ſaying this he roſe; and led them to a little grove of laurel-trees, near the ſummit of the hill: which grew up irregularly; and formed a ſort of arbour, which ſeemed to owe more to chance, than to art. As ſoon as they were all ſeated there, Philander took out his poem; and read it to them in a voice, which ſhewed he was very much affected with the good inſtructions in it himſelf; and which rendered it, yet the more apt to affect them.

THE CHOICE OF HERCULES.

I.

NOW had the ſon of Jove mature, attain'd
The joyful prime: when youth, elate and gay,
Steps into life; and follows unreſtrain'd
Where paſſion leads, or prudence points the way.
In the pure mind, at thoſe ambiguous years,
Or vice, rank weed, ſtrikes deep her pois'nous root;
Or haply virtue's op'ning bud appears
By juſt degrees; fair bloom, of faireſt fruit:
For, if on youth's untainted thought impreſt,
The gen'rous purpoſe ſtill ſhall warm the manly breaſt.

II.

As on a day, reflecting on his age
For higheſt deeds now ripe, Alcides ſought
Retirement; nurſe of contemplation ſage;
Step following ſtep, and thought ſucceeding thought:
Muſing, with ſteady pace the youth purſu'd
His walk; and loſt in meditation ſtray'd
Far in a lonely vale, with ſolitude
Converſing; while intent his mind ſurvey'd
The dubious path of life: before him lay
Here Virtue's rough aſcent, there Pleaſure's flow'ry way.

III.

Much did the view divide his wavering mind:
Now glow'd his breaſt with generous thirſt of fame;
Now love of eaſe to ſofter thoughts inclin'd
His yielding ſoul, and quench'd the riſing flame.
When, lo! far off two female forms he ſpies;
Direct to him their ſteps they ſeem to bear:
Both large and tall, exceeding human ſize;
Both, far exceeding human beauty, fair.
Graceful, yet each with different grace, they move:
This, ſtriking ſacred awe; that, ſofter, winning love.

IV.

The firſt, in native dignity ſurpaſs'd;
Artleſs and unadorn'd ſhe pleas'd the more:
Health, o'er her looks, a genuine luſtre caſt;
A veſt, more white than new-fall'n ſnow ſhe wore.
Auguſt ſhe trod, yet modeſt was her air;
Serene her eye, yet darting heav'nly fire.
Still ſhe drew near; and nearer ſtill more fair,
More mild appear'd: yet ſuch as might inſpire
Pleaſure corrected with an awful fear;
Majeſtically ſweet, and amiably ſevere.

V.

The other dame ſeem'd ev'n of fairer hue;
But bold her mien; unguarded rov'd her eye:
And her fluſh'd cheeks confeſs'd at nearer view
The borrow'd bluſhes of an artful dye.
All ſoft and delicate, with airy ſwim
Lightly ſhe danc'd along; her robe betray'd
Thro' the clear texture ev'ry tender limb,
Height'ning the charms it only ſeem'd to ſhade:
And as it flow'd adown, ſo looſe and thin,
Her ſtature ſhew'd more tall; more ſnowy-white, her ſkin.

VI.

Oft with a ſmile ſhe view'd herſelf aſkance;
Ev'n on her ſhade a conſcious look ſhe threw:
Then all around her caſt a careleſs glance,
To mark what gazing eyes her beauty drew.
As they came near, before that other dame
Approaching decent, eagerly ſhe preſs'd
With haſty ſtep; nor of repulſe afraid
Ran to the youth, and with a kiſs addreſs'd:
With winning fondneſs on his neck ſhe hung;
Sweet as the honey-dew flow'd her enchanting tongue.

VII.

" Dear Hercules, whence this unkind delay?
Dear youth, what doubts can thus diſtract thy mind?
Securely follow, where I lead the way;
And range thro' wilds of pleaſure unconfin'd.
With me retire, from noiſe, and pain, and care;
Embath'd in bliſs, and wrapt in endleſs eaſe:
Rough is the road to fame, thro' blood and war;
Smooth is my way, and all my paths are peace.
With me retire, from toils and perils free;
Leave honour to the wretch! Pleaſures were made for thee.

VIII.

Then will I grant thee all thy ſoul's deſire;
All that may charm thine ear, and pleaſe thy ſight:
All that thy thought can frame, or wiſh require,
To ſteep thy raviſh'd ſenſes in delight.
The ſumptuous feaſt, enhanc'd with muſic's ſound;
Fitteſt to tune the melting ſoul to love:
Rich odours, breathing choiceſt ſweets around;
The fragrant bow'r, cool fountain, ſhady grove:
Freſh flowers, to ſtrew thy couch, and crown thy head;
Joy ſhall attend thy ſteps, and Eaſe ſhall ſmooth thy bed.

IX.

Theſe will I, freely, conſtantly ſupply;
Pleaſures, nor earn'd with toil, nor mix'd with woe:
Far from thy reſt repining want ſhall fly;
Nor labour bathe in ſweat thy careful brow.
Mature the copious harveſt ſhall be thine;
Let the laborious hind ſubdue the ſoil:
Leave the raſh ſoldier ſpoils of war to win;
Won by the ſoldier thou ſhalt ſhare the ſpoil:
Theſe ſofter cares my bleſt allies employ,
New pleaſures to invent; to wiſh, and to enjoy."

X.

Her winning voice the youth attentive caught:
He gaz'd impatient on the ſmiling maid;
Still gaz'd, and liſten'd: then her name beſought:
" My name, fair youth, is Happineſs, ſhe ſaid.
Well can my friends this envy'd truth maintain:
They ſhare my bliſs; they beſt can ſpeak my praiſe:
Tho' ſlander call me Sloth——Detraction vain!
Heed not what ſlander, vain detracter, ſays:
Slander, ſtill prompt true merit to defame;
To blot the brighteſt worth, and blaſt the faireſt name."

XI.

By this, arriv'd the fair majeſtic maid:
(She all the while, with the ſame modeſt pace,
Compos'd advanc'd.) "Know, Hercules, ſhe ſaid
With manly tone, thy birth of heav'nly race;
Thy tender age that lov'd inſtruction's voice,
Promis'd thee generous, patient, brave and wiſe;
When manhood ſhould confirm thy glorious choice:
Now expectation waits to ſee thee riſe.
Riſe, youth! Exalt thyſelf, and me: approve
Thy high deſcent from heav'n; and dare be worthy Jove.

XII.

But what truth prompts, my tongue ſhall not diſguiſe;
The ſteep aſcent muſt be with toil ſubdu'd:
Watchings and cares muſt win the lofty prize,
Propos'd by heav'n; true bliſs, and real good.
Honour rewards the brave and bold alone;
She ſpurns the timorous, indolent, and baſe:
Danger and toil ſtand ſtern before her throne;
And guard, (ſo Jove commands,) the ſacred place.
Who ſeeks her muſt the mighty coſt ſuſtain,
And pay the price of fame; labour, and care, and pain.

XIII.

Wou'dſt thou engage the gods peculiar care?
O Hercules, th' immortal powers adore!
With a pure heart, with ſacrifice and pray'r
Attend their altars; and their aid implore.
Or wou'dſt thou gain thy country's loud applauſe,
Lov'd as her father, as her god ador'd?
Be thou the bold aſſertor of her cauſe:
Her voice, in council; in the fight, her ſword.
In peace, in war, purſue thy country's good:
For her, bare thy bold breaſt; and pour thy generous blood.

XIV.

Wou'dſt thou, to quell the proud and lift th' oppreſt,
In arts of war and matchleſs ſtrength excel?
Firſt conquer thou thyſelf. To eaſe, to reſt,
To each ſoft thought of pleaſure, bid farewel.
The night alternate, due to ſweet repoſe,
In watches waſte; in painful march, the day:
Congeal'd, amidſt the rigorous winter's ſnows;
Scorch'd, by the ſummer's thirſt-inflaming ray.
Harden'd by toil, thy limbs ſhall boaſt new might:
Vigour ſhall brace thine arm, reſiſtleſs in the fight."

XV.

XV.

" Hear'ſt thou, what monſters then thou muſt engage;
What dangers, gentle youth, ſhe bids thee prove?
(Abrupt ſays Sloth:) ill fit thy tender age
Tumult and wars; fit age, for joy and love.
Turn, gentle youth, to me, to love and joy!
To theſe I lead: no monſters here ſhall ſtay
Thine eaſy courſe; no cares thy peace annoy:
I lead to bliſs a nearer, ſmoother way.
Short is my way; fair, eaſy, ſmooth, and plain:
Turn, gentle youth! With me, eternal pleaſures reign."

XVI.

" What pleaſures, vain miſtaken wretch, are thine!
(Virtue with ſcorn reply'd:) who ſleep'ſt in eaſe
Inſenſate; whoſe ſoft limbs the toil decline
That ſeaſons bliſs, and makes enjoyment pleaſe.
Draining the copious bowl, ere thirſt require;
Feaſting, ere hunger to the feaſt invite:
Whoſe taſteleſs joys anticipate deſire;
Whom luxury ſupplies with appetite:
Yet Nature loaths; and you employ in vain
Variety and art to conquer her diſdain.

XVII.

The ſparkling nectar, cool'd with ſummer ſnows;
The dainty board, with choiceſt viands ſpread;
To thee are taſteleſs all! Sincere repoſe
Flies from thy flow'ry couch, and downy bed.
For thou art only tir'd with indolence:
Nor is thy ſleep with toil and labour bought;
Th' imperfect ſleep, that lulls thy languid ſenſe
In dull oblivious interval of thought:
That kindly ſteals th' inactive hours away
From the long, lingring ſpace, that lengthens out the day.

XVIII.

From bounteous nature's unexhauſted ſtores
Flows the pure fountain of ſincere delights:
Averſe to her, you waſte the joyleſs hours;
Sleep drowns thy days, and riot rules thy nights.
Immortal tho' thou art, indignant Jove
Hurl'd thee from heaven, th' immortals bliſsful place;
For ever baniſh'd from the realms above,
To dwell on earth, with man's degenerate race:
Fitter abode! On earth, alike diſgrac'd;
Rejected by the wiſe, and by the fool embrac'd.

XIX.

Fond wretch, that vainly weeneſt all delight
To gratify the ſenſe reſerv'd for thee!
Yet the moſt pleaſing object to the ſight,
Thine own fair action, never didſt thou ſee.
Tho' lull'd with ſofteſt ſounds thou lieſt along;
Soft muſic, warbling voices, melting lays:
Ne'er did'ſt thou hear, more ſweet than ſweeteſt ſong
Charming the ſoul, thou ne'er did'ſt hear thy praiſe!
No—to thy revels let the fool repair:
To ſuch, go ſmooth thy ſpeech; and ſpread thy tempting ſnare.

XX.

Vaſt happineſs enjoy thy gay allies!
A youth, of follies; an old-age, of cares:
Young, yet enervate; old, yet never wiſe;
Vice waſtes their vigour, and their mind impairs.
Vain, idle, delicate, in thoughtleſs eaſe
Reſerving woes for age their prime they ſpend;
All wretched, hopeleſs, in the evil days
With ſorrow to the verge of life they tend.
Griev'd, with the preſent; of the paſt, aſham'd;
They live, and are deſpis'd: they die, nor more are nam'd.

XXI.

But with the gods, and godlike men, I dwell:
Me, his ſupreme delight, th' almighty Sire
Regards well-pleas'd: whatever works excel,
All or divine or human, I inſpire.
Counſel with ſtrength, and induſtry with art,
In union meet conjoin'd, with me reſide:
My dictates arm, inſtruct, and mend the heart;
The ſureſt policy, the wiſeſt guide.
With me, true friendſhip dwells: ſhe deigns to bind
Thoſe generous ſouls alone, whom I before have join'd.

XXII.

Nor need my friends the various coſtly feaſt;
Hunger to them th' effects of art ſupplies:
Labour prepares their weary limbs to reſt;
Sweet is their ſleep: light, chearful, ſtrong they riſe.
Thro' health, thro' joy, thro' pleaſure, and renown,
They tread my paths; and by a ſoft deſcent,
At length to age all gently ſinking down,
Look back with tranſport on a life well-ſpent:
In which, no hour flew unimprov'd away;
In which, ſome generous deed diſtinguiſh'd every day.

XXIII.

And when, the deſtin'd term at length compleat,
Their aſhes reſt in peace; eternal fame
Sounds wide their praiſe: triumphant over fate,
In ſacred ſong, for ever lives their name.
This, Hercules, is happineſs! Obey
My voice; and live. Let thy celeſtial birth
Lift, and enlarge, thy thoughts. Behold the way
That leads to fame; and raiſes thee from earth
Immortal! Lo, I guide thy ſteps. Ariſe,
Purſue the glorious path; and claim thy native ſkies."

XXIV.

Her words breathe fire celeſtial, and impart
New vigour to his ſoul; that ſudden caught
The generous flame: with great intent his heart
Swells full; and labours with exalted thought:
The miſt of error from his eyes diſpell'd,
Thro' all her fraudful arts in cleareſt light
Sloth in her native form he now beheld;
Unveil'd ſhe ſtood, confeſt before his ſight:
Falſe Siren!—All her vaunted charms, that ſhone
So freſh erewhile, and fair; now wither'd, pale, and gone.

XXV.

No more, the roſy bloom in ſweet diſguiſe
Maſks her diſſembled looks: each borrow'd grace
Leaves her wan cheek; pale ſickneſs clouds her eyes
Livid and ſunk, and paſſions dim her face.
As when fair Iris has a while diſplay'd
Her watry arch, with gaudy painture gay;
While yet we gaze, the glorious colours fade,
And from our wonder gently ſteal away:
Where ſhone the beauteous phantom erſt ſo bright,
Now lowers the low-hung cloud; all gloomy to the ſight.

XXVI.

But Virtue more engaging all the while
Diſclos'd new charms; more lovely, more ſerene;
Beaming ſweet influence. A milder ſmile
Soften'd the terrors of her lofty mien.
"Lead, goddeſs, I am thine! (tranſported cry'd
Alcides:) O propitious pow'r, thy way
Teach me! poſſeſs my ſoul; be thou my guide:
From thee, O never, never let me ſtray!"
While ardent thus the youth his vows addreſs'd;
With all the goddeſs fill'd, already glow'd his breaſt.

XXVII.

The heav'nly maid, with ſtrength divine endu'd
His daring ſoul; there all her pow'rs combin'd:
Firm conſtancy, undaunted fortitude,
Enduring patience, arm'd his mighty mind.
Unmov'd in toils, in dangers undiſmay'd,
By many a hardy deed and bold emprize,
From fierceſt monſters, thro her pow'rful aid,
He free'd the earth: thro' her, he gain'd the ſkies.
'Twas Virtue plac'd him in the bleſt abode;
Crown'd, with eternal youth: among the Gods, a God.

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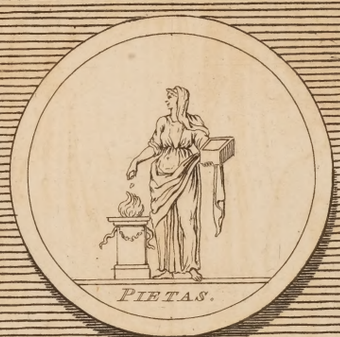

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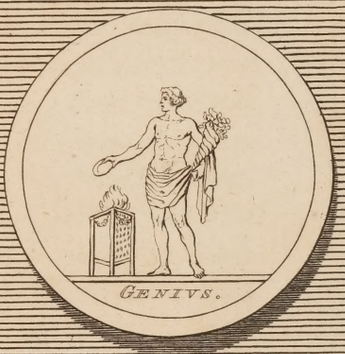

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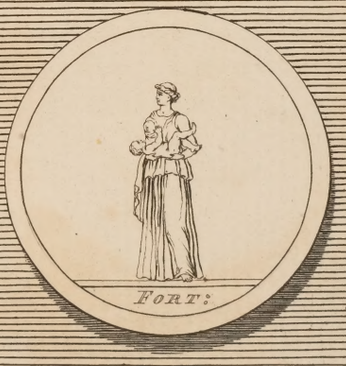

XII

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BOOK the Fifth.

Of the Conſtellations; Planets: Times, and Seaſons.

DIAL. XI.

The Conſtellations.

AS they had now conſidered all the figures, both in the inſide, and on the outſide of the Rotunda; Polymetis, the next day, led his two friends to his temple of the Conſtellations, a little below it on the right hand. This was a round temple too, but without any Portico; and of the Corinthian order, as the other was of the Compoſite. As they entered it, they ſaw two ſtatues, one on each ſide of the door; and a large Atlas, in the midſt of it, ſupporting a globe of the heavens on his ſhoulders: and the walls were adorned with relievo's, in proper places; relating to the ſame. Near the Atlas, was a table ſet out, with ſome books open upon it; and a few drawings. You ſee, ſays Polymetis, that I have got every thing in order for you. This ſtatue with the globe, is a copy of that at the Farneſe palace at Rome. It is perhaps the only Celeſtial Globe, with the figures upon it in the true antient manner, now in the world. Theſe books are ſome of the good old authors that relate to it. This is Pliny; who ſpeaks often of the ſtars; and particularly, in the ſecond, and eighteenth books of his Natural Hiſtory: and this Vitruvius; who has given us a catalogue of all the Conſtellations on the celeſtial globes in his times; that is, in the Auguſtan age.——If I do not miſtake, ſays Myſagetes, the occaſion Vitruvius has taken to treat of the ſtars is a little too Pindaric. He is inſtructing people how to make a ſun-dial on their houſes; to do that, a man muſt be ſomething of an aſtronomer; and ſo he obliges us immediately, with a complete catalogue of all the ſtars. Indeed, anſwered Polymetis, I do not ſee what neceſſity he was under of giving us this catalogue; unleſs the ſun-dials of old were much more ſcientific things, than ours are uſually at preſent: but however he has given it; and let him anſwer for the occaſion.——This is Avienus's paraphraſe of Aratus; which I ſhall beg leave to cite, if there be any neceſſity for it: and this Manilius; who gives a catalogue, (that ſquares almoſt in every article with Vitruvius's,) in the firſt book of his Aſtronomics: and in the laſt, treats very particularly of the figures of the different Conſtellations; their bearings to one another; and the effects they have on the temper and fortunes of thoſe, who are born under ſuch or ſuch a conſtellation. Even this part, as frivolous as it is in itſelf, will be of ſome uſe to me; becauſe Manilius generally fits his predictions to the (1) figure, or air, of the conſtellation he is ſpeaking of. Theſe other books, are ſome of the Roman poets; who, tho' they do not treat of the conſtellations expreſly, like Manilius; yet give us deſcriptions of ſeveral of them, here and there, as occaſion offers. Indeed Virgil in his Georgics, and Ovid in his Faſti, go rather farther: for they make it part of their (2) propoſition, in each of thoſe poems.

THE

(1) Thus, for inſtance, becauſe Cepheus has a ſevere countenance; he ſays thoſe who are born under Cepheus, will be rigid and cenſorious: and becauſe Andromeda is chained, thoſe born under her muſt be jayl-keepers.

(2) Tempora cum cauſis Latium digeſta per annum,
Lapſaque ſub terras ortaque ſigna canam.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 2.

——Quo ſidere terram
Vertere——
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 2.

And the ſame poet ſays afterwards:

——Tam ſunt Arcturi ſidera nobis
Hœdorumque dies ſervandi, & lucidus Anguis;
Quàm quibus in patriam ventoſa per æquora vectis,
Pontus & oſtriferi fauces tentantur Abydi.
Georg. 1. ℣. 207.

THE antients in general allude ſo often, and ſometimes ſo particularly, to the figures on their globes, in their poems; that there is no underſtanding the latter, without having ſome acquaintance with the former. This goes ſo far, that Quintilian, (where he is giving inſtructions how to form his young orator,) after ſpeaking of his reading the poets, ſays; that it is neceſſary for him to ſtudy aſtronomy (3), in order to underſtand them. This is become ſtill more neceſſary, at preſent: for we have been uſed, not only to be unaſſiſted by the figures of the conſtellations, as they were repreſented on the antient globes; but to be miſ-led too by the figures of them, as they are repreſented on the modern. For tho' the conſtellations, in general, are pretty much the ſame in both; yet either their characters, or dreſs, or air, or attributes, have been ſome how or other changed in almoſt every one of them; as will eaſily appear to any one who would take the trouble of comparing the figures on the Farneſe globe, with thoſe on any of the moſt received globes among the moderns. This has been ſo little regarded hitherto, that on aſking ſome celebrated mathematicians of our own country, what were the principal differences between the figures of the conſtellations on the antient and the modern globes, (in order to inform myſelf as to ſome points, of which I doubted;) their conſtant anſwer has been, that they had always imagined, that there was not any difference at all.

THE drawing I have in my hand, was taken from the Farneſe globe. If you pleaſe, we will conſider each figure in it; together with what the Roman poets may ſay, that is any way material, of any of them. You ſmile, Myſagetes, to ſee me, whom you know to be no aſtronomer, preparing to read you a lecture on the celeſtial globe. I do not pretend to talk of it ſcientifically; but only to conſider the different ſhapes, airs, or attitudes, of the creatures and things delineated on it. The globe, in my hand, is as a picture-book in the hands of a child: he may divert himſelf with the figures, tho' he be ignorant even what language the book is wrote in. Or, to give the compariſon a little more dignity, I may talk over the figures on the celeſtial globe, with as much juſtice as Cicero undertook to tranſlate Aratus; when, (as he himſelf I think ſomewhere ſays,) he did not underſtand aſtronomy.

THO' the ſtars were looked on by the antients to be innumerable; yet the conſtellations on their globes were not ſo numerous, as they are on the modern. Their number then was under fifty; and we have increaſed them to upwards of ſixty.

THE Farneſe globe, tho' it has been ſo much injured, (partly by time, and partly I fear by the folly of thoſe who have had the keeping of it;) has however preſerved to us above forty of theſe old conſtellations. The principal lines are marked out on it. Theſe two binding ones, you ſee, include the middle ſpace; or the torrid zone (4): the next diviſion on each ſide of this, are the two temperate zones; as the diviſions at each end beyond them, are the two frigid ones. Theſe lines, that run obliquely here acroſs the torrid zone, is the Zodiac. To avoid the confuſion that ſuch a number of figures is apt to give one, we will if you pleaſe firſt conſider all the Conſtellations that lie north of the Zodiac; then, thoſe of the Zodiac itſelf: and laſtly, thoſe that lie to the ſouth of it.

Pl. XXIV. THE Great Serpent, here by the northern pole, is not contented with one hemiſphere. He ſpreads himſelf indeed chiefly in our hemiſphere, where you ſee this chaſm; but there is part of him which wanders too into the other. Had Statius only ſaid, that he extended into

(3) Nec ſi rationem ſiderum ignoret, poetas intelligat; qui, ut alia mittam, toties ortu occaſuque ſignorum in declarandis temporibus utuntur. Quintilian. Inſtitut. Lib. 1. c. 4.

(4) Quinque tenent cœlum Zonæ; quarum una coruſco
Semper ſole rubens, & torrida ſemper ab igni:
Quam circum, extremæ dextrâ lævâque, trahuntur
Cæruleâ glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris:
Has inter mediamque, duæ mortalibus ægris
Munere conceſſæ divûm. Via ſecta per ambas
Obliquus quâ ſe ſignorum verteret ordo.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ỳ. 239.

into (5) the other hemiſphere; I think, he would have ſpoken more correctly than he has. This part of the Farneſe globe is ſo much damaged, (by their having made a great hollow in the top of it,) that we cannot trace all his folds and windings. But according to Virgil, Ovid, and Manilius, he ſhould roll (6) between the two Bears, as well as round them.

THE Arcti are totally loſt on the Farneſe globe, by the accident juſt mentioned. Helice, or the greater Bear, had its tail (7) toward the head of Cynoſura, or the leſſer Bear. Before the diſcovery of the compaſs, theſe two Conſtellations were the great directors of navigation. The Greeks (8) always obſerved the former in their voyages; and the Tyrians and Carthaginians, as greater ſailors, obſerved the latter.

BOÖTES, was behind the greater Bear; (or Charles's Wain, as we vulgarly call it, probably from the Roman name of (9) Plauſtra;) and appears in the act of (10) driving it on. You ſee here, he is dreſſed in the habit of a countryman; (a ſhort tunic girt about him, and with his arms and legs bare, as the labourers are uſually repreſented in the paintings in the Vatican Virgil;) and with the Pedum Paſtorale, in his right hand. The famous ſtar, Arcturus, was on his (11) breaſt; which ſhould be (at leaſt) as far naked, as his back appears here.

JUST by the Pedum in Boötes's right hand, you ſee a wreath of leaves and flowers, faſtened with a ruban. This is the Corona, or Ariadne's crown; which makes much ſuch a (12) circular appearance in the heavens, as it does here; tho' we have turned it into a Gothic crown, in all our modern globes. Manilius, who generally draws his prognoſtications, from the forms or circumſtances of the Conſtellations on the old globes; very plainly alludes to the materials of which this is formed: where he ſays, "that the perſons born under Ariadne's crown (13), will delight in flower-gardens; and be makers of noſegays, and feſtoons."

THE

(5) Quantus ab Arctois diſcriminat æthera plauſtris
Anguis ad uſque notos; alienumque exit in orbem.
Statius. Theb. 5. ℣. 530.

(6) Maximus hic flexu ſinuoſo elabitur Anguis
Circum perque duas, in morem fluminis, Arctos.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 245.
——Tantoque eſt corpore; quanto,
Si totum ſpectes, geminas qui ſeparat Arctos.
Ovid. Met. 3. ℣. 45.
Has interfuſus, circumque amplexus, utramque
Dividit & cingit ſtellis ardentibus Anguis.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 307.

(7) See Aratus, ℣. 49—54. Manilius, 1. ℣. 303.

(8) Eſſe duas Arctos: quarum Cynoſura petatur
Sidoniis; Helicen Graia carina notat.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 108.
Majorem Helice major decercinat arcum;
Septem illam ſtellæ certantes lumine ſignant:
Quâ duce per fluctus Graiæ dant vela carinæ.
Anguſto Cynoſura brevis torquetur in orbe,
Tam ſpatio quàm luce minor: ſed judice vincit
Majorem Tyrio; Pœnis hæc certior auctor
Non apparentem pelago quærentibus orbem.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 302.

(9) ——Auſone eaſdem
Voce Feras, Urſaſque, & Plauſtra, vocare ſolemus;
Fabula namque Urſas, ſpecies dat plauſtra videri.
Avienus's Tranſl. of Aratus, ℣. 104.

(10) ——Licet inſtanti ſimilis ſimiliſque minanti,
Terga Helices juxta premat arduus, haud tamen unquam
In picturatæ plauſtrum procurrere matris
Fas datur——
Id. ℣. 262.
——Similis junctis inſtat, de more, juvencis.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 317.
Heniochuſque memor curſûs, plauſtrique Boötes.
Id. 5. ℣. 20.

(11) Arcturumque rapit medio ſub pectore ſecum.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 318.
——Locus Arcturo—aſcribitur, illinc
Aurea quà ſummos adſtringunt cingula amictus.
Avienus, ℣. 271.

(12) ——Claro volat orbe Corona
Luce micans variâ; nam ſtellâ vincitur unâ
Circulus in mediâ radians quæ proxima fronte,
Candidaque ardenti diſtinguit lumina flammâ:
Gnoſſia deſertæ hæc fulgent monimenta puellæ.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 323.
——Opem Liber tulit: utque perenni
Sidere clara foret, ſumtam de fronte coronam
Immiſit cœlo. Tenues volat illa per auras;
Dumque volat, gemmæ ſubitos vertuntur in ignes:
Conſiſtuntque loco, ſpecie remanente coronæ.
Ovid. Met. 8. ℣. 182.

Gemmæ, here, is a very unlucky word. It naturally ſignifies buds of flowers, or leaves; and by way of alluſion, gems, or precious ſtones.——Cum vites incipiunt gemmare. Cic.——Turgent in palmite gemmæ. Virg.——Where this word is uſed by any of the antient writers, of this conſtellation; I think it ſhould be underſtood, in its firſt and natural ſenſe: tho' any modern reader would be more apt to take it, in the metaphorical one.

(13) Ille colet nitidis gemmantem floribus hortum;
Pallentes violas, & purpureos hyacinthos,
Liliaque, & Tyrias imitata papavera luces,
Vernantiſque roſæ rubicundo ſanguine florem;
Cæruleum foliis viridemque in gramine collem
Conſeret; & veris depinget prata figuris;
Aut varios nectet flores, ſertiſque locabit:
Virginis hoc anni poſcunt; floreſque Coronæ.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 269

THE next figure had his name (14), both among the Greeks and Romans, from his kneeling; as you ſee he does here. The reaſon of his being in that poſture, was (15) unknown in the times of Manilius; and even of Aratus: ſo that it ſeems to have been a mark of ſome very antient tradition; the uſe of which might be continued, after the intent of it was loſt: as the Chineſe are ſaid ſtill to retain their myſtic characters, without underſtanding any thing of the myſteries antiently expreſſed by them. Avienus will have it, that this is Hercules: and that it repreſents him as almoſt fatigued with his long combat againſt the ſerpent, that guarded the golden fruit in the garden of the Heſperides. His foot, you ſee, ſtands exactly over the head of Anguis. Perſons who delight in ſuch ſort of hints from the ſeveral ſtories relating to Hercules, as were mentioned when we were conſidering the character of that hero, would certainly make this one of them: and the rather, becauſe Avienus ſays that Jupiter took Hercules himſelf up into the higher heavens, for his labours upon earth; that his figure was placed here among the Conſtellations, as a memorial of them; and that he ſhould always appear there, with his heel (16) as bruiſing the great ſerpent's head.

THIS figure of Hercules, or whoever it was, is quite naked on the antient globe; and ſo is Ophiuchus, you ſee, who holds another long ſerpent in his hands. Manilius ſpeaks of him and this ſerpent, as (17) fighting together; and ſays, they are ſo equal a match, that their combat muſt laſt for ever. If that was the caſe, our old globe is not ſo picturesque in this particular, as it ſhould be: for the ſerpent in his hands, according to the poſition of its head here, (if it threatens at all,) ſeems rather to threaten Boötes, than the perſon who holds it.

THE figure of Lyra here, ſhews that the Lyra and Teſtudo of old was one and the ſame inſtrument; for they generally call it Lyra, and its appearance plainly determines it to be the Teſtudo; the bottom part of it conſiſting of the entire ſhell of a tortoiſe. There are but ſix ſtrings to it, on the Farneſe globe; but there is a ſpace for the ſeventh: which ſeems rather to have been defaced by ſome accident, than to have been omitted; or perhaps it was originally omitted, and that ſpace left, in memory of the Pleiad that has diſappeared; for it is ſaid to have had ſeven ſtrings at firſt (18), in alluſion to the ſeven Pleiades. Manilius in one place alludes to the tortoiſe in this lyre, with a (19) ſtroke of that falſe ſort of wit, which one meets with in him but too often; and in another, ſpeaks of its (20) Cornua, (or horns,) which are very evident in this figure; and which I accounted for to you before (21), in ſpeaking of Mercury's invention of the lyre.

JUST under this Conſtellation, you ſee Aquila; which I muſt own makes a very different appearance on this globe, from what I expected. The poets ſpeak of him as (22) flying;

(14) The Greeks called this figure, Ενγονασις· the Romans, Nixus, Nixus genibus, and Ingeniculatus.

(15) Proxima frigentes Arctos Boreamque rigentem,
Nixa venit ſpecies genibus; ſibi conſcia cauſæ.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 315.

——Το μεν ουτις επιςαται αμφαδον ειπειν,
Ουδ' οτιν χρεμαται κεινος πουω——
Aratus, ℣. 65.

(16) Et manus ipſa Dei violenta in verbera pendens
Erigitur; dextræque dehinc impreſſio plantæ
Tempora deculcat maculoſi prona Draconis.
Avienus, ℣. 193.

(17) Serpentem magnis, Ophiuchus nomine, ſignis
Dividit; & toto mergentem corpore corpus
Explicat, & nodos ſinuataque terga per orbes;
(Reſpicit ille tamen, molli cervice reflexus)
Et didit fuſis per laxa volumina palmis:
Semper enim paribus bellum quia viribus æquant.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 336.

(18) ——Septena putaris
Pleïadum numero fila dediſſe lyræ.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 106.

(19) Nunc ſurgente lyrâ, teſtudinis enatat undis
Forma.——
Manilius, 5. ℣. 320.

(20) ——Lyra didactis per cœlum cornibus inter
Sidera conſpicitur.——
Id. 1. ℣. 325.

(21) See p. 107. & Pl. 15. Fig. 2.

(22) ——Propter ſe Aquila ardenti cum corpore portat,
Igniferum mulgens tremebundis æthera pennis.
Fragment, of Cicero's tranſl. of Aratus.
Tunc oritur magni præpes adunca Jovis.
Ovid. Faſt. 6. ℣. 196.
——Magni Jovis ales fertur in altum
Aſſuetò volitans, geſtet ceu fulmina mundi;
Digna Jove & cœlo, quod ſacris inſtruit armis.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 345.

Nunc

flying; and as graſping the fulmen in his talons: whereas here, he is without the fulmen, and ſtanding in a quiet poſture. No doubt there was ſome difference, in the different globes uſed by the antients, as well as in the modern: and this is the greateſt inſtance of it, I think, that I have met with. The head of Aquila, is in the other hemiſphere, you ſee; near the Dolphin.

BOTH Manilius and Ovid ſpeak of the figure of the Dolphin, as (23) very aptly marked out by the diſpoſition of the ſtars included in that Conſtellation. From (24) an expreſſion uſed by the former one may infer that, on the painted globes of the antients, the Dolphin was repreſented of a dark colour: on which ground the ſtars, (when repreſented there too,) muſt have appeared to much more advantage, than they could on ſeveral of the other conſtellations; and particularly on the Cygnus juſt by him, which was quite white.

CYGNUS is repreſented both here and by the poets (25), in the attitude of flying. You have often ſeen this Swan, (in other attitudes,) in marble; for according to Manilius, it is the very Swan under whoſe form Jupiter carried on his amour with Leda.

BEFORE the left wing of Cygnus, is a line, almoſt worn out on the Farneſe globe; which I take to be, the Sagitta: both Manilius and Avienus mention this Conſtellation, as (26) juſt by Cygnus. There is not much room for deſcription, in ſuch a plain figure as this muſt be; and all they obſerve of it is, that it was very aptly marked out by the ſtars contained in it.

WE come now to a ſet of Conſtellations, that have all ſome relation to one another. This winged horſe is Pegaſus, who carried Perſeus to deliver Andromeda: the perſon, juſt by it, with her arms extended, is Andromeda herſelf: and next to her is, her deliverer: this lady, ſeated on the Arctic Circle, is her mother, Caſſiopea; and that ſevere looking old man, with his feet ſo near the Pole, is her father Cepheus.

MANILIUS ſpeaks of Pegaſus as (27) flying, and that rapidly, in the heavens; and ſo is he repreſented here, tho' we have but half his figure: all the hinder part (28) being omitted,

Nunc Aquilæ ſidus referam: quæ parte ſiniſtrâ
Rorantis juvenis, quem terris ſuſtulit ipſe,
Fertur; & extenſis prædam circumvolat alis:
Fulmina miſſa refert, & cœlo militat ales.
Id. 5. ℣. 484.

(23) Cæruleus ponto cum ſe Delphinus in aſtra
Erigit, & ſquammam ſtellis imitantibus exit.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 412.
——Cœlatum ſtellis Delphina——
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 79.

(24) The expreſſion here meant is that of Cæruleus. Tho', I believe, there is no one thing in the whole language of the Romans that we are more at a loſs about now, than their names of colours; it appears evidently enough, that Cæruleus was uſed by them, for ſome dark colour, or other. One might bring a number of inſtances to prove this; but one or two, from Virgil, will be ſufficient.

——Sæpe videmus
Ipſius in vultu varios errare colores.
Cæruleus pluviam denuntiat——
Georg. 1. ℣. 453.

Tum mihi cæruleus ſupra caput aſtitit imber,
Noctem hiememque ferens; & inhorruit unda tenebris.
Æn. 3. ℣. 195.

(25) Proxima ſors Cycni, quem cœlo Jupiter ipſe
Impoſuit: formæ pretium, quâ cepit amantem
Cum deus in niveum deſcendit verſus olorem;
Tergaque fidenti ſubjecit plumea Ledæ:
Nunc quoque diductas volitat ſtellatus in alas.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 341.

Plumeus in cœlum nitidis olor evolat alis.
Id. 5. ℣. 25.

——Sidereis Cycnus ſecat æthera pennis.
Avienus, ℣. 635.

Cana pruinoſas extendit colla ſub arctos.
Id. ℣. 692.

(26) Manilius after giving an account of Cygnus, immediately ſays;

Hinc imitata nitent curſumque habitumque ſagittæ
Sidera.——
1. ℣. 343.

And Avienus immediately after ſpeaking of Sagittarius, ſays;

Quin norunt aliam Superûm convexa ſagittam:
Sed tamen hæc arcu tereti caret; inſcia nervi,
Inſcia nam domini eſt. Cœlum ſuper advolat ales,
Ales olor, ſed Threïcio conterminus axi.
℣. 691.

(27) Quique volat ſtellatus Equus——
Manilius, 5. ℣. 24.

Quem * rapido conatus Equus comprendere curſu
Feſtinat.——
* Delphinum. Id. 1. ℣. 350.

(28) Non quadrupes cœlo ſuſtollitur, at tenus alvo
Erigitur

omitted, to make room for Andromeda. Avienus deſcribes his mane (29) very much in the ſame manner as it appears here; and juſt like thoſe of the two fine horſes, which gives its name to the Monte Cavallo at Rome.

THE poets deſcribe the figure of Andromeda, as (30) chained to a rock, even in the heavens. They ſay too, that grief and fear were expreſſed in her face; and Cicero remarks that ſhe turns (31) from her barbarous mother, as you ſee ſhe does on the Farneſe globe.

PERSEUS here holds his ſword in one hand, and the head of Meduſa in the other: which agrees very well with the poetical accounts (32) of the appearance Perſeus made in the heavens: excepting only, that there ſhould be a hook on his ſword (33): which is either worn out on the Farneſe globe; or may be ſo indiſtinct, as not to have been obſerved by the artiſt I employed to copy it.

CASSIOPEA is repreſented here with a (34) diſturbed air, as Cepheus is with a (35) ſevere one. They retain the ſame character in the heavens, which they had upon earth: tho' ſurely it was a very odd ſort of deification, to place people in the heavens with all their paſſions, and even their afflictions, ſtill about them.

WE are now got through all the northern Conſtellations, except two; one of which is the Deltoton, or Triangle. The lines of this Triangle are either worn off of the Farneſe globe; or perhaps it was compoſed from an apt concurrence of the circles and lines on that globe. It appears from Manilius and Avienus, that this Conſtellation (36) lay in the ſpace that is included between the figures of Andromeda, Perſeus, and Aries: and in that ſpace, there is ſuch a concurrence of the lines on the Farneſe globe, as might ſerve to mark out the figure we are ſpeaking of. What is certain is, that it was not capable of any poetical deſcription; and that therefore it is much the ſame to our purpoſe, whether it be loſt on the Farneſe globe, or whether it ſtill ſubſiſts there.

THE

Erigitur mediâ: jam cætera pone negantur;
Et quatit ætherias primis modò cruribus auras.
Avienus, ℣. 487

——Abſciſſo ventre——
Id. ℣. 473.

——Finitur in Andromedâ——
Manilius, 1. ℣. 350.

(29) ——Ipſaque cervix,
Quamvis procero ſurgat juba maxima collo,
Languida marcenti vix eſt ſpectabilis igne.
Avienus, ℣. 481.

(30) ——Cepheuſque & Caſſiopæa,
In pœnas ſignata ſuas: juxtaque relictam
Andromedam, vaſtos metuentem piſcis hiatus,
Expoſitam ponto deflet ſcopuliſque relictam;
Ne veterum Perſeus cœlo quoque ſervet amorem.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 358.
Sed tamen hic etiam vivax eſt pœna dolenti:
Nam diducta ulnas magnas diſtendit in æthra;
Vinculaque in cœlo retinent quoque tenuia.—
Avienus, ℣. 467.

(31) Andromeda, aufugiens aſpectum mœſta parentis.
Cicero, de Nat. Deor. 2. ℣. 48. Ed. Ald.

(32) ——Pennis ligat ille reſumtis,
Parte ab utrâque pedes, teloque accingitur unco.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 665.
——Parrhaſiæ vexerunt Perſea pennæ—
——Phœbeos converti juſſit ad ortus,
Gorgonis averſo ſulcantem regna volatu.—
Quos habuit vultus hamati vulnere ferri
Cæſa caput Gorgon? Quanto ſpiraſſe veneno
Ora rear, quantumque oculis effundere mortis?
Lucan. 9. ℣. 680.

(33) Victor & inviſæ Perſeus cum falce Meduſæ.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 22.

(34) In pœnas ſignata ſuas——
Manilius, 1. ℣. 355.
He adds, that ſhe was ſtill concerned; and afraid, that Perſeus ſhould carry off her daughter. Ib. 357, &c.

(35) ——Facit ora ſevera:
Frontes ac vultus componit pondere mentis.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 446.
This is ſpoken of the influence on thoſe born under this Conſtellation: but as the influences in Manilius have a great deal of reſemblance to the figures themſelves, this may ſerve as a proof that Cepheus had a ſevere thinking look on the globe he made uſe of; as he has alſo on the Farneſe globe.

(36) ——Locus olli
Poſt tergum Andromedæ——
Avienus, ℣. 537.
——Quam Perſeus armis
Eripit & ſociat ſibi. Cui ſuccedit, iniquo
Diviſum ſpatio,—Deltoton nomine ſidus;
Ex ſimili dictum.——
Manilius, 1. ℣. 354.
——Quæ ſubter in aſtro
Lanati marcent pecoris.——
Avienus, ℣. 534, (ſpeaking of ſome of the ſtars in the Deltoton.)

THE laſt of theſe northern Conſtellations, is this of Ericthonius; commonly called Auriga, or the Charioteer. He appears here without his chariot; tho' he is placed much in the ſame poſture (37), as if he was in one. It is probable, that in ſome of the antient globes his chariot was repreſented too; and one ſhould be apt to think, from ſome (38) expreſſions uſed of him by the poets, that this was moſt generally the caſe. When it was ſo, his figure, (I imagine,) was bent more forward, than it is in the drawing before us. In his right hand, he holds his whip; and in his left, were (39) the Hœdi and Capella: which do not appear here, becauſe he held them before his breaſt; and his back, you ſee, is turned toward us, in the Farneſe globe.

WE may now conſider the Conſtellations of the Zodiac: and, if you pleaſe, we will begin here from Cancer; to follow my method of going from left hand to right with my drawing, rather than any more uſual order of the ſigns.

THERE is a paſſage in Manilius, from which one would imagine that Cancer was repreſented (40) without eyes; and it is confirmed by him in another place: ſo that what we ſee in the Farneſe globe is only the ſockets for them; and if that globe was ever to be imitated in colours, they ſhould be drawn as empty, or at leaſt quite dark. The figures on the antient globes were repreſented more generally as alive and in action, than they are in the modern: for which reaſon Cancer, on the painted globes of the antients, was of a black (41) colour; tho' I think the moderns have boiled him, and turned him red in theirs.

LEO is deſcribed as (42) furious, and with his mouth open as roaring; which character of him is preſerved in his figure on the Farneſe globe. Manilius informs us, that this is the famous (43) Nemeæan Lion, that was killed by Hercules. It is probable that he was yet more furious on the globe uſed by Manilius, than he is in the drawing before you.

MANILIUS, in ſpeaking of Virgo, gives her that diſtinguiſhing attribute of a virgin (44), the Zone; and the ears of corn, in her hand: both which particulars are juſtified by this globe. He but juſt touches on (45) her leaving our earth after the golden age; of which Aratus has made the moſt pleaſing digreſſion in his whole poem. Manilius ſays her look is chaſte, and ſevere; but as ſhe turns her back upon us in the Farneſe globe, we can

(37) Heniochuſque memor curſûs, plauſtrique Boötes.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 20.

(38) ——Vicina ferens nixo veſtigia Tauro
Heniochus; ſtudio mundumque, & nomen, adeptus.
Id. 1. ℣. 362.
——Illi impiger autem
Pulcher Erichthonius currus & quatuor olim
Junxit equos: pronus qui non procul in Geminorum
Læva jacet; fuſoque ſuper ſe corpore tendit
Plurimus, atque Helices caput inclinatur ab ore.
Avienus, ℣. 411.

(39) Ille quidem in ſpacium membra explicat: at Capra lævo
Fixa humero clarè ſuſtollitur; ipſius autem
Fine manûs, parvas Hœdorum ſuſpice flammas.
Ibid. ℣. 414.

Avienus here ſpeaks of them as if they were repreſented only by ſingle ſtars; Manilius, ſpeaks of them as figured.

Incipient Hœdi tremulum producere mentum,
Hirtaque tum demum terris promittere terga.
Lib. 1. ℣. 104.

(40) Quod ſi ſolerti circumſpicis omnia curâ
Fraudata invenies amiſſis ſidera membris:
Scorpius in Librâ conſumit brachia; Taurus
Succidit incurvo claudus pede; lumina Cancro
Deſunt; Centauro ſupereſt & quæritur unum.
Manilius, 2. ℣. 260.

At niger obſcurâ Cancer cum nube feretur;
(Qui velut exutus Phœbeis ignibus ignis
Deficit; & multa fuſcat caligine ſidus:)
Lumina deficient ortos; geminamque creatis
Mortem fata dabunt.——
Id. 4. ℣. 534.

(41) ——Niger Cancer——
Ibid. ℣. 430.

(42) ——Violentique ora Leonis.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 81.

Si cui per ſummas avidus produxerit undas
Ora Leo, & ſcandat malis hiſcentibus orbem;
Ille patri matrique reus, &c.
Manilius, 4. ℣. 537.

(43) Cum verò in vaſtos ſurgit Nemeæus hiatus.
Id. 5. ℣. 206.

(44) At quibus Erigone dixit naſcentibus ævum;
Ore, magiſterio, nodoque coercita virgo;
Ad ſtudium ducit mores: &c.——
Id. 4. ℣. 191.
——Cum per decimam conſurgens horrida partem
Spica feret præ ſe ſquallentis corpus ariſtæ.
Id. 5. ℣. 271.

(45) Erigone ſurgens, quæ rexit ſæcula priſca
Juſtitiâ, rurſuſque eadem labentia fugit.
Id. 4. ℣. 542.

can ſee nothing of that there. I have ſome other drawings of the ſigns of the Zodiac (46), in which ſhe turns her face towards us. Virgo is moſt uſually repreſented with wings. Avienus ſpeaks often of them (47); and we learn from the ſame writer, that the corn in her hand, in the painted globes of the antients, was coloured as (48) very ripe.

It is ſaid that Libra, or the Balance, was originally repreſented as held up by Scorpius; who extended his claws for that purpoſe out of his own proper dominions: and that, under Auguſtus, or a little after his death, they made Scorpius contract his claws; and introduced a new perſonage, (moſt probably Auguſtus himſelf,) to hold the Balance. On the Farneſe globe, it is held by Scorpius; (which, by the way, may perhaps ſhew that work to have been previous to the Auguſtan age:) in ſeveral of the gems and medals on which we have the ſigns of the Zodiac, it is held (49) by a man. This is ſaid to be Auguſtus. You know, it was (50) a very common thing among the Roman poets to compliment their emperors with a place among the Conſtellations; and perhaps the Roman Aſtronomers took the hint of placing Auguſtus there, and that in this very ſituation, from (51) Virgil's compliment of this kind to that emperor. To ſay the truth, there could ſcarce have been a place, or an employment, better choſen for Auguſtus. The aſtronomers originally were at a loſs how to have the Balance ſupported: they were obliged, for this purpoſe, to make Scorpius take up the ſpace of two ſigns in the Zodiac; which was quite irregular: and to be ſure they would be ready to lay hold of any fair occaſion of reducing him to his due bounds again. On the other hand, it was quite as proper for Auguſtus, as it was improper for Scorpius, to hold it: for beſide its being a compliment to him for his juſtice, or for his holding the balance of the affairs of the world, (if they talked of princes then, in the ſtyle we have been ſo much uſed to of late;) Libra was the very ſign that was ſaid to preſide over (52) Italy: and ſo Auguſtus in holding that, would be ſuppoſed to be the guardian angel of his country after his deceaſe; as he had been ſo formally declared to be the father and protector of it, in his life-time. Upon the whole, I do not ſee how any thought of this kind could have been carried on with more propriety, than this ſeems to have been; by the admirers, or flatterers, of that emperor.

The language of Manilius is very agreeable to theſe two different repreſentations of Libra. He alludes, in two or three places (53), to its being held by Scorpius; and in one, expreſly

(46) See Pl. 25. N°. 2, & 3.

(47) ——Alite procurſu——
Avienus, ℣. 335.
——Pernicibus alis.
Id. ℣. 286, & 348.

(48) ——Tibi flagrat ariſta,
Et ceu Siriaco torretur ſpica calore.
Id. ℣. 285.

(49) See Pl. 25. N°. 3.

(50) ——Te quum ſtatione peractâ
Aſtra petes ſerus, prælati regia cœli
Excipiet, gaudente polo. Seu ſceptra tenere;
Seu te flammiferos Phœbi tranſcendere currus,
Telluremque nihil mutato ſole timentem
Igne vago luſtrare juvat.——
Ætheris immenſi partem ſi preſſeris unam
Sentiet axis onus: librati pondera cœli
Orbe tene medio.——
Lucan. Pharſ. 1. ℣. 58. (of Nero.)
——Licet arctior omnes
Limes agat ſtellas; & te plaga lucida cœli,
Pleïadum Boreæque & hiulci fulminis expers,
Sollicitet; licet ignipedum frænator equorum
Ipſe tuis altè radiantem crinibus arcum
Imprimat, aut magni cedat tibi Jupiter æquâ
Parte poli; maneas hominum contentus habenis,
Undarum terræque potens, & ſidera dones.
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 31. (of Domitian.)
——Cum jam genitor lucebis ab omni
Parte poli; neque enim in Tyrias Cynoſura carinas
Certior, aut Graiis Helice ſervanda magiſtris:
Seu tu ſigna dabis, ſeu te duce Græcia mittet,
Et Sidon Niluſque rates.——
Val. Flaccus, Arg. 1. ℣. 20. (of Veſpaſian.)

(51) Anne novum tardis ſidus te menſibus addas;
Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelaſque ſequentes
Panditur: ipſe tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
Scorpius, et cœli juſtâ plus parte reliquit.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 35.

(52) Quod potius regat Italiam ſi ſeligis aſtrum,
Quàm quod cuncta regat; quod rerum pondera novit;
Deſignat ſummas, & iniquum ſeparat æquo;
Tempora quo pendent; coeunt quo noxque dieſque.
Heſperiam ſua Libra tenet. Quâ condita Roma,
Et propriis frænat pendentem nutibus Orbem.
Manilius, 4. ℣. 774.

(53) Chelarumque fides, juſtæque examina Libræ.
Id. 3. ℣. 332.
Librantes noctem Chelæ cum tempore lucis.
Id. 4. ℣. 203.
Scorpius in Libra conſumit brachia.——
Id. 2. ℣. 258.

expreſly ſays that it was held by a (54) man. The former, was the idea of the aſtronomers before his time; and the latter, that which began to prevail, about the time he is ſaid to have wrote in. The old poets agree in its being held up, (tho' the moderns uſually repreſent it without any thing to ſupport it;) and its being held up with both the ſcales (55) exactly even: which, among other views, had a reference to the equality of the day and night, on the ſun's entering into this conſtellation.

YOU ſee Scorpius here: but you do not ſee him ſo ſtrongly, as he was repreſented by the painters of old; or as he is deſcribed, by the poets. We learn from the latter, that in the antient paintings he was drawn (56) of a dark venomous colour, and a ſhade of green under it; with his claws ſtretched out; as they muſt have been, before that alteration was introduced in Libra: and with his tail pointed, and raiſed; as thoſe of ſcorpions are, when they are enraged and prepared to ſtrike. Theſe deſcriptions of Scorpius in the poets agree with the figure of it on the Farneſe globe, as far as they can agree with the bare figure of a thing; and I ſuppoſe they have added the colourings to it with the ſame juſtneſs: they being probably as well acquainted with the works of the painters, as with thoſe of the ſtatuaries.

ARCITENENS, according to Eratoſthenes, (an antient Greek writer (57), of very good authority,) was repreſented under the figure of a (58) ſatyr; as he is too in this drawing: tho' my deſigner, (I imagine by miſtake,) has omitted his horns; which as they are generally ſmall, might very eaſily eſcape his obſervation on the Farneſe globe. This was the very ſatyr, who aſſiſted Jupiter ſo much, in his battle againſt the rebel giants; and put them into an unreaſonable fear, (whence, by the way, all ſuch fears have ever ſince been called Panic fears,) by the ſtrange noiſe (59) that he made. He holds his bow as juſt ready to ſhoot it off; and the arrow in it ſeems to aim at the tail of Scorpius. The artiſts, in proceſs of time, ſubſtituted the form of a Centaur, inſtead of that of a Satyr, for this ſign of the Zodiac: as appears from ſeveral gems and medals (60) of good antiquity: and the Roman poets (61) ſeem to have followed this later idea, even about the Auguſtan age. Lucan calls him expreſly by the name of Chiron: who, as I take it, preſided over the Conſtellation, properly called Centaurus; not in the Zodiac. Manilius ſeems to have fallen into the ſame error; and ſpeaks as if there was (62) ſome drapery about this figure: tho' on the Farneſe globe, Arcitenens and Chiron, are both quite naked. The latter of theſe poets however marks, very ſtrongly, that (63) ſeverity of his look; which is diſtinguiſhable

(54) Humana eſt facies Libræ; diverſa, Leonis.
Id. 2. ℣. 529.

(55) Pendula cœleſtes Libra movebat aquas.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 384.
Libra Phœbeos tenet æqua currus.
Herc. Furens, Act. 3. Chor.
See Note 53, anteh.

(56) Eſt locus, in geminos ubi brachia concavat arcus
Scorpios; et caudâ, flexiſque utrinque lacertis,
Porrigit in ſpatium ſignorum membra duorum.
Hunc puer ut nigri madidum ſudore veneni,
Vulnera curvatâ minitantem cuſpide vidit;
Mentis inops, gelidâ formidine lora remiſit.
Ovid Met. 2. ℣. 200.
———Elatæ metuendus acumine caudæ
Scorpius in virides præcipitatur aquas.
Id. Faſt. 4. ℣. 162.
Sævaque circuitu curvantem brachia longo
Scorpion.———
Id. Met. 2. ℣. 83.
——Minax nodis, & recto verbere ſævus.
Lucan, 9. ℣. 132.

(57) Eratoſthenes, in omnium quidem literarum ſubtilitate, & in hâc utique præter cæteros ſolers, quem cunctis probari video; &c. Pliny, Lib. 2. c. 109.

(58) Ουλος εστι τω ειδει ομοιος τω αιγιπανι· εχει δε θηριω τα καλω μερη, και κερατα επι τη κεφαλη. Eratoſthenes de Sideribus, Art. 27. Παν.

(59) Εν τη Ιδη συνην (τω Δι,) οτε επι τους Τιτανας εστρατευσεν· ουτος δε δοκει ευρειν τον κοχλον εν ω τους συμμαχους καθωπλισε, δια το τω ηχω Πανικον καλουμενον, α οι Τιτανες εφευγον. Id. Ibid.

(60) See Pl. 25. N°. 2, & 3.

(61) Teque, ſenex Chiron, gelido qui ſidere fulgens
Impetis Hæmonio majorem Scorpion arcu.
Lucan, 6. ℣. 394.
In cujus caudam contentum dirigit arcum
Mixtus equo; volucrem miſſurus jamque ſagittam.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 270.

(62) Nec non Arcitenens primâ cum veſte reſurgit,
Pectora clara dabit bello.———
Manilius, 4. ℣. 561.

(63) —Nimium indulgens rebus fortuna ſecundis,
Invidet in faciem, ſævitque aſperrima fronti:
Horrendus bello Trebiam Cannaſque Lacumque
Ante fugam tali penſabat imagine victor.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 467.

distinguishable enough in the figure of Arcitenens, on the Farnese globe; and not at all on the face of the Chiron there; and says, that he looks as scowling and threatning, as Hannibal did; in the beginning of the battles of Trebia, Thrasimene, and Cannæ.

Only the head of Capricorn appears here; all the under parts of him are hid by the Farnese globe's resting, in that part, on Atlas's shoulders. This is an inconvenience, that was not to be avoided: it must rest somewhere; and something must be lost by that means: but as it rests chiefly at the Antarctic circle, where the antients had no figures at all, the loss is much less than it would have been in a modern globe. However, as I was saying, all of Capricorn is lost, by this means, except the head. The rest of his figure might be supplied either from gems, or medals; and particularly from the reverse of a very common medal (64) of Augustus Cæsar: by which it appears that Capricorn was represented of old, as a creature of a (65) mixed nature; with the fore part like a goat, and ending in a fish. I must just observe to you, by the way, that this medal is one of the plainest proofs I know of, of that sort of hieroglyphical language, which I have often hinted to have been in use, among the better artists of old. On one side of it, is the head of Augustus; on the other is Capricorn, the sign (66) under which Augustus was born; and beneath that, is a rudder and a globe. The rudder was the constant mark of rule or government, among the Romans. So that this medal says, in the figures on it; (as distinctly, I think, as could have been said in so many words;) that "Augustus, was born, to govern, the world."

This figure next to Capricorn, is Aquarius; a beautiful, fine-shaped (67) youth; as he ought to be: for this, according to the old mythology, is Ganymedes, the cup-bearer of Jupiter. He (68) holds the cup, or little urn in his hand, inclined downwards; and is always (69) pouring out of it: as indeed he ought to be, to be able from so small a source to form that river, which you see running from his feet, and making so large a tour over all this part of the globe. Every one of the particulars I have mentioned in relation to his figure, are marked out by some or other of the Roman poets.

The river, which has its source from his urn, goes in some of its windings to Pisces; and it is therefore that Manilius talks of them as (70) plunged under water, even in the heavens. The poets mark both their (71) places very exactly, and their being turned different

(64) See Pl. 25. N°. 4.

(65) It is hence that Manilius calls Capricorn, Ambiguus; 2. 232. and Biformis; 3. 257.
Cicero seems to allude to the same, where he says;
——Gelidum valido de pectore frigus anhelans
Corpore semifero Capricornus——
De Nat. Deor. p. 48. Ed. Ald.

(66) Tantam fiduciam fati habuit (Augustus, after consulting Theogenes the mathematician at Apollonia,) ut thema suum vulgaverit: nummumque argenteum notâ fideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit. Suetonius, in Aug. §. 94.

(67) Jam levis obliquâ subsedit Aquarius urnâ.
Ovid. Fast. 2. ℣. 455.
——Capricorno, Phœbe, relicto
Per juvenis curres signa regentis aquas.
Id. Ib. 1. ℣. 652.
——Juvenis nudo formatus mollior artu.
Manilius, 4. ℣. 797.
Troïcus haurit aquas funditque ephebus ab urnâ.
Avienus, ℣. 549.

(68) Ille quoque inflexâ fontem qui projicit urnâ,
Cognatas tribuit juvenilis Aquarius artes:
Cernere sub terris undas, &c.——
Manilius, 4. ℣. 261.

(69) ——Fundentis semper Aquarii.
Id. 2. ℣. 233.
Ad juvenem, æternas fundentem Piscibus undas.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 492.
After talking, for some time, of Aquarius and his influences, (ibid. 259, to 272,) he concludes the passage thus. Sic profluit urna: "And so the urn flows on." Which seems to have been a proverbial expression, among the antients, taken from the ceaseless flowing of this urn; and which might be not unapplicable now, when certain ladies are telling a story; or certain lawyers are pleading.

(70) Post hunc inflexam diffundit Aquarius urnam
Piscibus, assuetas avidè subeuntibus undas.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 273.

(71) ——Sedes data quippe duobus
Piscibus, ingenti quâ celsam circulus æthram
Orbe secat; tendit quâ penna extrema sinistræ
Ales Equus; mundo quâ pectora Laniger alto
Urget.——
Avienus, ℣. 545.

different (72) ways; and ſpeak of them rather in a more pictureſque manner, than they are expreſſed on the Farneſe globe. Ovid gives a full and very pretty (73) account of the ſtory, which occaſioned their being received into the heavens.

NEXT to Piſces, you ſee, is Aries, or the Ram; turning his head backward: a (74) particular, which Manilius mentions of him, in ſeveral places; tho' Monſieur Huet, I know not why, is pleaſed to aſſert the contrary. We may learn, from the ſame poet, that the painters repreſented him all of a gold colour. This they did with more propriety, than you would, perhaps, at firſt imagine; for according to the fabulous hiſtory, this was the (75) very Ram ſo famous of old for his golden fleece: which was kept firſt at Colchis, and then fell into Jaſon's hands; whilſt the memorial of it was preſerved, in ſo diſtinguiſhed a place, amidſt the heavens.

AS this was the ram that carried Helle on the ſea, and gave a name to ſo celebrated a part of it; its neighbour here, the Bull, was at leaſt as famous; for carrying Europa ſafe over the ſame element, and giving its name to our part of the world. The poets deſcribe the figure of Taurus in much the ſame manner that you ſee him here: as having his head (76) averted from the courſe of the ſun, and as riſing backward; as repreſented (77) only in part; with his neck bending downward (78), and his knee yet more bent. On ſome gems you have his whole figure (79) in the act of butting with his head, and tearing up the ground with his feet; juſt like the bull (80) deſcribed by Virgil, or like any common bull you pleaſe; from which it is ſometimes diſtinguiſhed, by its having a ſtar engraved over it. We find plainly from a paſſage in Virgil, (which in ſome other reſpects, is (81) difficult enough to be ſettled,) that Taurus was repreſented, on the coloured

(72) Diſſimile eſt illis iter, in contraria verſis.
Manilius, 2. ℣. 164.

(73) Terribilem quondam fugiens Typhona Dione
(Tunc, cum pro cœlo Jupiter arma tulit)
Venit ad Euphraten, comitata Cupidine parvo;
Inque Paleſtinæ margine ſedit aquæ.
Populus & cannæ riparum ſumma tenebant;
Spemque dabant ſalices hos quoque poſſe tegi.
Dum latet, intonuit vento nemus. Illa timore
Pallet; & hoſtiles credit adeſſe manus.
Utque ſinu natum tenuit: Succurrite, Nymphæ!
Et diis auxilium ferte duobus, ait:
Nec mora, profiluit. Piſces ſubiere gemelli:
Pro quo nunc dignum ſidera munus habent.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 472.

Manilius mentions the ſame ſtory, on the ſame account. Lib. 4. ℣. 579, &c.

(74) ——Ubi ſe ſummis Aries attollit ab undis,
Et cervice prior flexâ quàm cornibus ibit.
Manilius, 4. ℣. 506.
Et ſua reſpiciens aurato vellere terga.
Id. 2. ℣. 212.
Aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens,
Reſpicit admirans averſum ſurgere Taurum.
Id. 1. ℣. 265.

(75) Poſtquam vernus calidum Titana recepit,
Sidera reſpiciens, delapſæ portitor Helles.
Lucan, 4. ℣. 57.
Utque fugam rapiant, aries nitidiſſimus auro
Traditur: ille vehit per freta longa duos.—
Litoribus tactis, aries fit ſidus; at hujus
Pervenit in Colchas aurea lana domos.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 876.

(76) ——Aſpice Taurum;
Cernis ut averſus redeundo ſurgat in arcum
Clunibus——
Manilius, 2. ℣. 199.
Aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens
Reſpicit admirans averſum ſurgere Taurum.
Id. 1. ℣. 264.
Taurus in averſos præceps ut tollitur ortus
Sextâ parte ſui, certantes lucis ad oras
Pleïades ducit——
Id. 5. ℣. 142.
Averſus venit in cœlum, diveſque puellis;
Pleïadum parvo referens glomerabile ſidus.
Id. 4. ℣. 522.

(77) Vacca ſit an taurus, non eſt cognoſcere promtum;
Pars prior apparet, poſteriora latent.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 162.

(78) ——Niſi poplite lapſo
Ultima curvati procederet ungula Tauri.
Lucan.
——Taurus
Succidit incurvo claudus pede——
Manilius, 2. ℣. 259.
——Vicina ferens nixo veſtigia Tauro.
Id. 1. ℣. 361.

(79) See Pl. 25. N°. 1.

(80) Qui cornu petat, & pedibus qui ſpargat arenam.
Virgil. Ecl. 3. ℣. 87.

(81) There are two ways of reading, and underſtanding, the paſſage in Virgil here referred to. That which generally prevails at preſent, is as follows:

——Milio venit annua cura:
Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus; & averſo ſedens Canis occidit aſtro.
Georg. 1. ℣. 218.

This is uſually underſtood of the ſun's entering into Taurus; and of the dog-ſtar's ſetting heliacally: that is, from about the middle of April, to about the end

coloured globes of old, with gilded horns; and all the reſt of him white: agreeably to the poetical deſcriptions of the bull which carried Europa; and entirely like the bulls in the higheſt eſteem among the Romans, thoſe which they ſacrificed to their beſt and greateſt Jupiter.

The Gemini (or Twins) are deſcribed by Manilius as (82) naked, young, and beautiful: and he is ſo particular too, as to mention that (83) interweaving of their arms; which is ſo evident in the drawing before you. Ovid makes them to be (84) Caſtor and Pollux; but as we ſee theſe always both together, I know not how that can be reconciled with the old ſtory of thoſe two brothers; unleſs theſe were looked upon only as appearances, or memorials; whilſt the real Caſtor and Pollux, (like the real Hercules,) took their place alternately, in the higher heavens.

As we have now gone thorough the whole line of the Zodiacal figures, we will begin once more if you pleaſe from the left; with the Ship, which you ſee here. It is repreſented indeed only (85) in part, that it might not take up too much room on the globe; but tho' it is only part of a ſhip, it is repreſented as (86) ſailing on: for the antients endeavoured to put every thing in action on their celeſtial globes, as much as they poſſibly could. It is the famous Argo; the firſt ſhip, according to them, that ever was made. We have here no figures on it, but a Victory and a Triton; ſo that Flaccus's fine deſcriptions (87) of the marriage-feaſt of Peleus and Thetis, as painted on one ſide of it; and of the combat between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, on the other; was only a ſport of his own imagination: and indeed there would have been a terrible anachroniſm in

end of the ſame month. In this caſe, Canis is uſed nominatively; and aſtro is underſtood of Taurus.

It is certain, that averſum aſtrum is uſed ſeveral times by Manilius, in ſpeaking of Taurus; and that Macrobius took the whole paſſage in this ſenſe, appears from his treatiſe, on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis. See his Saturnal. Lib. 1. Cap. 18. p. 86. Ed. Gryph. 1556.

A gentleman, I have long known, (and who ſeems to me to underſtand Virgil in the moſt maſterly manner, of any man I ever did know,) reads the paſſage thus:

——Milio venit annua cura:
Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus, & adverſo cedens Canis occidit aſtro.

My friend takes Canis here to be the genitive caſe: and underſtands, adverſo aſtro, of that Conſtellation; and not of Taurus. His ſenſe therefore of it, is: "Sow millet; from the year's opening under Taurus, to the ſetting of that Conſtellation." This period reaches from the beginning, to about the middle of April.

The reading of adverſo, was the true original reading; according to the oldeſt and beſt manuſcripts: and is uſed in particular by Macrobius himſelf in that very paſſage, which is uſually brought as the chief ſupport of the other opinion.——The year, in reſpect to agriculture, began with the month of April among the Romans; which thence, probably, had its very name Aprilis; quaſi aperilis, ab aperiendo.—— The expreſſions ſeem in this ſenſe to be more poetical than in the other; and more agreeable to the poſitions and appearance of theſe Conſtellations on the globe, at the time ſpoken of.——Laſtly, Columella (who lived in the ſame country with Virgil, and in the ſame age,) ſpeaks of the time for ſowing millet; and ſays, "it ſhould be finiſhed by the middle of April." Milii & Panici hæc prima ſatio eſt; quæ peragi debet, circa idus Aprilis. Lib. 2. Cap. 2. The ides of April, was the 13th.

If theſe arguments are ſtronger than thoſe on the other ſide, the old reading ought to be reſtored: which, (to ſay the truth,) ſeems to me to have been altered, by ſome old critic, to adapt the paſſage the more to Macrobius's meaning; and to have been afterwards turned into an argument for it, by ſome of the more modern critics: who, perhaps, did not know any thing of this alteration.

(82) ——Geminos nudatis aſpice membris.
Manilius, 2. ℣. 162.
——Et geminos Juvenes——
Id. Ib. ℣. 661.
——Formoſos Geminos——
Ibid. ℣. 440.

(83) His conjuncta manent alterno brachia nexu.
Ibid. ℣. 163.

(84) In Geminos ex quo tempore Phœbus eat.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 694.
Tyndaridæ fratres——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 700.
For the ſtory. See ibid. 715, to 720.

(85) —Argo rutilam tantum inter ſidera puppim
Ducitur; occultat rigido tenus altera malo.
Avienus, ℣. 765.

(86) This you ſee by the oars, in the figure of it on the Farneſe globe; and ſo is it deſcribed by the poets.
Ratis Heroum, quæ nunc quoque navigat aſtris.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 13.
Nunc quoque vicinam puppim, ceu naviget, Argo
A dextris lateris ducit regione per aſtra.
Id. Ibid. 37.

(87) Flaccus, Argon. 1. 129, to 148.

in it, had it been ſo repreſented; for Peleus was not married, till after this ſhip was made.

NEAR (88) Argo is Hydrus, or the Water-ſerpent; which Manilius ſays was very well marked out with ſtars. We cannot verify that here; becauſe the Farneſe globe (which is the only antient celeſtial globe I know of,) has only the figures of the conſtellations wrought on it; and not the particular ſtars which were contained in them. The ſituation of this Conſtellation in the heavens is deſcribed by Avienus, (89) exactly as you ſee it in the drawing, before us.

CRATER is placed on a ſort of pedeſtal which reſts on the back of this Serpent, toward the middle part of it; or, "in the (90) midſt of its windings," as Avienus expreſſes it. It is ſhaped like the common bowls, or little urns, that the antients uſed to drink out of; and particularly like thoſe you have ſeen in the hand of Bacchus, in ſome ſtatues and relievo's. It is obſerved, that this Conſtellation too was very properly (91) delineated by the ſtars it contained.

NEAR (92) the Crater, is Corvus: pearched on the (93) tail of Anguis; and bending down, as pecking at it. The poets have obſerved theſe particulars; and ſay nothing more of it that is any way remarkable, that I know of.

JUST under the tail of the Serpent, is Centaurus. His look is mild; for this is a philoſophical Centaur: Chiron, a great maſter of the rules of (94) equity and juſtice; and the inſtructor of Hercules, as well as Achilles. The poets obſerve of his figure, (what is chiefly to be obſerved in all good figures of Centaurs, and particularly in thoſe two fine ones, from the Villa Adriani, at Rome,) that the upward or human part is roughened by degrees; and is united extremely well (95) with the equine part, a little below his breaſt. This cannot ſo well be juſtified from the Farneſe globe; becauſe in that his back is turned toward us. He is repreſented as coming from the chace; with a young lioneſs in his hand: which is held by him, (as (96) a ſacrifice,) toward the altar juſt before him.

ACCORDING to Manilius's account, I think that the Ara ſhould be repreſented, in any coloured globe (97), with lighted coals upon it, and the frankincenſe as flaming up: tho' there is nothing of this kind appears on the Farneſe globe. There is another particularity, relating to this conſtellation, which is extremely obſervable, tho' not much to

(88) ——Cui proximus Anguis
Squammea diſpoſitis imitatur lumina flammis.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 406.

(89) Deſuper ingenti ſeſe agmine porrigit Hydra:
Quæ prolata ſalo longe latus explicat æthrâ,
In Cancrum protenta caput; caudamque feroci
Centauro inclinat.——
Avienus, ℣. 890.

(90) Spirarum media geſtat Cratera coruſcum.
Id. ℣. 898.

(91) Crater auratis ſurgit cœlatus ab aſtris.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 235.

(92) Et Phœbo ſacer ales, & unà gratus Iäccho
Crater.——
Id. 1. ℣. 408.

(93) Ultima cæruleum ſuſtentant agmina Corvum,
Ales ut intento fodiat vaga viſcera roſtro.
Avienus, ℣. 900.

(94) ——Arbiter æqui:
——Alcidæ legum poſt bella magiſter.
Id. ℣. 889.

(95) ——Duplici Centaurus imagine fulget:
Pars hominis; tergo pectus commiſſus equino.
Manilius, 1. 409.
——Signis ſubtexit membra duobus:
Nam quâ parte hominem quadrupes ſuſtollit equino
Ventre ſuperſtantem, verſatur Scorpius ingens;
At quâ cornipedem mediâ vir fundit ab alvo,
Curva venenati ſunt tantum brachia ſigni.
Avienus, ℣. 883.

(96) Ille autem dextram protendere viſus ad aram
Cœlicolûm, juſtæ perſolvit munera vitæ;
Agreſtemque manu prædam gerit.——
Id. ℣. 886.
——Cum tu, juſtiſſime Chiron,
Bis ſeptem ſtellis corpore cinctus eras.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 414.

(97) ——Victrixque ſolutis
Ara nitet ſacris.——
Manilius, 1. ℣. 411.
Ara, ferens thuris ſtellis imitantibus ignem.
Id. 5. ℣. 335.

to my purpoſe. It is in Manilius too; who ſays, that this is the altar (98), on which Jupiter offered ſacrifice; for ſucceſs in the war againſt the giants. Does not this ſhew that, originally in the heathen ſcheme, Jupiter himſelf was not ſuppoſed to be really the great Supreme Being, but only a ſubſtituted ruler; who in his dangers and difficulties applied for aſſiſtance to the real Supreme, that preſided over him and all things in the univerſe?

The next Conſtellation I can give no manner of account of. It is a wreath like the Corona Ariadnes; only a little larger, and not with ſo much riband as that. There is not any one of the antient poets, or any one of their proſe-writers I have conſulted, that ſay a word of it; ſo that I am wholly at a loſs, and without ſo much as a gueſs, how it comes to make its appearance on the Farneſe globe.

As this ſeems to be a Conſtellation too much; ſo we have perhaps loſt one, which ſhould appear near it. What I mean is the Piſcis Notius, or the Southern Fiſh. Its place ſhould be ſomewhere here under Aquarius, and near Cetus (99): and ſo is loſt to us on the Farneſe globe, which reſts, in that part on Atlas's ſhoulders.

Cetus, or the Sea-monſter that was to have deſtroyed Andromeda, is well repreſented in this drawing; in the attitude of ſwimming along the water, that comes from Aquarius's urn; with great ſcales on his breaſt; with his mouth open and threatning, and his tail wreathed; juſt as he is (100) deſcribed by Manilius.

Flumen, (which was originally ſuppoſed to be the Nile, tho' the Romans (101) turned it into Eridanus,) wanders ſeveral different ways. It runs up north, you ſee here, to one of the Piſces; and ſhould certainly (102) go to the other, (and I think by Andromeda's head;) but the line in that part is defaced by time, or ſome accident or other, on the Farneſe globe. Its chief courſe is by the Sea-monſter, from which it goes to Orion's legs, in one ſtream; as it falls from it, in another very ſerpentine one, toward the Antarctic Pole. The chief thing to be obſerved of it in general is, that it is very (103) winding and irregular; and that is marked by the poets, as well as by the artiſt.

This

(98) In quâ devoti quondam cecidere Gigantes:
Nec priùs armavit violento fulmine dextram
Jupiter, ante deos quam conſtitet ipſe ſacerdos.
Ibid. ỳ. 338.

Manilius, on this occaſion, raiſes the prieſts of old, as much as he depreſſes Jupiter. Under this Conſtellation, (ſays he,) ſhall be born prieſts, or deputy-gods:

Quos potius finget partus, quàm templa colentes,
Atque auctoratos in tertia jura miniſtros;
Divorumque ſacrâ venerantes numina voce?
Pæne deos; & qui poſſunt ventura videre.
Ibid. ỳ. 342.

(99) Ultra ſetoſi rurſum ſpeciem Capricorni,
Cardinis immerſi quâ ſunt Auſtralia flabra,
In piſtrim horrificam converſus viſcera Piſcis
Subvehitur: Notium vocat iſtum Græcia Piſcem.
Avienus, ỳ. 825.
Tunc Notius Piſcis, venti de nomine dictus,
Exurgit de parte Noti.——
Manilius, 1. ỳ. 429.

(100) ——Cetus convolvens ſquamea terga
Orbibus inſurgit tortis, & fluctuat alvo;
Intentans morſum, ſimilis jam jamque tenenti:
Qualis ad expoſitæ fatum Cepheïdos undis
Expulit adveniens ultra ſua litora pontum.
Manilius, 1. ỳ. 427.
——Cetus, ſquamis atque ore tremendo.
Id. 5. ỳ. 15.

(101) ——Pars æquoris eſſe
Credidit Auſonii; namque hunc dixere priores
Eridanum:——
——Pharium pars altera Nilum
Commemorat; largo ſegetes quod nutriat amni,
Arenteſque locos undâ fæcundat alumnâ.
Avienus, ỳ. 797.

(102) ——Inflexam diffundit Aquarius urnam
Piſcibus, aſſuetas avidè ſubeuntibus undas.
Manilius, 1. ỳ. 273.
Iſte pedem lævum rutili ſubit Orionis:
Fuſaque quæ geminos aſtringunt vincula Piſces
Eridani coeunt anfractibus, ut procul ille
Tenditur effuſi vi gurgitis.——
Avienus, ỳ. 803.
Illa * memor longæ formidinis: illa † duorum
Inter ſigna tenax, horret ſquallentia monſtri
Terga procul; pavidumque ſuper caput inſerit undis.
* Andromeda. † Piſces. Id. ỳ. 778.

(103) Flexa per ingentes ſtellarum flumina gyros.
Manilius, 1. ỳ. 430.
Fluminaque errantes latè ſinuantia curſus.
Id. 5. ỳ. 14.

THIS figure of a man kneeling on one knee, a little beyond the Sea-monſter, is the famous Orion. His face is (104) in profile: he holds out his (105) arms; and ſhould, perhaps, graſp a ſword in his right hand. That part is ſo indiſtinct on the Farneſe globe, that one cannot be poſitive what is repreſented there; and the poets, I think, differ (106) as to this particular. There is ſomething like a ſword, or dagger, hanging down in a ſheath by his left ſide, in the drawing before you; which agrees better with Manilius and Avienus's account of his ſword, than it does with ſome expreſſions relating to it in Ovid.

ORION, you know, was a famous hunter; and here, juſt by him, is his dog; which is called, Procyon. This figure muſt have been quite loſt, on the Farneſe globe, by the hand of the Atlas which ſupports it; had not the artiſt placed it ſo hollow, that we may diſcern it, under the concave part of the hand. This Conſtellation riſes before Sirius; both by his ſituation here, and by the (107) accounts given of him; and it is thence that he has the name of Procyon.

SIRIUS, or Canicula, (who has ſo terrible a character in the (108) old poets; and the whole period of whoſe influence is ſo particularly dreaded, to this day, at Rome,) was, I doubt not, repreſented by the antient painters with a malign caſt of his eyes; and a (109) dark look. As this could not be expreſſed on marble, the artiſt who made the Farneſe globe has given him ſeveral odd rays about his head; as a mark of his being ſo particularly hot and fiery. Perhaps, he had better been repreſented, (as I believe (110), he ſometimes was,) breathing flames, like the Chimæra. He is deſcribed as running on (111) vehemently, after Lepus; and it is therefore I ſuppoſe that Virgil gives him an epithet which I formerly uſed to think improper, becauſe I did not underſtand it. Lepus appears here as running from him: and is therefore called (112) ſwift too, by the poets; even when they are ſpeaking of him as a Conſtellation.

THUS have I gone through all the great Conſtellations: of which, we find every one of the two and forty in Eratoſthenes's catalogue, on the Farneſe globe; except the two Bears by the northern Pole, and the Piſcis Notius toward the ſouthern: and have none but what are in his catalogue; except what I have called the Corona Auſtralis, and an odd oblong figure juſt above Cancer: which I have not mentioned before, becauſe I did not know what to make of it. It may poſſibly ſtand for the Plauſtrum: but the antient Romans called the Arcti by that name; and the figure of a Plauſtrum is unknown to us: ſo that I would rather own my ignorance fairly, than pretend to offer this even as a conjecture that has any foundation.

YOU

(104) —Caput Orion excelſo immerſus Olympo
Per tria ſubducto ſignatur lumina vultu.
Manilius, Id. 1. ℣. 26.

(105) Cernere vicinum Geminis licet Oriona,
In magnam cœli tendentem brachia partem.
Ibid. ℣. 378.

(106) Enſifer Orion———
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 388.
——Nitidumque Orionis enſem.
Ovid. Met. 13. ℣. 294.
—Strictumque Orionis enſem.
Id. 8. ℣. 207.
Singula fulgentes humeros cui lumina ſignant;
Et tribus obliquis demiſſus ducitur enſis.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 381.
Auratumque rubens dimittit batheus enſem.
Avienus, ℣. 722.

(107) Cum verò in vaſtos ſurgit Nemeæus hiatus;
Exoriturque Canis: latratque Canicula flammas.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 207.

Procyon, (or Προκυων,) roſe on the 15th of July; and Canicula on the 26th; according to Columella. 11. 2.

(108) See, particularly, Manilius 5. 208, to 217. and Avienus, 733, to 742.

(109) Frigida cæruleo contorquet lumina vultu.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 399.

(110) From that expreſſion in Manilius; Latratque Canicula flammas; ſee Note 107, anteh.

(111) Subſequitur rapido contenta Canicula curſu.
Manilius, 1. ℣. 386.
Cum rapidus, torrens ſitientes Sirius Indos,
Ardebat cœlo.——
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 426.

(112) Tum Procyon, veloxque Lepus.——
Manilius, 1. ℣. 402.

You may wonder that I have ſaid nothing all this while of the Hyades, Pleiades, and Arcturus. Theſe, (tho' ſo famous in all antiquity; even as far back, as we can trace it;) were not generally looked on as primary Conſtellations; but as ſecondary ones, contained in others. Neither of them is repreſented in a perſonal character on the Farneſe globe, any more than they are in our modern ones; in which Arcturus is only a ſingle ſtar in Boötes; and the Hyades, and Pleiades, each a ſtud of ſtars, in different parts of Taurus. It is poſſible indeed, that in ſome of the larger globes in antient Rome, theſe might have been repreſented perſonally too: and what vaſt globes may they be ſuppoſed to have had in a city, where they certainly had an aſtronomical inſtrument, (the particular uſe of which has not yet been ſo well determined, as it might be;) of ſuch extent, that one (113) of their largeſt Obeliſcs ſerved only as a Gnomon to it?

There is more reaſon to think that the Pleiades were repreſented perſonally, on ſome of their globes; than either of the others. Aratus and Eratoſthenes (114) ſeem to make it a diſtinct conſtellation by itſelf; near Taurus, but not in it: and Virgil mentions one of the Pleiads perſonally (115); where he is ſpeaking in his aſtronomical ſtyle. Suppoſing they were all repreſented perſonally in Taurus; it might be done in a very little ſpace: as Pyrrhus wore the nine Muſes in a ring; and as one often meets with very ſmall gems that have more figures, even than that; all expreſſed very fully and exactly.

I Have not acted ſo prudently perhaps in giving you the moſt doubtful points thus all together at laſt: however you may ſee by it, that I deal fairly with you. And what is it, after all, if in a ſubject where we have ſo many things clear and certain; there may be two or three points, about which one may raiſe ſome doubts?

What I was thinking of, ſays Myſagetes, was a doubt of a larger nature. As the general aim you propoſed to yourſelf in making your collection, ſeemed to me to be confined to the various divinities of the Romans, (by which I ſuppoſe you muſt mean intelligent beings,) I do not ſo well ſee, what you can have to do with all theſe ſtrange figures before us: for allowing all your birds, and your beaſts here, to be intelligences; I cannot conceive how you can look upon a fiddle, a ſhip, or an altar, as ſuch. This would go beyond the follies of the Egyptian prieſts: for onions are vegetables, at leaſt; and ſo are one ſtep nearer to intelligent beings, than ſeveral of the things you have been talking of. As to that, ſays Polymetis, let every body anſwer for their own follies. The old Romans, no doubt, were guilty of many: but, in the preſent caſe, I do not know whether they were ſo entirely ridiculous, as they appear at firſt ſight to have been. Their idea of their moſt conſiderable men was, (like that of Plato and Socrates,) that after their deceaſe, they were tranſported into ſome ſtar or conſtellation. As we ſay of the

(113) Is obeliſcus, quem Divus Auguſtus in Circo Magno ſtatuit, 125 pedum & dodrantis; præter baſim ejuſdem lapidis. Is verò, qui in Campo Martio, novem pedibus minor.

Ei qui eſt in Campo, Divus Auguſtus addidit mirabilem uſum; ad deprehendendas ſolis umbras, dierumque ac noctium magnitudines: ſtrato lapide ad obeliſci magnitudinem, cui par fieret umbra Romæ, confecto die, ſextâ horâ; paulatimque per regulas, quæ ſunt ex ære incluſæ, ſingulis diebus decreſceret, ac rurſus augeſceret. Pliny, Lib. 36. c. 9, & 10.

This is moſt uſually ſuppoſed to have been a dial; tho' it ſeems more likely to have ſerved for a meridian line; by the expreſſions uſed of it, in Pliny. See the whole 10th Chapter. Ibid.

(114) Ἀρχὶ δὲ οἱ σκαιῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἐλιθὰ πᾶσαι
Πληϊάδες φορέονται——

Aratus, ℣. 255.

Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῦ Ταύρυ, τῆς καλαμένης Ῥαχέως, Πλειάς ἐστι. Eratoſthenes's Conſtellations. N°. 23.

(115) Bis gravidos cogunt fœtus: duo tempora meſſis.
Taygete ſimul os terris oſtendit honeſtum
Pleias, & Oceani ſpretos pede reppulit amnes:
Aut eadem, ſidus fugiens ubi Piſcis aquoſi,
Triſtior hybernas cœlo deſcendit in undas.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 234.

Flaccus ſpeaks of all of them perſonally.

——Denſæque ſequuntur
Pleiades; & madidis rorant e crinibus ignes.
Argon. 5. ℣. 416.

And Manilius may refer even to their being repreſented all, in miniature; as ſmall, perhaps, as the figures on a ring.

Averſus venit in cœlum, diveſque puellis;
Pleïadum parvo referens glomerabile ſidus.
(Speaking of Taurus.) Aſtron. 4. ℣. 522.

the departed; "He was a good man, and is gone to heaven:" they uſed to ſay; "He was a great man, and is made a (116) ſtar of." The antients had ſome notion of theſe ſtars being very large: a ſort of worlds, ſpread about the great expanſe. Arcturus, with them, was the intelligence of one of theſe worlds; as Perſeus was ſuppoſed to preſide over ſeveral of them. Each of the other Conſtellations had its preſiding intelligence: and what ſignified it, whether this intelligence, (and much leſs whether his diſtrict or domain,) was of this, or that particular figure? It might as well be round, as ſquare or oblong; of the ſhape of an altar, as well as of the ſhape of a human body. Its being bounded by lines that make the figure of a lyre or a ſhip, is no manner of objection to its being an intelligence; or rather, to its being governed and directed by one. Cicero (117) teaches us that the conſtellations were looked on as high intelligences, and gods: and Plautus has a fancy about the ſtars; which, however odd, may at leaſt ſerve to ſhew how early and generally this opinion had obtained among the Romans. He introduces Arcturus to ſpeak the prologue to one of his beſt comedies, the Rudens. Arcturus ſays in it, "that he is one of the inhabitants of the wide expanſe, or æther: a citizen, of the great city of celeſtial beings: that he, and all the conſtellations, remain there by night: and that, by day, they deſcend upon our earth; obſerve the actions of men; and carry an exact detail of them to the governor of the univerſe: that he enters all the good and bad actions they relate to him, in two different books; and puniſhes, or rewards, each man according to the exceſs of good, or bad, at the bottom of his account." If a ſingle ſtar, as Arcturus was, could be ſuppoſed to be employed every day in ſo important an errand; what muſt they have thought of the greater commanding conſtellations, ſuch as Argo or Lyra, which you treated juſt now as ſo ſenſeleſs and ſo inſignificant?

As I have told you that the Roman philoſophers looked on their conſtellations, as ſo many gods; I think I ought not to conceal, that their poets ſometimes treat them, like ſo many beaſts. This, indeed, ariſes too from the figures ſeveral of them are repreſented under; and their ſuppoſing them all, of old, to be animated. One meets with ſome ſtrange (118) oppoſitions of this kind, in Virgil and Ovid in particular: and ſome odd expreſſions in ſome other of the Roman poets: which I think are not rightly to be underſtood without this idea of the ſtars being (119) animals, or animated beings; as Cicero expreſly calls them.

ALL

(116) Inter ſidera relatus, was a common expreſſion among the Romans. They believed that Perſeus, and Chiron, and ſeveral other heroes, were actually placed there: and it was a common compliment of the poets to their emperors, to ſay; that they would have a place there, when they departed this life. This ſort of compliment was grown ſo common, even in Horace's time, that he ridicules it in his Epode to Canidia.

——Sive mendaci lyrâ
Voles ſonari; tu pudica, tu proba,
Perambulabis aſtra ſidus aureum.

Epod. 17. ℣. 41.

(117) Ea quoque (ſidera) rectiſſimè, & animantia eſſe, & ſentire atque intelligere dicantur. Says Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero; de Nat. Deor. l. 2. p. 34. Ed. Ald.

Probabile eſt, præſtantem intelligentiam in ſideribus eſſe. Id. ibid. And a little before; he had ſaid; Ex quo efficitur, in deorum numero aſtra eſſe ducenda.

(118) Immiſſæque feræ ſylvis, & ſidera cœlo.
Virgil Georg. 2. ℣. 342.

Neu regio foret ulla ſuis animantibus orba:
Aſtra tenent cœleſte ſolum, formæque deorum;—
Terra feras cepit.——

Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 75.

(119) Thus Statius calls the Sea-nymphs, the Conſtellations of the ſea; (that is, the intelligent and divine inhabitants of the waters, as the other are of the heavens:)

——Antennæ gemino conſidite cornu,
Oebalii fratres!——
Vos quoque cæruleum, Divæ Nereïdes, agmen!
Dicere quæ magni fas ſit mihi ſidera ponti.

Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. ℣. 15.

The ſame poet repreſents Aurora, as driving the ſtars out of heaven, with a whip; like ſo many beaſts.

Tempus erat junctos cum jam ſoror ignea Phœbi
Sentit equos, penituſque cavam ſub luce paratâ
Oceani mugire domum: ſeſeque vagantem
Colligit; & moto leviter fugat aſtra flagello.

Theb. 8. ℣. 274.

Manilius uſes the word, Flock, in ſpeaking of a number of ſtars; and repreſents them going on like a flock of ſheep, or any other animals.

——Cum ſecretis improvidus Hœdus in aſtris,
Erranti ſimilis, fratrum veſtigia quærit;
Poſtque gregem, longo producitur intervallo.

Aſtron. 5. ℣. 308.

ALL this, says Philander, runs on too romantic notions for me; I would much rather hear a little matter of fact: and in particular I should be very glad to know, what sort of globes the antients had; how far they exceeded, or fell short of ours: and as they had globes like us, whether they had any thing like our Orreries too. We cannot determine absolutely what sort of globes they might have, says Polymetis; because we have only this before us, that I know of. You see this is divided, as ours are, into five parts. The midst is the torrid Zone, marked out by the Zodiac's running across it: the partitions on each side of it, are the temperate Zones; and those, at each extremity, are the two frigid ones. The four circles, which bound these partitions, are all on this globe; which with the Æquator, the Meridian, and the Zodiac, are all the lines that appear on it. The antients, possibly, were not so exact and so particular, in parting the lesser divisions; as we are in our globes: but what may surprise you, as I am sure it did me when I had the first idea of it is, that (allowing for the difference of comparing a system out of fashion, with one that is in,) they seem to have had Orreries, that went farther, and were much more magnificent, than any we can boast of at present. They complimented the earth perhaps too much, in placing it in the center, and making the sun only an attendant planet to her; but then their works which represented the course of the sun, and of the other planets round the earth, seem to have been carried to a very great perfection. The celebrated sphere of Archimedes, (according to Claudian's known (120) epigram upon it,) was a work of this nature. Cicero speaks, more than once, of it (121); and of another made by his friend Possidonius, which by one turn shewed a day's motion of the sun, moon, and the five other planets, round the earth: but there is an Orrery (122) described by Valerius Flaccus, that seems to have far exceeded either of them; if that poet borrowed his thought from any work of this kind, that he had seen. He makes it serve for a lustre, in a temple of Phœbus. In the midst of the temple, he says, there stood a vast statue of Atlas: which statue supported a sphere of the heavens. The planets and constellations were represented on it, all in their proper courses; to enlighten the dome. Surely, there never was a temple more properly, or more nobly, illuminated!—The same planets make part of the furniture of my temple; but I cannot shew them to you, either in motion, or with the magnificence he speaks of. However, if you can bear to see them as they are; we will come hither again, if you please, in the afternoon.

(120) I may insert Claudian's epigram here, as a proof of the fact in general; tho' his be no good authority, for any particular figure. It is as follows.

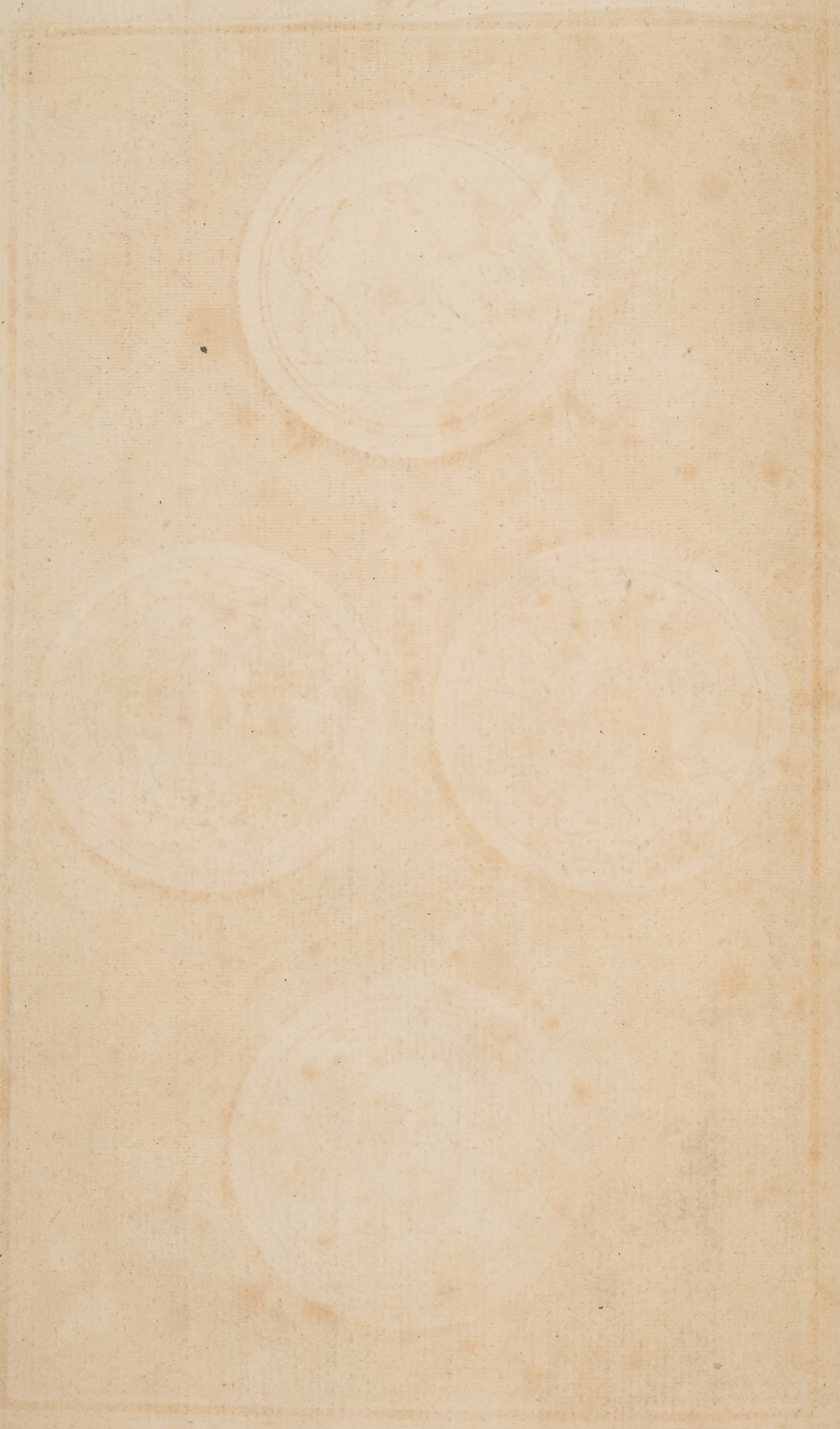
Jupiter in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Risit; & ad superos talia dicta dedit.
Huccine mortalis progressa potentia curæ?
Jam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Jura Poli, rerumque fidem, legesque deorum,
Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.
Inclusus variis famulatur spiritus astris;
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus.
Percurrit proprium mentitus Segnifer annum;
Et simulata novo Cynthia mense redit.
Jamque suum volvens audax industria mundum
Gaudet; & humanâ sidera mente regit:
Quid falso insontem tonitru Salmonea miror?
Æmula naturæ parva reperta manus.

(121) Cicero de Natura Deorum. Lib. 2. p. 44. Ed. Ald. See his Tusc. Quæst. L. 1. p. 344. Ed. Blaeu.

(122) ——Illi properè monstrata capessunt
Limina; non aliter quàm si radiantis adirent
Ora dei, verasque æterni luminis arces:
Tale jubar per tecta micat. Stat ferreus Atlas
Oceano; genibusque tumens infringitur unda:
At medii per terga senis, rapit ipse nitentes
Altus equos, curvoque diem subtexit Olympo.
Pone, rotâ breviore soror: densæque sequuntur
Pliades, & madidis rorant e crinibus ignes.
Arg. 5. ℣. 416.

V

L.P. Boitard Sculp



I

II

III

IV

L. P. Boitard Sculp.

DIAL. XII.

Of the Planets; Times, and Seaſons.

ON their return to the ſame temple in the afternoon, Polymetis took up a drawing that lay on the table; and after conſidering it a little, This (ſays he) will give you the figures of all the planets, under their perſonal characters; as you ſaw thoſe of the conſtellations, in the morning. It was copied from a collection of drawings, from gems; made by a German nobleman, now reſiding at Florence: and the fulleſt collection, I believe, of the kind, that ever was made. This, in particular, is a very great curioſity; and may very well deſerve your obſervation. In the outer round here, you ſee, we have the ſeven planets, according to the antient ſyſtem; (that is, the ſun as one of them, inſtead of the earth:) in the next round, are the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac: and in the center, is a perſon ſitting, and playing on two pipes. This muſical perſon, I ſuppoſe, is placed there to ſignify the regularity, and due proportions, in which all the heavenly bodies take their courſes; or in other words, the harmony of the univerſe. This is what we vulgarly talk of, by the name of the Muſic of the ſpheres; without having any thing of that true and noble idea, that really belongs to it. The antients, (as high, at leaſt, as Pythagoras's time,) had a notion of the diſtances of the planets being meaſured out, in a very regular proportion; as regular, as the (1) notes of muſic. How far theſe gueſſes of Pythagoras, or of his predeceſſors in philoſophy, may bear a reſemblance to the diſcovery of Kepler and the demonſtrations of Sir Iſaac Newton, in relation to the entire harmony that there is between the revolutions and diſtances of each of the planets, it is not our buſineſs here at all to enquire: all I have to do with the planets being to conſider how they were repreſented by the antients, under perſonal characters. As to that, in the drawing before us, they are all, you ſee, in a ſort of chariots. That of Saturn, is drawn by two ſerpents; that of Jupiter, by two eagles; Mars by two horſes, and Sol by four. Venus is drawn by her two doves; Mercury, by two cocks; and Luna, by two ſtags. Five of theſe are very rarely repreſented by the artiſts, or ſpoken of by the poets, in their planetary characters; but Sol and Luna, (which make the nobleſt appearance in the heavens, and are the moſt conſiderable in regard to our globe,) are common enough in both. I never ſaw all of them together, but in the Florentine drawing. What a treaſure would it be for the ſame gentleman, could he add the ſeven rings of Apollonius Thyaneus to his collection? which ſeem to have had the ſeven planets repreſented on them; and which, (we are told,) Apollonius uſed to wear (2) each, one day every week; according to the particular planet, that gave its name to the day.

Pl. XXVI. Fig. 1.

THE moſt remote of the planets, Saturn, was ſuppoſed to have been the firſt maſter of the univerſe; and ſome of the old poets call him, the (3) greateſt of all the gods. Jupiter drove him (4) out of the higheſt heavens; and it is therefore that you did not meet with him,

(1) Pythagoras—ex muſicâ ratione appellat tonum, quantum abſit à Terrâ Luna. Ab eâ ad Mercurium, ſpatii ejus dimidium: ab eo ad Venerem, fere tantundem: à quâ ad Solem, ſeſquiplum: à Sole ad Martem, tonum; (id eſt, quantum ad Lunam à terrâ:) ab eo ad Jovem, dimidium: & inde ſeſquiplum, ad Signiferum. Ita ſeptem tonos effici, quam diapaſon harmoniam vocant; hoc eſt, univerſitatem concentûs. In eâ Saturnum, Dorio moveri; Mercurium phthongo; Jovem Phrygio; & in reliquis ſimilia. Pliny, Lib. 2. Cap. 22.

(2) Φησι δε ο Δαμις και δακτυλιους επτα του Ιαρχου τω Απολλωνιω δοθηαι, των Επτα επωνυμους αστερων· ους φορειν του Απολλωνιου κατα ενα, προς τα ονοματα των ημερων. Philoſtratus, Lib. 3. Cap. 41.

(3) O genitor noſter, Saturne, maxime Divûm!
Ennius.

(4) Sæpe aliquis ſolio quod tu, Saturne, tenebas
Auſus de mediâ plebe ſedere Deus.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 20

Saturnus regnis ab Jove pulſus erat.
Id. Ibid. 3. ℣. 796.

Qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato,
Victori laudes concinuiſſe Jovi.
Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 5. ℣. 10.

him, in my firſt temple, among the Great Celeſtial Deities. I do not know that the Roman writers ever deſcribe him, as driving a chariot: but what they ſay of his feet being uſually (5) in fetters, may poſſibly have ſome relation to his planetary character (6); and to the ſlowneſs of his motion in the heavens. For he is longer, you know, in making his revolution, than any other of the planets; and above three hundred times as long, as one of them. If you have a mind to ſee what ſort of a figure he makes in ſhackles, you may conſider that ſtatue of him there by the door. You ſee he is very (7) old, and decrepid, as well as chained; and appears, in all reſpects, like one that muſt go on extremely ſlowly.

Pl. XXVI. Fig. 2.

Saturn was uſually repreſented, either with a pruning hook (8), or ſcythe in his hand. This relates to a piece of the Roman hiſtory, in their fabulous age: for they had one too as well as the Grecians; and perhaps it may reach much farther down towards us, than has been uſually imagined. They pretended that Saturn, when he was dethroned by Jupiter, took refuge in Italy; and that he introduced ſeveral parts of agriculture there; particularly, the art of pruning, and managing their vines.

Another character of Saturn among the antients, (for I would willingly conſider all his characters together, tho' this comes a little before its proper place;) was that of preſiding over Time; with which the name given him by the Greeks more particularly agrees. It is on the account of this character of his, that Cicero thinks he was (9) repreſented in fetters. I take this figure, in particular, to relate to Saturn as the god of Time; becauſe he has wings to his ſhoulders in it, as well as ſhackles to his feet; which may ſignify both the ſwiftneſs, and ſlowneſs, of time: for time has the ſame ſort of contrariety in its character; and ſeems either ſwift, or ſlow to each man, according to the agreeableneſs or diſagreeableneſs of the ideas, that his mind is employed about. Our modern painters, ſeem to have borrowed their idea of Time, from the antient figures of Saturn: only perhaps, they have turned his pruning-hook into a ſcythe; or the particular ſort of ſcythe, which he reſts on in this figure, into a common one.

Jupiter, as the intelligence preſiding over a ſingle planet, is repreſented only in a chariot and a pair; on all other occaſions, if repreſented in a chariot, he is always drawn by

(5) Vetus opinio Græciam opplevit, vinctum Saturnum à filio Jove. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 39. Ed. Ald.——So Minutius Felix, ſpeaking of the repreſentations of the Roman deities, ſays: Pedibus Mercurius alatis, Pan ungulatis, Saturnus compeditis. Cap. 21. p. 108.

They unfettered his ſtatues on his great feaſt, the Saturnalia; about the time of our Chriſtmas:

Saturnus mihi compede exolutus,
Et multo madidus mero December,
Et ridens Jocus, & Sales protervi,
Adſint.——

Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 6. ℣. 7.

(6) Ουμενιον δε τον Κρονον ο Ζευς εδησεν, δε ες Ταρταρα ερριψεν·——αλλα φερεται γαρ ο Κρονος την εξω φορην, πολλου απ' ημεων: και οι νυθρη η κινησις, και ο ρηιδιη τοισι ανθρωποισι οραασθαι. Διο δη μιν εσ-αναι λεγυσιν, οκως πεπεδημενον· το δε βαθος το πολλον τε ηερος, ταρταρος καλεεται. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 853. Ed. Blaeu.

(7) Saturnuſque ſenex, Janique bifrontis imago.

Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 180.

(8) ——Priuſquam
Sumeret agreſtem poſito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens.——

Juvenal. Sat. 13. ℣. 39.

——Curvo Saturni dente relictam
Proſequitur vitem.——

Virgil. Georg. 2. ℣. 407.

Hence Ovid calls Saturn, Deus Falcifer. Faſt. 1. ℣. 234. And St. Cyprian ſays of the ſame deity, Ruſticitatis hic cultor fuit: inde ferens falcem pingitur. Tract. 4. de Idol. Vanitate.

The Roman authors call theſe two attributes of Saturn, indifferently, by the name of Falx; which is a very equivocal word; and ſeems to have ſignified any crooked ſort of inſtrument whatever. Their writers on agriculture in particular, make uſe of it for a pruning-hook, bill, or ſicle; Cæſar, in his Commentaries, for a crooked inſtrument of war; the poets, for the Harpè, or crooked ſword of Mercury; and many of their authors, for a ſcythe: particularly Propertius, in the following paſſage; where he is ſpeaking of Vertumnus, and the different characters that god uſed to take upon him:

Da falcem, & torto frontem mihi comprime fræno;
Jurabis noſtrâ gramina ſecta manu.

Lib. 4. El. 2. ℣. 26.

(9) By Saturn, ſays Cicero, the Greeks underſtood Time; and therefore called him Χρονος:—— vinctus eſt autem à Jove, ne immoderatos curſus haberet; atque ut eum ſyderum vinculis alligaret. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. p. 39. Ed. Ald.

by four horſes. It is poſſible, that the poets might look on this planetary character of his as derogatory to his honour; for there is not any one of them, I believe, who ſpeaks of Jupiter, as drawn only by two horſes; and indeed they very ſeldom ſay any thing of his preſiding over a planet, at all. Perhaps they looked upon it as a prophane thing; and as demeaning Jupiter too much, to conſider him in a view, in which he muſt evidently appear inferior to Sol.

IT is otherwiſe as to Mars. The poets ſpeak diſtinctly of him (10) as guiding a planet; and of his being drawn by two horſes. His appearance under this character is repreſented by them, much like his appearance as the god of war. They ſpeak of his ſtar, as red and fiery; and of the god himſelf, as impetuous in his courſe. Venus is as mild, as the former is outrageous: and is drawn here, by doves: as ſhe is repreſented too, moſt commonly (11), by the poets; in their deſcriptions of this goddeſs.

AS the ſtar of Venus had ſuch a variety of (12) names and offices aſſigned to it, ſo there is a great deal of difference in the manners of repreſenting it: ſo great, that it is ſometimes repreſented even under the figure of a male, as well as that of a female. When conſidered as a planet, it is directed by Venus, in her chariot drawn by doves. But when it is conſidered as the morning, or the evening-ſtar, it is directed by a boy or young man: who is ſometimes called Lucifer, under both thoſe characters; but more generally Lucifer (13) for the former, and Heſperus (14) for the latter. Others do not change the name, but ſatisfy themſelves with (15) changing his horſe; and giving him a white one for the morning, and a dark one for the evening. Tho' the poets mark the beauty of Lucifer, and call him (16) the brighteſt of all the hoſt of heaven; yet they repreſent him as with a (17) gloomy aſpect, on melancholy occaſions. His office, was to (18) call Aurora; and he had the privilege of leaving the heavens the laſt of all the ſtars. From the poets being ſo particular in their deſcriptions of Lucifer, I doubt not but that the antient artiſts, and particularly the painters, repreſented him under all his characters as occaſion ſerved; tho' I have never yet met with him on either of his horſes, that I remember, in any antique. Where I have ſeen him, he is always repreſented as a youth; (19) either before the chariot of the Sun, with a torch, as Lucifer; or before the chariot of the moon, without a torch, as Heſperus.

LUCAN,

(10) —Nox jungit equos; currumque ſequuntur
Martis laſcivo ſidera fulva choro.
Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 1. ℣. 88.

Jamque duæ noctes reſtant de menſe ſecundo,
Marſque citos junctis curribus urget equos.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 856.

(11) Per—leves auras, junctis invecta columbis.
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 598.

——Tum maximus heros
Maternas agnoſcit aves.——
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 193. (of two doves.)

(12) This ſingle ſtar has four names among us, at preſent; and had almoſt twice as many, among the Romans of old. They called it, Venus; Phoſphorus, Lucifer; Heſperus, Veſperus; Veſper, and Veſperugo. Theſe names are all reducible to its three characters; as a planet, or as the morning and evening ſtar.

(13) ——Cumque albo Luciſer exit
Clarus equo.——
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 190.

(14) Heſperus & fuſco roſcidus ibat equo.
Ovid. Faſt 2. ℣. 312.

(15) Roſcida jam novies cœlo demiſerat aſtra
Lucifer; & totidem Lunæ prævenerat ignes,
Mutato nocturnus equo: nec conſcia fallit
Sidera; & alterno deprenditur unus in ortu.
Statius, Theb. 6. ℣. 241.

(16) Lucifero genitore ſatus; patriumque nitorem
Ore ferens Ceyx.——
Ovid. Met 11. ℣. 272.

——Cœlo nitidiſſimus alto
Lucifer.——
Ovid. Lib. 2. El. 11. ℣. 56.

(17) Lucifer obſcurus, nec quem cognoſcere poſſes,
Illâ nocte fuit.——
Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 571.

Cærulus & vultum ferrugine Lucifer atrâ
Sparſus erat.——
(Before Julius Cæſar's death) Id Ibid. 15. ℣. 790.

(18) ——Dum Lucifer ignes
Evocet Auroræ:——
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣ 629.

——Dædalion, illo genitore creatus,
Qui vocat Auroram, cœloque noviſſimus exit.
Id. Ibid. 11. ℣. 296.

(19) See Pl. 26. Fig. 3, & 4.

LUCAN, in ſpeaking of Mercury as the guiding intelligence of a planet, marks the (20) ſwiftneſs of his motion. I have obſerved, on a former occaſion, that the make of Mercury in general, ſeemed to be all deſigned for lightneſs and diſpatch. Perhaps, the antients firſt borrowed this idea of Mercury from his planetary character; as they repreſented Saturn, the ſloweſt of all the planets, chained and creeping on with difficulty. It is common to meet with Mercury in other antiques, as well as this, drawn by two cocks; which birds ſeem to have been aſſigned to him, becauſe they were looked upon of old, as the mark of vigilance and alertneſs.

DIANA had different offices, you know, thro' almoſt all parts of the univerſe; in the heavens, upon earth, and in hell. It is ſhe who is the intelligence you ſee repreſented here in her car, as directing the planet of the moon. Her figure under this character is frequently enough to be met with on relievo's, gems, and medals: on which ſhe generally appears with a lunar (21) crown, or creſcent, on her forehead: and is ſometimes repreſented as drawn by ſtags; and ſometimes by does: but more commonly than either, by horſes. The poets ſpeak (22) of her chariot, and her horſes; they agree with the artiſts, in giving her but two; and ſhew that the painters of old, probably, drew them of a perfect white colour. There is a gem in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence, in which this goddeſs is drawn by two heifers; a particular that I do not remember to have been taken notice of by any one of the Roman poets, of the good ages.

Pl. XXVI. Fig. 3.

IT was this Diana, (or the intelligence, that was ſuppoſed to preſide over the moon,) who was fabled to fall in love with Endymion; and if we conſider the occaſion of her love for him, according to the accounts the antients give of that fable, it may appear perhaps to have been only a philoſophical amour, or what we call Platonic love: and ſo may not interfere with this goddeſs's general character of chaſtity. However that be, the ſtory is very common, in particular on old Sarcophagus's; and we ſee her on them, deſcending to a ſhepherd aſleep, with a veil over her head: a particular, from which a line in (23) Valerius Flaccus, (that poſſibly has been ſometimes thought obſcure,) becomes not only very clear, but very deſcriptive too of her appearance. There is ſome reaſon to think, that this fable might have been meant originally of the (24) eclipſes of the moon: and if it was ſo, her veil would be the moſt ſignificant part of her dreſs, on this occaſion.

APOLLO

(20) ——Summo ſi frigida cœlo
Stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignes;
Deucalioneos fudiſſet Aquarius imbres,
Totaque diffuſo latuiſſet in æquore tellus:
Si ſævum radiis Nemeæum, Phœbe, leonem
Nunc premeres; toto fluerent incendia mundo,
Succenſuſque ſuis flagraſſet curribus æther.
Hi ceſſant ignes. Tu qui flagrante minacem
Scorpion incendis caudâ Chelaſque peruris,
Quid tantum, Gradive, paras? Nam mitis in alto
Jupiter occaſu premitur; Veneriſque ſalubre
Sidus hebet; motuque ceder Cyllenius hæret;
Et cœlum Mars ſolus habet.——
Lucan. Pharſ. 1. ℣. 663.

(21) ——Sidereæ torta corona deæ.
Propertius, Lib. 3. El. 20. ℣. 18.
Hence Horace calls her: Siderum Regina bicornis. Carm. Sec. ℣. 35.

(22) Jamque per emeriti ſurgens confinia Phœbi
Titanis, latè mundo ſubvecta ſilenti
Roriferâ gelidum tenuaverat aëra bigâ.
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 338.
——Quæ cava cœli ſignitenentibus
Conficis bigis. ——
Ennius, in Androm.
Sol quoque cum ſtellis, nullâ gravitate retentus:
Et vos, Lunares exſiluiſtis equi.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 16.
Poſtera cum cœlo motis Pallantias aſtris
Fulſerit; & niveos Luna levarit equos.
Id. Ibid. 4. ℣. 372.
Ut ſolet, æquoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas;
Ut ſolet, in niveis Luna vehetur equis.
Id. Rem. Am. 1. ℣. 258.

(23) Qualis adhuc ſparſis comitum per luſtra catervis,
Latmius æſtivâ reſidet venator in umbrâ,
Dignus amore deæ; velatis cornibus & jam
Luna venit: roſeo talis per nubila ductor
Implet honore nemus; talemque expectat amantem.
Flaccus, Argon. 8. ℣. 31.

(24) Catullus, where he is commending Conon, the famous aſtronomer, ſays; that he knew the reaſons of the eclipſes of the ſun; why ſtars are ſometimes loſt; and why the moon ſometimes diſappears in the midſt of her courſe.
Flammeus ut rapidi Solis nitor obſcuretur;
Ut cedant certis ſidera temporibus;
Ut Triviam furtim ſub Latmia ſaxa relegans
Dulcis amor gyro devocet aërio.
De comâ Ber. 64. ℣. 6.

APOLLO, or rather Sol, (for that is the perſonal name which is moſt proper for him, as the intelligence of a planet,) is diſtinguiſhed above all the reſt of the planets, by his having a chariot and four, aſſigned to him: and the poets indeed ſpeak of him more, than of all the reſt put together. They are very diſtinct, and very full, as to every thing relating to his perſon; and to the courſe he was ſuppoſed to make daily, in the heavens. They deſcribe his (25) face as ſhining; and mark that particular brightneſs (26) beaming from his eyes, which I have (27) formerly had occaſion to mention to you. They often ſpeak of the (28) Corona radiata, (or crown of twelve rays,) on his head. They repreſent him as (29) ſtanding in his chariot, ſometimes (30) with a whip, and ſometimes with a flambeau in his hand; as we find him repreſented with each, by the antient ſculptors. In their works he is generally, for the moſt part naked; ſo that I am apt to ſuſpect that the fine dreſs which Flaccus aſſigns to this deity, in one of his deſcriptions of him, may be only an effect of the ſporting of his own imagination. He gives him a Lorica, or coat of mail (31), with the figures of the Zodiac wrought upon it; and tied round him, with a rainbow inſtead of a ſaſh. It is true, Flaccus might copy this from ſome antient painting: for which ſuch an idea might be fitter, than for the works of the ſculptors.

THE poets make frequent mention (32) of his chariot: and one may learn from them how (33) ſmall it was; as you ſee it, in effect, always repreſented in the works of the antient artiſts. The harneſs ſeems to have been roſe-coloured; and ſtudded with precious ſtones: and the chariot itſelf, chiefly of gold.

THEY

(25) Concutiens illuſtre caput.———
(after laying aſide his crown of rays.) Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 50.
In veram rediit faciem, ſolitumque nitorem.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 231.

(26) ———Quid nunc, Hyperione nate,
Forma colorque tibi, radiataque lumina proſunt?
Id. Ib. 4. ℣. 193.

(27) See p. 85, anteh.

(28) ——Radiis frontem vallatus acutis.
Ovid. Ep. 4. ℣. 159. (Phædra, Hip.)
——Cui tempora circum
Aurati bis ſex radii fulgentia cingunt;
Solis avi ſpecimen.———
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 164. (of Latinus.)
Depoſuit radios———
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 41.
Per ſolis radios, Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat.
Juvenal. Sat. 13. ℣. 78.
O decus mundi, radiate Titan!
Herc. Oet. Act. 4. Chor.
Statius calls this crown of rays, Radiantem arcum. Theb. 1. ℣. 28.

(29) Cum tamen altus equis Titan radiantibus inſtat.
Ovid. Ep. 8. ℣. 105. (Herm. Or.)
So the ſame poet, of Phaeton:
Statque ſuper; manibuſque datas contingere habenas
Gaudet.———
Met. 2. ℣. 152.
———Rapit ipſe nitentes
Altus equos.———
Val. Flaccus, (of Sol,) 5. ℣. 414.

(30) ——Stimuloque domans & verbere ſævit.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 399.
Exuit implicitum tenebris humentibus orbem
Oceano prolata dies; genitorque coruſcæ
Lucis adhuc hebetem vicinâ nocte levabat,
Et nondum excuſſo rorantem lampada ponto.
Statius, Achil. 2. ℣. 289.

(31) ———Sol auricomus, cingentibus Horis,
Multifidum jubar & biſſeno ſidere textam
Loricam induitur. Ligat hanc qui nubila contra
Balteus undantem variat mortalibus arcum.
Val. Flaccus, 4. ℣. 95.

(32) Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis & celas.———
Horat. Carm. Sæc. ℣. 10.
Jamque novum terris parebat lumine primo
Egrediens Aurora diem: ſtabuliſque ſubibant
Ad juga Solis equi; necdum ipſe adſcenderat axem,
Sed prorupturis rutilabant æquora flammis.
Sil. Ital. 16. ℣. 232.
Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 6. ℣. 44.
———Ad altos
Deducit juvenem, Vulcania munera, currus.
Aureus axis erat, temo aureus; aurea ſummæ
Curvatura rotæ: radiorum argenteus ordo:
Per juga chryſolithi, poſitæque ex ordine gemmæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 110.

(33) Solverat Heſperii devexo margine ponti
Flagrantes Sol pronus equos; rutilamque lavabat
Oceani ſub fronte comam: cui turba profundi
Nereos, & rapidis occurrunt paſſibus Horæ.
Frænaque, & auratæ textum ſublime coronæ
Deripiunt: laxant roſeis humentia loris
Pectora: pars meritos vertunt ad molle jugales
Gramen; & erecto currum temone ſupinant.
Statius, Theb. 3. ℣. 414.

They are as distinct about his horses. They tell us the number (34), and, the names of them. Their (35) colour too is mentioned; but in words so general, or so little understood at present, (as indeed most of the Latin names for colours are very apt to be mistaken by us,) that I would not be positive, what colour they were painted of. His horses are described, as (36) full of life and fire: as (37) breathing quick, in their course; and as wreaking, after it. His course they speak of, as lying between two (38) Metæ, or fixed points; the first half of it, all (39) up-hill, (as you see him in this drawing in particular;) and the other, all (40) down-hill. He sets out from the eastern (41) sea; and drives into (42) the western: where they generally supposed him to be received, for the nights, in the (43) palace of Oceanus. We at present cannot so well have any idea of his driving his chariot thus along the air; but it was an imagination commonly received among the antients, that there was a great transparent arch in the heavens, (of crystal, or what you please,) over which he took his stated journey each day. This arch they so far supposed to be real and solid, that they talk of the tracks worn by his chariot-wheels on it; as if they were as plain and (44) visible, as any great road is upon our earth.

Pl. XXVI. Fig. 4.

The representations of Sol taking this journey, are almost as frequent in the works of the antient artists, as the descriptions of it are in the poets; and agree entirely with them. You see him in them either labouring up a steep hill; or descending easily down it. Sometimes, you have the Zodiac represented over him: which falls in usually with the head of the deity; and I imagine that the point, where it falls in, is often chose with design: to mark the time of some action, or event, figured under it. It was, for

(34) ——Pyroeis, & Eous, & Æthon,
Solis equi; quartusque Phlegon.——
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 154.

(35) ——Nitentes equos.
Flaccus, 5. ℣. 413.
Gemmea purpureis cum juga demet equis.
Ovid. Fast. 2. ℣. 72.
Carmina sanguineæ deducunt cornua Lunæ,
Et revocent niveos Solis euntis equos.
Id. Lib. 2. El. 1. ℣. 24.

What idea the Romans meant by the word purpureus, is not at all settled with us. They use that epithet of Fire, of Swans, and of Snow; so that nivei and purpurei here, may not differ so much, as they may seem to do at first.

(36) Nec tibi quadrupedes animosos ignibus illis
Quos in pectore habent, quos ore & naribus efflant,
In promptu regere est: vix me patiuntur, ut acres
Incaluere animi, cervixque repugnat habenis.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 87.

He speaks of them again as breathing fire, ib. ℣. 120. in the same manner as Virgil describes his war-horse:

Collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.
Georg. 3. ℣. 85.

(37) Converte, Titan clare, anhelantes equos.
Herc. Oet. Act. 4. Sc. 1. ℣. 1.

(38) ——Donec Sol annuus omnes
Conficeret metas.——
Statius, Achil. 1. ℣. 456.

(39) Sextus ubi e terrâ clivosum scandet Olympum
Phœbus.——
Ovid. Fast. 4. ℣. 372.
Nec cum invectus equis album petit æthera; nec cum
Præcipitem Oceani rubro lavit æquore currum.
Virgil. Georg. 3. ℣. 360.
Ardua prima via est, & quâ vix mane recentes
Enitantur equi.——
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 64.

(40) Jam labor exiguus Phœbo restabat: equique
Pulsabant pedibus spatium declivis Olympi.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 487.
Frangebat radios humili jam pronus Olympo
Phœbus; & Oceani penetrabile littus anhelis
Promittebat equis.——
Statius, Achil. 2. ℣. 17.
Pronus erat Titan: inclinatoque tenebat
Hesperium temone fretum.——
Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 258.

(41) ——Cum primùm alto se gurgite tollunt
Solis equi, lucemque elatis naribus efflant.
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 115.

(42) Deferet ante dies, & in alto Phœbus anhelos
Æquore tinget equos.——
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 419.
Ni roseus fessos jam gurgite Phœbus Ibero
Tingat equos, noctemque die labente reducat.
Virgil. Æn. 11. ℣. 914.

(43) Statius calls this, Domus Oceani, Theb. 8. 273. and describes the reception of Sol in it; ib. 3. 407, &c. as quoted Note 33, anteh.—One might form some idea of it, from Virgil's description of the palace of Cyrene, under water; in his 4th Georgic: or the grotto of the water-nymphs, in his first Æneid, ℣. 166.

(44) Nec tibi directos placeat via quinque per arcus;
Sectus in obliquum vasto curvamine limes:
Zonarumque trium contentus fine, polumque
Effugito Australem, junctamque Aquilonibus Arcton.
Hac sit iter. Manifesta rotæ vestigia cernes.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 133.

for example, a very common compliment to their emperors, to place them in the Zodiac, and even in the chariot of Sol himſelf: and in ſome of the figures of this kind, I ſuppoſe they might mark out the time of the year when ſuch an emperor died, by the particular part of the Zodiac with which they made him coincide. But this may be a good deal imaginary; and I mention it only as ſuch. Where Phœbus's own head in any of theſe figures falls in with ſuch a ſign of the Zodiac, that probably was meant to mark out the (45) time of year: for that, in the language of the ſtatuaries, (which I have had ſo frequent occaſion of mentioning to you,) is ſaying juſt the ſame, as when we ſay the ſun is in Aries or Libra.

WHAT I have ſaid may ſuffice as to the planets; and the two principal ones among them of old, the Sun and Moon: we will now, if you pleaſe, conſider the Times and Seaſons, which are directed and meaſured by them.

WHAT may ſeem a little ſtrange to you is, that all the parts of duration, (from the very greateſt, to almoſt the very leaſt,) were repreſented as perſons, by the artiſts of old; and ſpoken of perſonally, by the poets. If it was ſo, (ſays Myſagetes,) Eternity, I ſuppoſe, muſt have appeared as a vaſt giant; and a Minute, much leſs than a pygmy. I do not ſay how little, or how great they were, anſwered Polymetis; I only ſay that they were all conſidered as perſons. We at preſent are got very well acquainted with the Hours as perſons; from a ſingle picture of Guido: and, among the antients, not only the figures of the Hours, but thoſe of the Morning and Evening;——of the Day, and of the Night;——of each Month;——of every Quarter of the Year;——of the Year itſelf;——of the four Stages of man's life;——of their Sæcula, or Centuries of years;——of the great Platonic Year;——of Time, in general; and of boundleſs Time, or Eternity; were, probably, all much better, and more familiarly known, than the figures of the Hours are with us. The appearance, which ſeveral made, is ſtill to be learned from the antiques that remain to us; and they are generally ſpoken of by the poets in a perſonal manner. I have got a few antiques, (or copies of antiques,) repreſenting ſome of theſe beings, ſo little known among us: and have placed them in this temple, as they are a ſort of leſſer divinities, that attended on Sol; and ſeem to have been conſidered, and even placed (46) much in the ſame manner, by the antients themſelves.

ON this medal, if you will pleaſe to regard it a little, you will ſee the figure of Eternity, carrying the wife of that good emperor Marcus Aurelius up to heaven; on which occaſion, ſhe holds a lighted flambeau in her hand. Eternity appears juſt in the ſame manner, on a fine relievo (47) which belonged to the triumphal arch that ſtood formerly on part of the Corſo, at Rome; and which was placed in the Capitol, when that arch was taken down. There is another very remarkable relievo, relating to the ſame ſubject; that on the baſe of Marcus Aurelius's column: which as you may remember, when we were at Rome, uſed to lie under a ſhed on Monte Citorio; but has been lately placed before that palace, by the order of the preſent Pope: who did not ceaſe to keep a kindly eye on the more pleaſing arts, even whilſt the alarms of war were heard every day, all around the neighbourhood of Rome. In this relievo (48), there is one thing that is particular; PL. XXVII. FIG. 1.

(45) This might mark out not only the month, but the particular part of the month; according to what part of any particular ſign he is made to coincide with: ſo that theſe figures might expreſs the time, as minutely as Ovid does, when he ſays:

Cum Sol Herculei terga Leonis adit.
De Art. Am. 1. ℣. 68.

Or,

Virginis ætheriis cum caput ardet equis.
Ib. 3. ℣. 388.

(46) ——Purpureâ velatus veſte ſedebat
In ſolio Phœbus, clâris lucente ſmaragdis.
A dextrâ lævâque, Dies, & Menſis, & Annus,
Sæculaque; & poſitæ ſpatiis æqualibus Horæ;
Verque novum ſtabat, cinctum florente coronâ;
Stabat nuda Æſtas, & ſpicea ſerta gerebat;
Stabat & Autumnus, calcatis ſordidus uvis;
Et glacialis Hyems, canos hirſuta capillos.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 30.

(47) See Col. Ant. Tav. 1. ſub fin.

(48) See Ibid. Tav. 2.

ticular; tho' not without example. Eternity is repreſented as a male on it. It is a very noble figure; naked, and with his wings finely expanded. In his left hand, he holds a globe of the heavens; with a ſerpent winding itſelf about it: a very old, and very ſignificant, emblem of eternity; eſpecially when it had its tail brought round to its mouth: (a thing, frequent in antiques; whether Roman, Greek, or Egyptian.) His eyes are lifted up toward the heavens, whither he is carrying Marcus Aurelius and his conſort: and on each ſide of them appears an eagle, as flying toward the eaſt; the common ſymbol of deification, among the Romans. At the bottom, on the right hand, is the Genius of the city of Rome, looking upwards; and holding up her hand, either as admiring, or (49) praying: and on the left, is what I take to be (50) the Genius of Monte Citorio; more reclined, and reſting his hand againſt an obeliſk with a round ball on the top of it. The whole is finely imagined, and very well executed; and deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed by the regards of a prince, who ſeems thoroughly inclined to take the arts under his protection.

THERE are ſeveral other ways of repreſenting Eternity, uſed by the old artiſts, beſide thoſe I have mentioned. Sometimes ſhe has the head of Sol in one hand, and of Luna in the other; which ſeems to anſwer the ſcripture expreſſion; "As long as the ſun and moon endureth:" and ſometimes ſhe is ſitting on a globe, which may poſſibly allude to the heathen notions of the eternity of the world. Sometimes ſhe is repreſented by an elephant, or in a chariot drawn by elephants; as a very long-lived creature. Sometimes by a phœnix, or with a phœnix; as continually renewed, and reviving after each courſe of ages: and ſometimes they give her two faces, like Janus; to ſignify that ſhe looks as far backward, as forward. I have ſeen her too with a veil over her face; to ſhew that ſhe is impenetrable and inſcrutable to us: and I queſtion whether ſhe be not meant in a gem (51), publiſhed by Maffei; where you ſee a fine naked, winged figure, endeavouring to lift up another which has its feet chained to a globe. This may ſignify, that eternity, (or the thoughts of eternity,) are the fitteſt to free the ſoul; and to elevate it, above all its low attachments to the things of this world.

WAS not the ſubject ſo great, and ſo concerning, you might think perhaps that I have dwelt too long on the various repreſentations of this imaginary being among the antients; eſpecially as I have nothing from the Roman poets of the better ages, to confront with them. Whether it may be occaſioned by the unfitneſs of her name for the moſt common Latin verſe, or for any other reaſon, I know not; but if you were to put me to it, I could not produce any one paſſage from them, in which they ſpeak perſonally of her. Unleſs, (which might poſſibly be the caſe,) they meant this goddeſs under the name of Hebe; the idea of whom, among the Romans, ſeems to have been much the ſame (52) with

(49) She holds the palm of her hand open, towards heaven. This was an attitude uſed by the Romans of old, when they prayed; and is uſed among the Africans, to this day. There are ſeveral paſſages, in the old Roman writers, relating to this; but it may be ſufficient to quote two or three only, from Virgil.

——Duplices tendens ad ſidera palmas.
Æn. 1. ỳ. 93. (of Æneas, praying.)

——Cœlo palmas cum voce tetendit.
Ib. 2. ỳ. 688. (of Anchiſes.)

Ad cœlum tendens ardentia lumina fruſtra:
Lumina; nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.
Ibid. ỳ. 406. (of Caſſandra.)

(50) The Genius's of mountains are generally repreſented either ſitting, or leaning, on a little rock or riſing ground. What I take to be the Genius of Monte Citorio, is thus repreſented on this relievo: and the obeliſk, ſtanding near its feet, anſwers Pliny's account of the famous obeliſk, which ſtood near the bottom of this hill of old: and which ſtill lies there; tho' moſtly under ground. Pliny mentions the round ball on the top of it; Lib. 36. Cap. 10. a thing, neceſſary for the particular uſe this obeliſk was applied to; and I ſhould think improper for any obeliſk, not put to ſuch a uſe: which, perhaps, no other obeliſk in the world ever was. So that this ſeems to be one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of a place, or figure, that one can poſſibly meet with, in all antiquity.

(51) Vol. III. Pl. 20.

(52) Aſtra tenes: hauſtumque tibi ſuccincta beati
Nectaris, excluſo melior Phryge, porrigit Hebe.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ỳ. 27.

——Nectar
Det mihi formoſâ nava Juventa manu.
Ovid. ex Pont. Lib. 2. Ep. 10. ỳ. 12.

Poetæ—nectar, ambroſiam, epulas comparant: et, aut Juventutem, aut Ganymedem, pocula miniſtrantem. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. p. 24. Ed. Ald.

with that of Eternal Youth; or, an immortality of bliſs: agreeably to which, ſhe is repreſented on a gem (53), in the Great Duke's collection at Florence, with a young airy look; and drinking out of a little bowl: or, (according to our Milton's expreſſion,) "quaffing immortality and joy."

THE Magnus Annus, or great Platonic Year, is repreſented perſonally, on the reverſe of a medal of Adrian. This was a period of ſeveral thouſand years; (above four times as much (54), as the age of the world at preſent;) when all the heavenly bodies would be juſt in the ſame ſituation again, that they were in at the creation of the world; and when the antients believed, that all things on earth would of courſe have the ſame face, as they had then. The conſequence of this would be, a reſtoration of the golden age; and therefore when the Roman poets had a mind to compliment any of their emperors moſt highly, they ſaid, "The great period would be compleated under their reign." This Evolution of ſo many ages is repreſented with ſome of the attributes of Eternity itſelf. He appears with a fine look, and long looſe robe about him. He holds his right hand upwards; and has the globe and phœnix, in his left. His whole figure is incloſed by an oval ring, to ſhew the great round of time over which he preſides: had it been a complete circle, it would have been too equivocal; and indeed rather fitter for Eternity, than the Magnus Annus. The inſcription of Temporum Reſtauratio, ſo frequent on medals; and that of Sæculum Aureum, on this; had much the ſame meaning with the fine compliments in Virgil's famous Eclogue to Pollio: of which I have now and then entertained ſome (55) conjectures, which may be too tedious, and perhaps too romantic, to offer to you. PL. XXVII. FIG. 2.

THE Magnus Annus included ſeveral Sæcula, or Centuries, in it. Theſe too ſeem to have been repreſented diſtinctly as perſons, among the antients; and are mentioned ſometimes perſonally by their poets; and particularly, by Ovid (56): tho' I do not know that I have ever met with any repreſentation of them.

THE

(53) Muſ. Flor. Vol. I. Pl. 39. Fig. 9.

(54) The great Platonic year is that period of time, in which all the ſtars and conſtellations return to their former places, with regard to the equinoxes. This period, according to Caſſini, is 24800 years; according to Tycho Brahe, 25816: and according to Riccioli, 25920: the ſhorteſt of which computations exceeds the time mentioned above.

(55) The notion of a renovation of the world, after a certain period of time, was common among the antient philoſophers. This notion they ſeem to have had from ſome tradition, rather than from reaſoning; becauſe all of them, (and the Stoics, and Platoniſts in particular,) aſſerted it always roundly, without giving any arguments for it. (See Burnet's Theory, Book 4. Chap. 3.)

However founded, it was commonly received by the Romans. The poets in their writings, and the ſenate itſelf on the medals ſtruck by their order, often complimented ſuch or ſuch an emperor by ſaying that this reſtoration of the world, or return of the golden age, would happen in their time; or under their auſpicious influence.

This compliment ſo frequently uſed to emperors, ſeems too high to be uſed to any but an emperor; or one of the imperial family, at leaſt. I therefore imagine Virgil's famous Eclogue, (which turns wholly on this ſort of compliment,) to have been wrote by him in honour of Auguſtus; on his family's being increaſed, and ſtrengthened, by the birth of a young prince in it.

The time when this young prince was born, muſt have been toward the beginning, or at leaſt not conſiderably before the year 713. V. C. or the year of Pollio's conſulate.

If Marcellus was born about that time, I ſhould imagine this Eclogue to have been occaſioned by his birth; and to be meant as a compliment to Auguſtus, (the heir of Julius,) and his heirs after him;—that the bleſſed ſtate of mankind was to be reſtored by him, and his family;—and that this happineſs was then actually commencing under the conſulate of Pollio, a great friend of that family.

I know not exactly when Marcellus was born; but he ſeems to have been near of an age with Tiberius: and as to Tiberius's birth, Suetonius tells us the year and day. Natus eſt Romæ, ſays he, in Palatio; 16 Kal. Decembris; M. Æmilio Lepido iterum, & L. Munatio Planco, Coſſ. poſt bellum Philippenſe: ſic enim in faſtos actaque publica relatum eſt. In Tib. §. 5. The Faſti Conſulares give theſe conſuls for the year 711.

The ſame author ſays, a little after: Novem natus annos, (Tiberius,) defunctum patrem pro Roſtris laudavit. Dehinc pubeſcens, Actiaco Triumpho currum Auguſti comitatus eſt, ſiniſteriore funali equo; cum Marcellus, Octaviæ filius, dexteriore veheretur. Præſedit & Actiacis Ludis & Trojanis Circenſibus, ductor turmæ puerorum majorum. Ib. §. 6. This was about the year 727. Marcellus is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been a leader of another of theſe young troops, at the ſame games; and to be ſhadowed out under the character of Aſcanius. Æn. 5. ℣. 570.

(56) See Note 46, anteh.

THE four different Ages, or Gradations, of the life of man, I take to be repreſented in this drawing; from an antient piece of painting found at the Villa Corſini, near Rome. It is a thing of much curioſity; and ſeems to contain ſome of the greateſt depths of the Platonic philoſophy in it. Here, you ſee, is Tellus; in a reclined poſture: and behind her, are four ſtalks of corn, growing gradually above one another; as I imagine, to ſymbolize the four ages of man: Infancy; Youth; Manhood; and Old-Age. Juſt by, you have the ſame repreſented as ſo many perſonages: the firſt, ſtooping toward Tellus; the ſecond, with a ſhield and ſpear; the third, in a ſteddy poſture; and the fourth, bending a little downward. Theſe are the figures for which, in particular, I introduced this drawing here; but there are others in it, which may very well deſerve your obſervation. This perſon in the air, bending downward, and delivering a naked figure into the hands of Tellus, denotes the entrance of a ſoul into ſome elementary body; whether for the firſt time, or after many various tranſmigrations, I ſhall not pretend to determine: but it is plainly delivered down to the Earth; and is to be cloathed with ſome ſort of body, or other. This perſon ſitting on the clouds toward the center, with a cup in her hand, and pointing upwards; may very well be that very Hebe, of whom I was ſpeaking to you juſt now: and ſeems placed here to expreſs the immortality of the ſoul. The Romans abounded in memorials of this kind, in their burying-places; and that common way of repreſenting their departed friends on their ſepulchres, as eating and drinking, had (I doubt not) a view to the ſame great doctrine: but this piece goes higher; and is more diſtinct: and it was for that reaſon, that I was very glad of an opportunity of getting it into my collection. As to the four perſonages, on whoſe account it is introduced here, I cannot ſay that the Roman poets of the better ages ſpeak of them all perſonally. To ſay the truth, they ſeem commonly to have divided the life of man, rather into two ages, than four: Youth, which I think among the Romans was carried on ſo far as to five and forty; and Old-Age, which, (tho' I am ſorry to ſay it,) may fairly enough claim all the reſt: of both of theſe their poets, (and more particularly, ſome of the Auguſtan age,) ſpeak (57) in a manner, which plainly ſhews that they were received as perſonages and deities, in their religion.

Pl. xxvii. Fig. 3.

THE Anni, (or Years,) are ſpoken of perſonally too by the poets: who aſcribe a certain gliding (58) and ſilent motion to them; as they do indeed, to all this ſort of beings in general. When their characters were introduced in their great proceſſions, or on any other public occaſion, the perſons who acted their parts, probably endeavoured to expreſs this in their way of walking. There are ſome expreſſions in the poets, which would make one apt to think, that Annus was ſometimes repreſented with more dignity; and as moving along (ſilently, tho' ſwiftly,) (59) in a chariot.

NOT only the year itſelf, but the four different ſeaſons it is uſually divided into, were all perſonified by the antients. I do not know that I have ever met with any figure of the

(57) ——Statuit—aras e ceſpite binas:
Dexteriore, Hecates; at levâ parte, Juventæ.
Ovid. Met. 7. ℣. 241.
Jam veniet tacito curva Senecta pede.
Id. Art. Am. Lib. 2. ℣. 670.
——Jam felicior ætas
Terga dedit; tremuloque gradu venit ægra Senectus.
Id. Met. 14. ℣. 143.
——Vetus Senectus.——
Hor. Epod. 8. ℣. 3.

I queſtion whether Cicero in the age before, does not ſpeak of the ſame perſonally, even in proſe; where he ſays: Nonne modò pueros, modò adoleſcentes, in curſu à tergo inſequens, nec opinanteis, aſſecuta eſt Senectus? Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1. p. 360. Ed. Blaeu.

(58) ——Eunt Anni more fluentis aquæ.
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 62.
——Tacito—Tempora greſſu
Diffugiunt; nulloque ſono convertitur Annus.
Columella, de Cult. Hort. ℣. 160.

(59) Quo minus emeritis exiret curſibus Annus,
Reſtabant nitido jam duo ſigna deo.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 44.
——Vix Annus anhelat
Alter.——
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ℣. 136.
Rota præcipitis vertitur Anni.
Herc. Fur. Act. 1. Chor.
——Celer admiſſis labitur Annus equis.
Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 8. ℣. 50.

This was ſo, in the old edition of Ovid I tranſcribed from: tho' ſome later critics, (on not being able to underſtand it, I ſuppoſe,) have taken the liberty of changing annus, into amnis; and equis, into aquis.

the former; but, to make ſome amends, thoſe of the latter are very frequent. You generally meet with them all together, on Sarcophagus's, medals, and gems: ſometimes without any other perſonage annexed; and at others, with ſome perſonage, to whom they bear ſome particular relation: as in this drawing, where you ſee them, as moving at equal diſtances, over a celeſtial globe; which lies by the goddeſs Tellus. The artiſts, as well as the (60) poets, ſeem ſometimes to have had an eye to the four ages of life, in their repreſentations of the four ſeaſons of the year. Ver is infantile, and tender; Æſtas, young and ſprightly: Autumnus, is mature and manly; and Hiems, old and decrepid. PL. XXVII. FIG. 4.

VER, beſide his youth, is marked out generally by the (61) coronet of flowers on his head, or the baſket of flowers in his hand. Æſtas, is (62) crowned with corn, or holds a ſicle in his hand. Autumnus, is uſually diſtinguiſhed by his crown (63) of different fruits: and Hiems, by his crown of reeds; by the birds, in his hand, or the beaſt at his feet; and by his being clothed, when the others are naked.

THO' the ſeaſons appear ſo often on the remains of the antients, we may learn ſeveral manners of their repreſenting them from the poets, which I have never met with as yet, either in gems, paintings, or relievo's. Autumnus, in particular, was perhaps ſometimes repreſented as (64) pouring fruit out of his lap; and ſometimes holding a vine-branch with (65) ripe grapes on it in his hand. At other times he was painted, as all ſtained (66) and diſcoloured from the vintage: and with grey hairs (67), intermixed with thoſe of their natural colour. It is probable he was ſometimes drawn too, with a (68) wan ſickly look; which is but too juſt a characteriſtic of this ſeaſon. Hiems, as old and decrepid, ſhould be either quite (69) bald, or only with a few grey hairs. His look ſhould be (70) rough, melancholy, and ſevere. He is ſlow in his motions; and (71) ſhivers as he goes. Poſſibly, they ſometimes repreſented him with (72) icicles on his garments, and hoar-froſt upon his beard. His retreat during the warmer months, according to Statius, was towards the north-pole; and Virgil, (perhaps from ſome picture or relievo,) deſcribes (73) Sol, as driving him out of the ſight of men; into ſome deep, gloomy cave there.

THO'

(60) Quid, non in ſpecies ſecedere quatuor annum
Aſpicis ætatis peragentem imitamina noſtræ?
Nam tener, & lactens, puerique ſimillimus ævo,
Vere novo eſt; tunc herba recens & roboris expers
Turget, et inſolida eſt, & ſpe delectat agreſtem.—
Tranſit in æſtatem poſt ver robuſtior annus,
Fitque valens juvenis: neque enim robuſtior ætas
Ulla, nec uberior; nec quæ magis ardeat, ulla eſt.
Excipit Autumnus, poſito fervore juventæ
Maturus mitiſque: inter juvenemque ſenemque
Temperie medius; ſparſus quoque tempora canis.
Inde ſenilis Hiems tremulo venit horrida paſſu;
Aut ſpoliata ſuos, aut quos habet alba capillos.
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 213.

(61) ——Cinctum florente coronâ.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 27. Ex Pont. L. 3. Ep. 1. ℣. 11.

(62) Stabat nuda Æſtas, & ſpicea ſerta gerebat.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 28.

(63) ——Decorum mitibus pomis caput
Autumnus arvis extulit.
Horat. Epod. 2. ℣. 18.

(64) ——Varios ponit fœtus Autumnus.——
Virgil. Georg. 2. ℣. 521.

(65) Nec tibi pampineas Autumnus porrigit uvas.
Ovid. de Pont. L. 3. Ep. 1. ℣. 13.

(66) —Satur Autumnus quaſſans ſua tempora pomis,
Sordidus & muſto, ſpumantes exprimet uvas.
Columella, de Cult. Hort. ℣. 44.
——Calcatis ſordidus uvis.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 29. Faſt. 4. ℣. 895.

(67) Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 211. See Note 60, anteh.

(68) ——Pallens Autumnus——
Statius, L. 2. Sylv. 1. ℣. 217.

(69) Aut ſpoliata ſuos, ut quos habet alba capillos.
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 213.

(70) Hiems is called, Horrida, by Ovid: Met. 15. ℣. 212.—Triſtis, by the ſame: in his, Ibis. ℣. 201.—and Trux, by Statius. Lib. 4. Sylv. 5. ℣. 5.

(71) ——Senilis Hiems tremulo venit horrida paſſu.
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 212.
Bruma iners.——
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 7. ℣. 12.

(72) Hiems horrida.——
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 212.
——Glacialis Hiems——
Id. Ib. 2. ℣. 30.
——Hiems adoperta gelu——
Id. Faſt. 3. ℣. 235.

(73) Jam trux ad Arctos Parrhaſias Hiems
Conceſſit.——
Statius, Lib. 4. Sylv. 5. ℣. 6.
—Ubi pulſam Hiemem Sol aureus egit
Sub terras——
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 52.

THO' I have been ſo long on the four ſeaſons already, I muſt beg leave to read you Lucretius's deſcription of them; not only as I have ſomething to remark in relation to it, but as it is one of the fineſt paſſages in all his poem.

It Ver, & Venus, & Veneris prænuntius ante
Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus; veſtigia propter
Flora quibus mater præſpargens ante viaï
Cuncta coloribus egregiis & odoribus opplet.
Inde loci ſequitur Calor aridus, & comes unà
Pulverulenta Ceres; & Eteſia flabra Aquilonum.
Inde Autumnus adit; graditur ſimul Evius Evan:
Inde aliæ tempeſtates ventique ſequuntur,
Altitonans Volturnus & Auſter fulmine pollens.
Tandem Bruma nives adfert, pigrumque rigorem
Reddit; Hiems ſequitur, crepitans & dentibus Algus (74).

THIS whole deſcription ſeems to me to have been copied from ſome antient proceſſion, of the deities of the ſeveral ſeaſons and their attendants. Such proceſſions, of their deities in general, were as common among the Romans of old; as thoſe in the honour of the ſaints are in the ſame country to this day. All the expreſſions uſed by Lucretius here come in very aptly, if applied to a proceſſion. Were the ſeaſons to be repreſented in one of our modern entertainments, and was a poet now to deſcribe them according to the appearance they there made; I do not ſee how his expreſſions could be more adapted to our ſtage, than Lucretius's are to a proceſſion in this deſcription.—The firſt perſon that muſt enter, is Zephyrus. Soon after him comes Flora; ſtrewing the way with flowers: who ſhould be immediately followed by the Spring, and Venus: who accompanies the Spring I ſuppoſe in Lucretius, as preſiding over the month of April; which, in Italy, anſwers to our May; the time, when the ſpring is in its higheſt beauty, and when every thing invites to love.—The ſecond entry, ſhould be that of the Summer and Ceres; preceeded by two deities of the Winds.——The third, ſhould be that of Autumn, and Bacchus; preceeded in the ſame manner.—The fourth, ſhould be that of Winter, and (75) Algus; preceeded by (76) Bruma, holding ſnow and ice before her.

IT is the general manner of Lucretius, (and of all the earlieſt Roman poets,) to introduce allegories very ſeldom; and even where he does introduce them, he is often but half an allegoriſt. There is not any one inſtance, I believe, in all his writings, of an allegory carried on ſo far, and conducted ſo regularly, as this is. This makes it the more probable, that he did not invent, but take the order of this deſcription from one of their religious proceſſions: which were diſpoſed with a great deal of regularity, as well as with a great deal of pomp, among the old Romans.

THE

(74) Lucretius, 5. ℣. 746.

(75) Algus here ſeems to ſignify the ſenſe of extreme cold, or ſhivering with cold, perſonified: Crepitans ac dentibus algus.

(76) Tho' we vulgarly look on Bruma and Hiems, as ſignifying the ſame thing; the antient Roman writers uſed them, to expreſs two very different ideas. Hiems, properly ſignified a whole ſeaſon, or quarter of the year: and Bruma only one day, and that the ſhorteſt day in the year; the winter-ſolſtice.

Bruma novi prima eſt, veteriſque noviſſima ſolis:
Principium capiunt Phœbus & Annus idem.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 164.

Bruma dicta, quod breviſſimus dies. Varro, de Ling. Lat. 5.

Hence the month of December is called the month of Bruma; but the months of November, or January, never ſo, that I know of.

Quæ medio brumæ mittere menſe ſolet.
Mart. Lib. 8. Ep. 41. (of December.)

Bruma eſt; & riget horridus December.
Id. 7. ℣. 94.

Poſt Novembres, imminente jam brumâ.
Id. 5. ℣. 104.

THE Months are ſpoken of perſonally (77) by the poets; and December, in particular, is deſcribed by one of them, in a (78) drunken attitude: which by the way would ſcarce be leſs proper for the mirth of our Chriſtmas, in ſome parts; than it was for the Saturnalia of old, at Rome.

THE Day, (and perhaps every day of the year,) was looked on (79) as a divinity, and repreſented (80) perſonally; and that ſometimes (81), like Sol, in a chariot. There was a diſtinction that prevailed very early among the Romans, of the Civil, and the Natural Day. The Natural Day was moſt commonly reckoned from ſun-riſe, to ſun-ſet (82); the Civil Day, from midnight, to midnight again. Virgil, in ſpeaking perſonally of the latter (83), calls it Oriens: a name that was not much uſed in his time; but which he, (as a profeſſed lover of antiquity, and of their antient words,) choſe to uſe where it was more proper than Sol, (or even Dies,) would have been.

THE perſonal character of the Night is more diſtinct, and more generally known; from the poets mentioning it ſo familiarly in their writings. She is crowned (84) with poppies; and, perhaps (85), ſometimes with ſtars. Her appearance had ſomething very (86) venerable and majeſtic in it: perhaps in alluſion to the doctrine of the Egyptians, who uſed to call her, the moſt antient of all the gods. She had (87) large, dark wings; and a long (88) black robe. She is repreſented as riding in a (89) chariot, drawn by two black

(77) —Stupet ipſe labores
Annus; & anguſto biſſeni limite Menſes
Longævum mirantur opus.———
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 1. ℣. 19.

Statius is ſpeaking of a temple of Hercules, at Surrentum; which, tho' a very noble work, was begun and finiſhed in the compaſs of a year. It ſeems by him as if the artiſt had taken an hint from thence, to repreſent the Year, in his chariot; and the figures of the twelve months, in a little circle round it; (as the Zodiacal figures are often, round Sol;) on the folding-doors of the temple.

(78) Et multo gravidus mero December,
Et ridens Jocus, & Sales protervi
Adſint.———
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 6. ℣. 7.

(79) Vulcanus, Sol, Luna, & Dies, dei quatuor,
Sceleſtiorem nullum hoc illuſere alterum.
Plautus, Bacchides, Act. 2. Sc. 3.

Patrem (Saturni)—Cœlum eſſe deum confitendum eſt. Quod ſi ita eſt, Cœli quoque parentes, Æther & Dies, dii habendi ſunt. Cotta; in Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. p. 68. Ed. Ald.

(80) A dextrâ levâque, Dies, & Menſis, & Annus.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 25.

(81) Quid ſolito citius liquido jubar æthere tollit
Candida Lucifero prætereunte Dies?
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 550.
Et fugiunt fræno non remorante Dies.
Id. Ib. 6. ℣. 772.

(82) Ipſum Diem alii aliter obſervavere. Babylonii, inter duos ſolis exortus; Athenienſes, inter duos occaſus; Umbri, à meridie in meridiem; vulgus omne, à luce ad tenebras. Sacerdotes Romani, & qui diem diffiniere civilem, item Ægyptii, & Hipparchus, à mediâ nocte ad mediam. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 2. cap. 77.

(83) ——Torquet medios Nox humida curſus;
Et me ſævus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis.
Virgil Æn. 5. ℣. 740.

Macrobius, in ſpeaking of this paſſage, ſays; Virgilius id ipſum oſtendit, ut hominem decuit poeticas res agentem, reconditâ atque opertâ veteris ritûs ſignificatione:——his enim verbis diem, quem Romani civilem appellavere, à ſextâ noctis horâ oriri admonet. Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 3.

(84) ——Placidam redimita papavere frontem
Nox venit.———
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 660.

(85) Candidus Oceano nitidum caput abdiderat Sol;
Et caput extulerat denſiſſima ſidereum Nox.
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 31.

(86) Noxque, tenebrarum ſpecie reverenda tuarum!
Ovid. Ibis, ℣. 73.

(87) Maximus Orion, magnum complexus Olympum;
Quo fulgente ſuper terras cœlumque trahente,
Ementita Diem nigras Nox contrahit alas.
Manilius, 5. ℣. 60.
Nox ruit; & fuſcis tellurem amplectitur alis.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 369.

(88) ——Nox, atro circumdata corpus amictu,
Nigrantes invexit equos; ſuaſitque quietem.
Silius Ital. 15. ℣. 285.
Cœperat humenti Phœbum ſubtexere pallâ
Nox.———
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 528.

(89) ——Sub occiduas verſæ jam Noctis habenas.
Statius, Theb. 3. ℣. 33.
Ludite. Jam Nox jungit equos; currumque ſequuntur
Martis laſcivo ſidera fulva choro.
Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 1. ℣. 88.
——Nox atra polum, bigis ſubvecta, tenebat.
Virgil. Æn. 5. ℣. 721.
Nigrantes equos.———
Sil. Ital. 15. ℣. 285.

black horſes; and (90) every part of the ſtage ſhe makes in it, is deſcribed by ſome or other of the Roman poets. They ſometimes ſhew her in more ſtate, and with ſeveral (91) attendants; but the common way is to ſpeak of her as making her round in a chariot and two, as Sol does in his chariot and four.

THE beginning of Day-break, (or the time which the Italians call, Alba,) was probably characteriſed under the perſon of Phoſphorus; of whom I have had occaſion to ſpeak already: as all the time of the increaſe of light, from that to the appearance of the ſun above the horizon, belonged to Aurora. The latter is a perſonage which makes a very conſiderable figure in the writings of the old Roman poets: who I think, have ſhowed a variety, but no confuſion, in the characters they give of her. The differences in them ſeem only to be of the ſame kind, with that we meet with in Guido's and Guercin's two pictures of Aurora: one of which repreſents a gay, pleaſing morning; and the other, a darker and more lowring one. If we may judge by the poets, the antient painters uſed to ſuit her complexion to the occaſion. It was ſometimes of a (92) lovely red; ſometimes (93) pale; and ſometimes (94) more or leſs brown; according to the ſort of morning that they would repreſent. Her ſkin, in their more beautiful pictures, ſhould I think, be coloured like that (95) of the Venus Anaduomenè, by Apelles; and might have ſomething not unlike the (96) humid caſt, for which that picture was ſo remarkable. Her robe ſhould be of a (97) pale-bright yellow; and ſhe ſhould hold either (98) a whip, or a (99) torch, in her hand. Her chariot, ſhould be of a fine (100) roſe-colour; with (101) pearls of

1.

(90) ——Lux tardè diſcedere viſa;
Præcipitatur aquis; & aquis Nox ſurgit ab iſdem.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 92.

2.

Jamque ferè mediam cœli Nox humida metam
Contigerat.———
Virgil. Æn. 5. ℣. 837.
———Jamque tenebat
Nox medium cœli ſpatium.——
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 6. ℣. 101.
Nocte ſub ancipiti.———
Statius, Theb. 3. ℣. 2.

3.

——Sub occiduas verſæ jam Noctis habenas.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 33.

4.

———Heſperio poſitas in litore metas
Nox tetigit.———
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 143.

(91) Thus Tibullus deſcribes her as having the planet of Mars in her train; (Note 89, anteh.) and other deities, yet more proper to attend this goddeſs.

Poſtque venit tacitus fulvis circundatus alis
Somnus; & incerto Somnia nigra pede.
Lib. 2. El. 1. ℣. 90.

(92) Roſea—Dea.———
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 84.
———Roſeo ſpectabilis ore.
Id. Met. 7. ℣. 705.

(93) ———Ubi pallida ſurget
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 447.
Clara laboriferos cœlo Tithonia currus
Extulerat: vigileſque deæ pallentis habenas
Et Nox, & cornu fugiebat Somnus inani.
Statius, Theb. 6. ℣. 27.

(94) Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia conjux
Cœperit.———
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 404.
Flava pruinoſo quæ vehit axe diem.
Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 13. ℣. 2.

(95) Roſcida purpureâ ſupprime lora manu.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 10.

The manus purpureâ ſeems to anſwer to the epithet of Ροδοδακτυλος, which the Greek poets uſe ſo generally in ſpeaking of Aurora.

(96) Ovid, in ſpeaking of Aurora perſonally calls her Roſcida; (Conſol. ad Liviam, ℣. 282.) & Roſcida dea: (De Art. Am. 3. ℣. 180.)

I do not know whether even her hair might not be painted dropping too; as that of the Venus Anaduomenè.

Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia conjux
Cœperit.———
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 404.
Rorantes excuſſa comas.———
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 136.

(97) Ille crocum ſimulat. Croceo velatur amictu
Roſcida luciferos cum dea jungit equos.
Ovid de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 180.
Memnonis in roſeis lutea mater equis.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 714.

That lutea ſignifies a pale yellow, or ſulphur-colour, is plain from a line in the ſame poet:

Luteave exiguis areſcunt ſulphura flammis.
Ib. Met. 15. ℣. 351.

(98) ——Toties noſtros Tithonia queſtus
Præterit; & gelido ſpargit miſerata flagello.
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 136.

(99) Cum Priami conjux Tithonia fratre relicto
Suſtulit emenſo ter jubar orbe ſuum.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 944.
Poſtera cum roſeam pulſis Hyperionis aſtris
In matutinis lampada tollet equis.
Id. Ib. 5. ℣. 160.

(100) Aurora in roſeis fulgebat lutea bigis.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 26.
——Cum primùm craſtina cœlo
Puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit.
Id. Ib. 12. ℣. 77.

(101) Flava pruinoſo quæ vehit axe diem.
Ovid. Lib. 1. El. 13. ℣. 2.

of dew ſcattered here and there upon it, if the painter pleaſes: and the horſes, I think, may be either (102) cream-coloured, or ſtrawberry. Ovid makes her ſtation for ſetting out, to be (103) on the mountain of Hymettus; in his ſtory of this goddeſs's love for Cephalus: but that again muſt always vary, according to the ſcene and ſtory repreſented. It appears from the ſame poet, that ſhe ſets out always (104) before Sol; and (105) not long before him. There ſeem to have been ſome repreſentations of this goddeſs of old, as (106) driving Nox and Somnus from her preſence; and of the Conſtellations (107) as chaſed out of heaven, at her approach: the latter of which, I own, ſeems to me to be as ridiculous a ſubject for a picture; as the other might be a fine one.

HESPERUS, or the Evening, is the (108) ſame perſon with Phoſphorus: the only difference is in his attributes, which are adapted to the particular character he is repreſented in. The poets give him (109) a black horſe, as Heſperus; and as Lucifer or Phoſphorus, a white one. This way of diſtinguiſhing him was fitter for painters, than ſculptors: and indeed I do not remember ever to have met with it, in any work of the antient artiſts; who generally (110) diſtinguiſh him, (as I mentioned to you before,) by giving him a torch, where he is the forerunner of the night; and none, where he is the forerunner of the day.

I AM not quite certain that I have ever ſeen the Horæ, (or Hours,) in any antique; but am ſtrongly inclined to think, that they are meant, in a known relievo at Rome; publiſhed (111) by Santo Bartoli, in his Admiranda. I know very well, that the figures in it have been generally taken only for ſo many ladies dancing, on ſome wedding, or for their own diverſion; but what makes me imagine them to be the Horæ, is their poſition and attitudes: they being all placed in a ſtrait line, with their hands mutually joined; and ſome of them as coming towards you, from which-ever end you regard them; whilſt others are going from you: which is impracticable in a common dance; and would be very ſignificant, if underſtood of the Hours. They are placed too at pretty equal diſtances; as it were, meaſured out deſignedly by the pilaſters behind them: which agrees exactly with the manner in which the Hours ſhould be repreſented. However I have not introduced a copy of that piece here: becauſe my notion of it is uncommon; and may, poſſibly, not be true. Was this ſubject more frequent in the works of the antient artiſts that remain to us, I doubt not we ſhould meet with ſeveral other particulars to ſquare with the deſcriptions which the poets give us of theſe deities. They repreſent them as dreſſed in fine-coloured, or (112) embroidered, robes; and gliding on, with a quick

(102) Hunc Aurora diem ſpectacula tanta ferentem
Quàm primùm croceis roſcida portet equis.
Ovid. Conſol. ad Liviam. ℣. 282.
Memnonis in roſeis lutea mater equis.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 712.

(103) ——Me cornigeris tendentem retia cervis
Vertice de ſummo ſemper florentis Hymetti
Lutea mane videt pulſis Aurora tenebris,
Invitumque rapit.——
Met. 7. ℣. 704.

(104) —— Cum prævia luci
Tradendum Phœbo Pallantias inficit orbem.
Met. 15. ℣. 191.

(105) Dum loquor, Heſperio poſitas in litore metas
Humida Nox tetigit. Non eſt mora libera nobis;
Poſcimur! effulget tenebris Aurora fugatis:
Corripe lora manu!——
Ib. 2. ℣. 145.

(106) ——Vigiles—Deæ pallentis habenas
Et Nox & cornu fugiebat Somnus inani.
Statius, Theb. 6. ℣. 27.

(107) Tempus erat, junctos cum jam ſoror ignea Phœbi
Sentit equos, penituſque cavam ſub luce paratâ
Oceani mugire domum: ſeſeque vagantem
Colligit; & moto leviter fugat aſtra flagello.
Id. Ib. 8. ℣. 274.

(108) Stella Veneris, quæ Phoſphorus græcè, Lucifer latinè dicitur cum antegreditur ſolem; cum ſubſequitur autem, Heſperus. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. p. 37. Ed. Ald.

(109) Heſperus & fuſco roſcidus ibat equo.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 312.
Nec color eſt idem cœlo, cum laſſa quiete
Cuncta jacent mediâ; cumque albo Lucifer exit
Clarus equo.——
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 190.

(110) See Pl. 26. Fig. 3 & 4.

(111) See Adm. Pl. 63.

(112) Conveniunt pictis incinctæ veſtibus Horæ;
Inque leves calathos munera noſtra legunt.
(In the garden of Flora,) Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 218.

quick (113) and (114) eaſy motion; as you ſee them in Guido's Aurora. Ovid ſpeaks of them as ſtanding, at (115) equal diſtances, about the throne of Sol. Valerius Flaccus makes them attend that deity, at his (116) ſetting out; and Statius, at his (117) coming in. It appears from hence, that the old poets agree in making them the attendants and ſervants of Sol: and it was for this purpoſe, I ſuppoſe, that there were ſome of them always ſtationed, with Janus, at the gates of heaven; to be in readineſs there, to accompany the chariot of Sol, on his ſetting out to take his daily rounds of the earth.

Pl. xxvii. Fig. 5. THE laſt figure I have to ſhew you here, is this of Janus: ſtanding, as you ſee, with his ſtaff in his hand; juſt by the door. He is placed there, becauſe his great office was to preſide over the gates of heaven, as he himſelf informs us (118) in Ovid; and he was therefore ſometimes (119) repreſented, with a ſtaff in one hand, and a key in the other. If you have placed him here only as a porter, ſays Myſagetes, I think you have uſed him as he deſerves: for there is ſcarce any one of all the gods that I have been uſed to entertain ſo mean an opinion of, as Janus. The Romans, replied Polymetis, were very far from being of your opinion. We are told that when they made their ſupplications to (120) any of the other gods, they uſed to invoke Janus firſt. It was he who was to give an acceſs for their prayers; even to Jupiter. They looked on him as the (121) moſt antient of Beings; and ſay, that his majeſty comprehended the whole univerſe. In the Salian verſes he had even the high title, of (122) the God of Gods. I have ſome notion that, in their moſt ſecret mythology, they might mean (123) Space by this deity: but as I never chuſe to enter much into thoſe deep enquiries, (that are generally very much perplexed, and of very little uſe to my deſign,) I ſhall go on in my old way; of conſidering his figures, together with what the poets may ſay of them.

JANUS

(113) ——Rapidis occurrunt paſſibus Horæ.
Statius, Theb. 3. ℣. 410.

——Deæ celeres——
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 119.

(114) This is the general idea of the Roman poets in relation to all the deities that preſide over any part of Time. One might give an hundred paſſages that prove it; but I think one may be ſufficient.

——Eunt Anni more fluentis aquæ:
Nec quæ præteriit iterum revocabitur unda;
Nec quæ præteriit Hora redire poteſt:
Utendum eſt ætate; cito pede labitur Ætas.
Ovid. de Art. Am. 3. ℣. 65.

(115) A dextrâ lævâque, Dies, & Menſis, & Annus,
Sæculaque; &, poſitæ ſpatiis æqualibus, Horæ.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 26.

(116) ——Sol auricomus, cingentibus Horis,
Multifidum jubar, & biſſeno ſidere textam
Loricam induitur; &c.——
Flaccus, 4. ℣. 94.

(117) Solverat Heſperiâ devexo margine ponti
Flagrantes Sol pronus equos; rutilamque lavabat
Oceani ſub fonte comam. Cui turba profundi
Nereos, & rapidis occurrunt paſſibus Horæ;
Frænaque & auratæ textum ſublime coronæ
Deripiunt. Laxant roſeis humentia loris
Pectora: pars meritos vertunt ad molle jugales
Gramen; & erecto currum temone ſupinant.
Statius, Theb. 3. ℣. 414.

(118) Præſideo foribus cœli, cum mitibus Horis.
(Says Janus,) Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 125.

Εσιουτι, (εις του ϰραναν,) πρωΐον μεν οιϰασιν αι Ωραι· πυλωρασι γαρ. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 366. Ed. Blaeu.

(119) Cum clavi & virgâ figuratur, quaſi omnium & portarum cuſtos & rector viarum. Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 1 Cap. 9.

Ille tenens dextrâ baculum, clavemque ſiniſtrâ
Bina repens oculis obtulit ora meis.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 96.

(120) Geminum [eſſe volunt,] quaſi utriuſque januæ cœleſtis potentem;—invocarique primum cum alicui deo res divina celebratur, ut per eum pateat ad illum cui immolatur acceſſus. Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 9.

(121) Dic mihi nunc quæſo, dic, antiquiſſime divûm;
Reſpondes his, Jane Pater?——
Juvenal. Sat. 6. ℣. 393.

(122) Saliorum—antiquiſſimis carminibus, Deorum Deus canitur. Macrobius, 1. 3.

(123) An open arch, or any opening, was called Janus by the Romans; as the opening to a houſe, was called Janua, from the ſame deity.——Janos, arcuſque, cum quadrigis & inſignibus triumphorum. Suetonius, in Domit. §. 13.——Pompeii ſtatuam, contra theatri ejus regiam, marmoreo jano ſuppoſuit. Id. in Aug. §. 31.——Ex quo tranſitiones perviæ jani nominantur. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 2.—Gravius Baſſus, in eo libro quem de diis compoſuit, Janum quadriformem fingi ait,——quaſi univerſa climata majeſtate complexum. Macrobius, Saturnalia. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

This derivation of the names of any void, or opening, from Janus, ſhews his relation to Space: as Baſſus's opinion ſhews his relation to infinite ſpace, as including the four elements, or all created matter. The majeſty of this nothing, called Space, is to me inconceivable: tho' Baſſus ſeems to have had almoſt as high an idea of it, as ſome very great divines of late have ſhown, in their metaphyſical reaſonings on this ſubject.

JANUS is diſtinguiſhed from all the other gods, by his double form. Diana perhaps is the only deity, beſide this, to whom the Romans gave more than one body. She, you know, under the character of Trivia has three: as Janus had, (I imagine, from what the poets ſay of him,) ſometimes two, and ſometimes four bodies given him. It might be from this duplicity of his figure, that the Romans called him (124), Janus Geminus.

THE buſts of Janus, (or his two heads,) are very common; eſpecially on medals. The medals, I more particularly mean, have the double head of Janus, on one ſide; and part of a ſhip, on the other. They are ſo very old, that Ovid, (who gives a particular account of them,) ſays; that the figures on them were almoſt obliterated (125) with age, in his time: ſo that at preſent they ought to be very great favourites with all thoſe, who value things merely for their ruſt and antiquity. If they are not valued by them ſo much as one would expect, it is only becauſe we have ſo many of them. Was there only one of theſe bad ones left in the world, I doubt not it would be looked on as a greater treaſure than an Otho, or a Peſcennius. Eſpecially, as they are ſo much talked of in the Roman writers; from whom, it might be proved indiſputably: that the Roman children played with them, of old (126), at Heads or Ships; as our children play now, at Croſs or Pile.

IN all the antient figures I have ſeen of Janus, the faces are both alike; and both old: which makes it the more unaccountable to me, whence ſome perſons of the beſt taſte, not only among us, but even in Italy itſelf, are got into the mode of giving Janus two different faces; one old, and the other young. Ovid ſays expreſly, in one place, that they were repreſented (127) both alike, in his time; and from what he ſays in other places, they ſhould be both old.

JANUS was probably repreſented ſometimes with a double body, as well as with two heads. It was ſome ſtatue or picture of this kind, I ſuppoſe, that might lead Statius into one of the moſt ridiculous deſcriptions, perhaps even in all his poems. It is where he repreſents this god, as welcoming in the ſixteenth conſulate of the emperor Domitian. That poet makes Janus lift up all his hands, and ſpeak (128) with both his mouths at once; to congratulate the world, on that happy occaſion.

THERE is a buſt of the Janus Quadriformis, on one of the bridges at Rome; from whence that place has its name, of the Quatre Capite. In ſome of the entire figures of him on medals, he has but one body (129) with four heads. It is under this ſort of figure, which

(124) In ſacris invocamus Janum Geminum, Janum Patrem, Janum Junonium. Macrobius, Sat. Lib. 1. cap. 9.

The notion of Janus repreſenting Space, may account for his being called Junonius; Juno among the Romans ſignifying Air. His name of Patultius, might poſſibly relate to the ſame idea.

(125) Multa quidem didici: ſed cur navalis in ære
Altera ſignata eſt, altera forma biceps?
Noſcere me duplici poſſes ut imagine, dixit,
Ni vetus ipſa dies extenuaret opus.
Cauſa ratis ſupereſt: Thuſcum rate venit in amnem
Ante pererrato falcifer orbe Deus.
Hâc ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum.
(Janus, to Ovid,) Faſt. 1. ỳ. 235.

(126) Janus cum Saturnum claſſe pervectum excepiſſet hoſpitio; & ab eo edoctus peritiam ruris, ferum illum & rudem ante fruges cognitas victum in melius redigiſſet; regni eum ſocietate muneravit. Cum primus quoque æra ſignaret, ſervavit & in hoc Saturni reverentiam; ut quoniam ille navi fuerit advectus, ex unâ quidem parte ſui capitis effigies, ex alterâ verò navis exprimeretur; quo Saturni memoriam etiam in poſteros propagaret. Æs ita fuiſſe ſignatum hodieque intelligitur, in aleæ luſu; cum pueri denarios in ſublime jactantes, "Capita, aut Navim," (luſu teſte vetuſtatis,) exclamant. Macrobius, Saturnalia. Lib. 1. cap. 7.

(127) Ante quod eſt in me, poſtque, videtur idem.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ỳ. 114.
Ille manu mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam, &c.
Id. Ibid. ỳ. 259.

(128) Ipſe etiam immenſi reparator maximus ævi
Attollit vultus; & utroque a limine grates
Janus agit. ———
——Levat ecce ſupinas
Hinc atque inde manus; geminâque hac voce profatur.
Statius, Lib. 4. Sylv. 1. ỳ. 16.

(129) See Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 41. Fig. 1.

which looks every way, that I imagine the antient Romans meant to expreſs this deity's preſiding over Space: as his figures with two faces only, the one looking backward and the other forward, might denote his preſiding over (130) Time.

You ſee I had more reaſons than one, for placing the figure of Janus juſt where you find it. I know not well whether Claudian means this deity (131), or that of Time; by the venerable old perſonage he mentions, in his Cave of Eternity. Which-ever he may mean of them, he has given him ſome attributes, which the Roman poets of the allowed ages ſeem to have had no idea of for either.

As Polymetis finiſhed here, and was going to leave the temple; Philander begged firſt to aſk him one queſtion. I ſee, ſays he, very well, from what you have ſaid of Janus's relation to Time, why the Romans made him preſide always over the entrance of the year; but I ſhould be glad to learn too, why they made him preſide over peace and war. That, ſays Polymetis, as I take it, has no relation to his mythological character, either as preſiding over Space or Time. It was, probably, wholly founded on an old Roman legend, which is told us by Macrobius; and which I may tell you, if you pleaſe, as well in our walk homeward, as here.

In the time of the (132) Sabine war, as the Romans were engaged with the enemy, at no great diſtance from the gate at the bottom of the Collis Viminalis; a party of the ſoldiers, (who were left to guard the city,) haſtened to ſhut that gate, for fear of the worſt. The gate was no ſooner ſhut, than it opened again of itſelf. This was repeated three ſeveral times: and as the ſoldiers found it was reſolved not to keep ſhut, they got all the hands they could together there; to be ready to defend that entrance againſt the enemy. In the mean time, as the Romans that were fighting without, ſuffered much in the battle; there came a ſudden alarm, from ſome of the fugitives, of their being entirely defeated; and the guard was ſeized with ſuch a panic upon it, that each man fled to ſave himſelf, and left the gate wide open and without any defence. Soon after ſome of the Sabine troops, that had been the moſt ſucceſsful and were the moſt advanced, obſerved this advantage; and haſtened to the gate, to make themſelves maſters of it. When, lo! a ſudden flood of water, (or as others ſay, of fire,) iſſued forth, all at once, from the temple of Janus; ruſhed on impetuouſly thro' the gate, that ſtood

(130) Principium des, Jane, licet velocibus annis;
Et revoces vultu ſæcula longa tuo.
Martial. Lib. 8. Ep. 8.

As the beginning of the year, was under the diſpoſal of Janus; ſo the entance into the conſulſhip was, of courſe, under his protection. The poets frequently allude to this; and there is a figure of Janus, in Beger's Theſaurus, (319. 11.) with the conſular faſces, in his hand: I ſuppoſe, in alluſion to the ſame.

(131) This paſſage in Claudian is ſo remarkable, that I ſhall give it entire: not as of any authority here; but to ſhew, how far allegories ran in his time.

Eſt ignota procul noſtræque impervia menti,
Vix adeunda deis, annorum ſqualida mater;
Immenſi ſpelunca ævi; quæ Tempora vaſto
Suppeditat revocatque ſinu. Complectitur antrum
Omnia qui placido conſumit numine ſerpens,
Perpetuumque viret ſquamis; caudamque reducto
Ore vorat, tacito relegens exordia lapſu.
Veſtibuli cuſtos, vultu longæva decoro
Ante fores Natura ſedet; cunctiſque volantes
Dependent membris Animæ. Manſura verendus
Scribit jura ſenex, numeros qui dividit aſtris,
Et curſus ſtabileſque moras; quibus omnia vivunt,
Ac pereunt fixis cum legibus. Ille recenſet
Incertum quid Martis iter, certumque Tonantis
Proficiat mundo: quid velox ſemita Lunæ,
Pigraque Saturni: quantum Cytherea ſereno
Curriculo, Phœbique comes Cyllenius erret.
Illius ut Phœbus ad limen conſtitit antri;
Occurrit Natura potens, ſenioreque ſuperbis
Canitiem inclinat radiis: tunc ſponte recluſos
Laxavit poſtes adamas. Penetrale profundum
Panditur; & ſedes Ævique arcana pateſcunt.
Hic habitant vario faciem diſtincta metallo
Sæcula certa locis. Illic glomerantur aëna;
Hic ferrata rigent: illic argentea candent.
Eximiâ regione domûs, contingere terris
Difficiles, ſtabant rutuli (grex aureus,) Anni.
Quorum præcipuum pretioſo corpore Titan
Signandum Stilicone legit: tunc imperat omnes
Pone ſequi; dictiſque ſimul compellat euntes.
"En, cui diſtulimus melioris ſecla metalli,
Conſul adeſt! Ite optati mortalibus Anni!
Ducite virtutes; hominum floreſcite rurſus
Ingeniis, &c."——
De Laud. Stil. 2. ỳ. 457.

(132) Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. 1. cap. 9.

This ridiculous legend, probably was believed by the vulgar among the old Romans; as ſeveral legends, as ridiculous, are believed among the Roman catholics at preſent: but the wiſer ſort, and Virgil in particular, was of another opinion; as appears from the much earlier account, he gives of this matter. Æn. 7. ỳ. 601—622.

ſtood open; and overwhelmed all the Sabines that were preſſing towards it. The Romans in memory of this miraculous deliverance by the aſſiſtance of Janus, called that gate, Janualis: and in all their wars ever after, left the gates of Janus's temple wide open; that the god might come out the more readily, if he ſhould be ever again inclined to aſſiſt them. This cuſtom of always opening the gates of the temple of Janus on the beginning of a war, and keeping them ſhut always in time of peace, might probably give the Romans the thought of placing the ſtatues of Peace and War in his temple; as that gave their poets the idea of war being confined, and peace being ſecured, by Janus: who otherwiſe, I ſhould think, would have had nothing to do with them. But I have finiſhed my ſtory; and we are got home in good time, before the damps of the evening.

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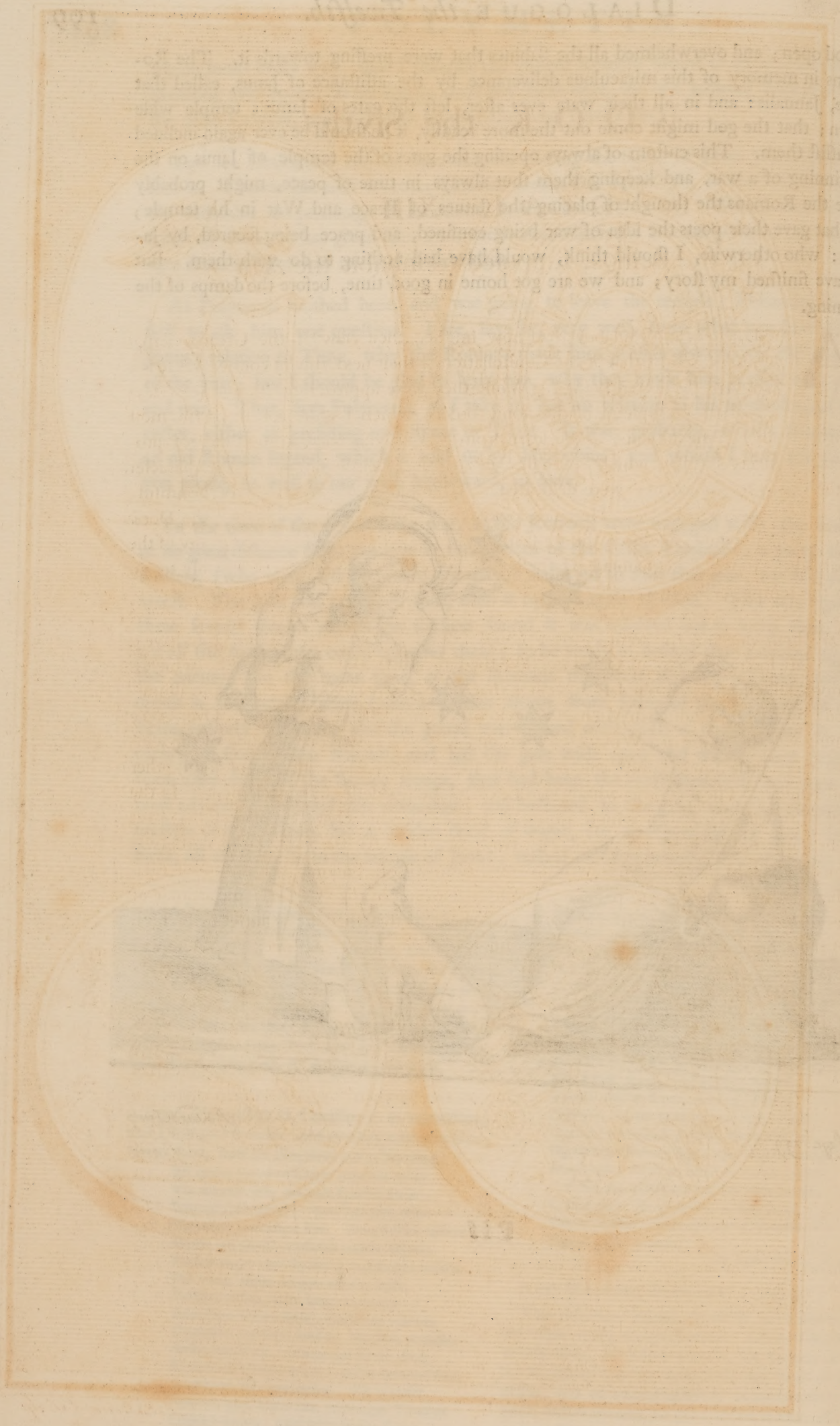

I

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III

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L.P. Boitard Sculp

I

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III

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V

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BOOK the Sixth.

DIAL. XIII.

Of the Beings, ſuppoſed to inhabit the AIR.

AS Myſagetes and Philander had now finiſhed their view of the Great Celeſtial Temple, and of that of the Conſtellations; their next viſit of courſe, was to the temple of the Aerial Beings. While they were approaching it, you ſee, (ſays Polymetis,) that this temple is of the Ionic order: which I choſe for it, as the moſt light and eaſy. The antients, as we learn from (1) Vitruvius, had a good deal of propriety, or nicety, (call it which you will,) in adapting their buildings, to the character of the deities to whom they were dedicated. A temple of Venus was to be beautiful; and one of Juno, majeſtic. Hercules looked beſt, placed in a building of the Doric order; which would have been the moſt improper of all for a Zephyr; or for any of the aerial ladies, to whoſe acquaintance I ſhall ſoon introduce you; if you pleaſe only to go into the temple before us.

ON their entering the temple, they found every thing in it diſpoſed ſo, as to have a light, eaſy look. It was an Octagon; like the beautiful temple of the Winds, which is ſo much talked of by all our late travellers that have been at Athens: but more illuminated, by a large window in Michael Angelo's ſtyle, in each of its diviſions. Over every opening was the figure of a Wind-Deity, in mezzo-relievo; and on each ſide of the windows were little ſquares and ovals here and there, taken from antiques of ſome other aerial beings. The roof was wholly dedicated to the goddeſſes of this element. In the midſt of it was a circle, in which appeared Juno under her character of preſiding over the air; in a light, flying car, drawn by two peacocks. All the reſt of the dome was divided into eight parts, by feſtoons of flowers; to anſwer the building below: and in each of theſe compartiments, was painted a Sylph, or Nymph of the Air: in ſome attitude or other of flying; and generally with looſe veils held in their hands, or fluttering on high over their heads. The whole temple within was all luminous, and open; without any ſtatues, or any thing elſe, to embaraſs it.

THESE (2) figures of the eight Winds, ſays Polymetis, are meant to repreſent thoſe on the famous octagon at Athens. I ſhould not have gone ſo far for my Winds, had there been a greater choice of them nearer home: but the figures of this ſort of deities are very great rarities, even in Italy. One or two of them indeed appear there, on ſome relievo's; particularly on ſome repreſenting the fall of Phaeton: and the four capital ones were found, (above two centuries ago,) on part of the work, belonging to what is

(1) Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

(2) When this was firſt written, I was in hopes of getting the figures of the eight Winds, as they are repreſented on the temple at Athens. There was a drawing of all of them, taken ſeveral years ago; and kept for ſome time in the king of France's library: and it is ſaid, there was another, of a yet earlier date; in the Barbarini palace, at Rome. On the ſtricteſt enquiry, neither of theſe are to be found: and the loſs of them is the greater, becauſe two of the figures on the temple itſelf, are now quite hid by ſome later buildings affixed to it. I am therefore obliged to reſt whatever I have here hazarded in relation to theſe figures, on the authority of ſuch as have ſeen the originals, at Athens; and who have been ſo good as to favour me with the remarks they made on the ſpot. Might I name the Earl of Sandwich, and Dr. Pocock, as my chief authorities in this caſe; I ſhould name the very perſons, on whoſe veracity, and judgment, I am the moſt inclined to rely.

is commonly thought to have been a ſun-dial (3), in the Campus Martius. Theſe are likely to have been good; as having been, probably, a work of the Auguſtan age. But whatever they were, they are not now to be found; and the good monks of Saint Lorenzo in Lucina, (where they were diſcovered, in digging to lay the foundation for one of their chapels,) are ſo far from knowing what is become of them; that they have almoſt loſt even the memory of their having ever been in their poſſeſſion. The only good one I know of now at Rome, fell into better hands; and is one of the fine pieces placed by the late Pope Clement XII. in the gallery, at the Capitol. In this ſcarcity, we are obliged to borrow our Ideas of theſe Wind-Deities from Athens; and there is this inconvenience in it, that they muſt then be characteriſed according to the effects each particular Wind has at Athens, and not according to what they have at Rome. This may occaſion ſome difference, but it is not very conſiderable; and where we cannot do better, we muſt be contented to ſhift as well as we can.

THESE Athenian deities of the Winds are all flying on; but with different degrees of rapidity, or gentleneſs; according to the different effects each Wind has in thoſe parts. Solanus, or the Eaſt, is repreſented as young; and holds ſeveral ſorts of fruit in his lap; as apples, peaches, oranges, lemmons, and pomegranates: moſt of which, (if not all,) were not the natural produce of Greece; but brought in there from the more eaſtern parts of the world.——The next, is Eurus, or the South-Eaſt. He is repreſented as a youth too; and is flying on, rather more impetuouſly, as appears from the agitation of his garments.——The third is Auſter, or the South-wind; and the fourth, Africus, or the South-weſt. They are all repreſented, bigger than the life, and bending forward; ſo that their figures generally take up above ſix foot in length; and about three and an half in breadth.——The fifth, is Zephyrus, or the deity of the Weſtern Wind. He is repreſented as a beautiful youth; and as gliding on with the gentleſt motion imaginable. He is for the moſt part naked; and holds a little baſket in his hand, filled with ſpring-flowers of different ſorts.——The ſixth is Corus, or the North-weſt. He is elderly, and with a beard; whereas the former are generally young. He is dreſſed ſo as to defend him from the cold; and carries a vaſe, as pouring water from it, in his hand.——The next is Septentrio, or the North-wind. He reſembles Corus in his age and dreſs; but has no vaſe of water; and is ſo much more affected with the cold, that he holds up his mantle cloſe before his noſe and mouth, to defend himſelf from the violence of it.——The laſt, Aquilo, or the North-eaſt, is elderly too. He holds a plate of olives in his hands: which was of old, and is ſtill, the chief produce of the territory about Athens: ſo far, that in going from that city to the Pireum, which is near five miles, you paſs all the way through rows of olive-trees, on each ſide of you.

THE Romans, in the time of (4) Pliny, chiefly followed this diviſion of the Winds; and had a yet farther diviſion of them into twelve; as we learn from the ſame author. But

(3) In queſta iſteſſa parte (of the Campus Martius, where the obeliſk lies ſtill interred,) ſi come teſtificano Pomponio Leto & Andrea Fulvio, fu à i lor tempi, (circa ottenta anni fa,) ritrovato nella cappella nuova de i Capellani di queſta Chieſa cavandoſi, un horologio belliſſimo & grande di metallo; che haveva i gradi, & le linee indorate; con il ſuolo intorno di pietre quadrate, che pur moſtrava le medeſime linee; & negl' angoli, i quattro Venti fatti à muſaico. Pompeo Ugonio, Hiſt. delle Stationi di Roma. p. 183. Ed. 1588.

In parte Martii Campi, ubi nunc eſt templum S. Laurentii, in capellâ novâ Capellanorum, fuit olim baſis illa nominatiſſima, et horologium ſuperioribus annis effoſſum; quod habebat ſeptem gradus circum, et lineas diſtinctas metallo inaurato: et ſolum campi erat ex lapide amplo quadrato, et habebat lineas eaſdem: et in angulo quatuor Venti erant, ex opere muſivo: cum inſcriptione, BOREAS SPIRAT, &c. Fulvius; (See Nardini's Roma antica. Lib. 6. Cap. 6.)

(4) Veteres quatuor (Ventos) ſervavere, per totidem mundi partes, hebeti ut mox judicatum eſt ratione; ſecuta ætas octo addidit, nimis ſubtili et conciſâ: proximis inter utranque media placuit, ad brevem ex numeroſâ additis quatuor. Sunt ergo bini in quatuor cœli partibus. Ab Oriente æquinoctiali Subſolanus, ab Oriente brumali Vulturnus; illum Apelioten, hunc Eurum Græci appellant. A meridie Auſter, et ab occaſu brumali Africus; Notum, et Liba, nominant. Ab occaſu æquinoctiali Favonius, ab occaſu ſolſtitiali Corus; Zephyron et Argeſten vocant.

But the moſt antient, and that which is moſt generally followed by the Roman poets, (eſpecially thoſe of the Auguſtan age,) was the diviſion into four. According to this, they made (5) Eurus to be the intelligence that preſided over all the eaſtern quarter of the heavens: and to Boreas, they gave the whole dominion of the north: Auſter was ſtill the chief director of the ſouth; as Zephyrus was of the weſt. The poets indeed, now and then, mention ſome other deities of the Winds; but theſe are moſt generally conſidered by them, as the chief of all the reſt.

EURUS, or the genius of the Eaſt-wind, according to the Roman poets, ſeems to have his character compoſed from the Apeliotes and Euros of the Greeks. By one deſcription of him, he ſhould have a look that ſhews him (6) delighted; and in another, he is ſpoken of as (7) playful, or wanton. He is ſometimes deſcribed as (8) impetuous; and ſometimes, as (9) diſordered with the ſtorm he has been driving along the ſea. Horace gives us a picture of the former; and Valerius Flaccus of the latter. I ſhould be apt to imagine from ſome expreſſions in the poets, that he was ſometimes repreſented on horſeback; or (10) perhaps, in a chariot, whirling thro' the air: but there are ſo few remains of the antient artiſts relating to theſe beings, (as I was ſaying before;) that we have nothing from them, to confirm any ſuch conjecture.

THE genius of the South-wind, (called indifferently by the names of Notus and Auſter,) is deſcribed (11) by Ovid, as large; and ſo old, that his hair is quite grey: of a gloomy countenance; and with clouds about his head. Moſt of the lines in his character are deſigned to point him out as the diſpenſer of heavy ſhowers, and great rains. He has duſky wings; and ſometimes (12) a full dark robe. Virgil ſeems to allude to the gloomineſs of his countenance (13); in a paſſage, that has given much offence to the critics:

A Septentrionibus Septentrio, interque eum et exortum ſolſtitialem Aquilo; Aparctias dicti et Boreas. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 47.

In five of theſe Greek names, Pliny agrees exactly with the inſcriptions under the particular Winds on the temple at Athens; which are as follow.—ΑΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ, for the E.——ΕΥΡΟΣ, for the SE.——ΝΟΤΟΣ, for the S.——ΛΙΨ, for the SW.——ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ, for the W.——ΣΚΙΡΩΝ, for the NW.——ΒΟΡΕΑΣ, for the N.——and ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ, for the NE.

(5) Eurus ad auroram, Nabathæaque regna receſſit,
Perſidaque, et radiis juga ſubdita matutinis:
Veſper, et occiduo quæ litora ſole tepeſcunt,
Proxima ſunt Zephyro. Scythiam ſeptemque triones,
Horrifer invaſit Boreas: contraria tellus
Nubibus aſſiduis pluvioque madeſcit ab Auſtro.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 66.

(6) Confligunt Zephyruſque, Notuſque; & lætus Eois
Eurus equis.——
Virgil. Æn. 2. ℣. 417.

(7) Ille Noto, Zephyroque, & Sithonio Aquiloni
Imperat; & pennis, Eure proterve, tuis.
Ovid. Ep. Her. 11. ℣. 14. (Canace, Mac)

(8) Dirus per urbes * Afer ut Italas, * Hanibal.
Ceu flamma per tædas, vel Eurus
Per Siculas equitavit undas.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 4. ℣. 44.

(9) ——Crinemque procellis
Hiſpidus, et multâ flavus caput Eurus arenâ.
Flaccus, Argon. 1. ℣. 613.

(10) The Roman poets ſometimes uſe the expreſſion, in equis, to ſignify a perſon's being in a chariot; and ſo may poſſibly uſe, equitare, for the ſame. Flaccus uſes an expreſſion of another Wind, (the North,) which ſeems to imply his being in a chariot.

——Fundunt ſe carcere læti
Thraces equi; Zephyruſque.——
Arg. 1. ℣. 611.

And ſo may Virgil's;——Lætus Eoïs Eurus equis—Note 6, anteh.

(11) ——Madidis Notus evolat alis,
Terribilem piceâ tectus caligine vultum.
Barba gravis nimbis; canis fluit unda capillis;
Fronte ſedent nebulæ: rorant pennæque ſinuſque.
Utque manu latâ pendentia nubila preſſit, &c.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 268.

(12) Ovid perhaps means his robe in the deſcription above by the word, ſinus, which ſignifie sa flowing robe; whence Virgil calls it, ſinus fluentes, Æn. 1. ℣. 324. In the ſame manner, Statius calls the robe of Auſter, by the name of volumina; which ſignifies its largeneſs.

——Cœlum ſibi quiſque rapit: ſed plurimus Auſter
Inglomerat noctem, et tenebroſa volumina torquet;
Defunditque imbres.——
Theb. 1. ℣. 352.

(13) ——Quid cogitet humidus Auſter.
G. 1. ℣. 462.

Several of the commentators (that have been uſed to conſider the Winds only in a natural way, and never perhaps in an allegorical one,) are greatly offended at the word, cogitet, here. The thinking of a Wind, is to them the higheſt pitch of abſurdity that can be. They are therefore for altering the paſſage into "Quid cogat et humidus Auſter;" or, "Quid concitet humidus Auſter:" contra omnes codices, as they themſelves ſay.

If

critics: and ſpeaks of him, in another place (14), "as ſaddening the very heavens." Valerius Flaccus deſcribes him, as (15) attended with ſhowers, Ovid, with water dripping from every part of him; Statius, as pouring the waters of the heavens down on the earth; and Juvenal, as ſitting in the cave of the Winds; and (16) drying his wings after a ſtorm. Several of theſe deſcriptions, probably, alluded to ſome paintings of old; at leaſt, there is ſcarce any one of them, that might not furniſh a painter with a good hint for a picture now.

Zephyrus is the mildeſt of all the deities of the Winds: the character of his perſonage is youth, and gentleneſs. Valerius Flaccus, in ſpeaking of theſe four great deities of the Winds, as employed all together in a ſtorm, adds ſome character of violence to every one of them (17) except Zephyrus. I have obſerved before, that in ſome of his figures his lap is full of ſpring-flowers. Ovid deſcribes him, and his attendants, (for there were ſeveral Zephyri; ſeveral deities of the Winds of the ſame quarter, all under this their great chief;) as tending (18) the flowers, that every where adorned the face of the earth, in the infancy of the world; when (as he ſays) it was all one continued ſpring. Lucretius, in his proceſſion of the ſeaſons, makes Zephyrus and Flora (19) joint attendants of the ſpring; and Ovid (20) gives a very full account of his falling in love with Flora, at the ſame ſeaſon of the year. We find by that account, that this amour, (tho' it was irregular in its beginning,) concluded at laſt very honourably; in a match between theſe two deities. And indeed never were any two deities better paired. They were perhaps the happieſt couple of all thoſe who in the heathen mythology were ſuppoſed to have engaged in ſo bold an undertaking, as that of an endleſs marriage: for ſuch it muſt be, where divorces were never practiſed; and, where, (if a match proved unhappy,) neither of the parties could entertain any the leaſt hopes of dying.

As Zephyrus is the moſt gentle of all theſe deities of the Winds, ſo the rougheſt (21) of them all is Boreas. As he is repreſented on the temple of Athens, he ſeems himſelf to

If theſe gentlemen would pleaſe to conſider, that it is not they, but Virgil that is ſpeaking here;——that the Winds were frequently repreſented as perſons, in his time;——that he had been uſed to ſee them ſo repreſented, both in Greece and in his own country;——that they were commonly worſhipped then as gods; (and that Virgil had probably worſhipped them as ſuch himſelf, in ſome of his voyages between Rome and Athens;) they may perhaps be perſuaded not to think this ſo ſtrange an expreſſion for him to uſe.

Indeed, inſtead of its being ſo ſtrange and abſurd, I ſhould imagine it to be very poetical and very proper. The general character of the face of Auſter, is gloomineſs; and the particular thing Virgil here ſpeaks of, is his threatning, or meditating miſchief. Boreas is uſually repreſented like a furious, impetuous bully; and Auſter is repreſented here, with a ſullen, deſigning look: not unlike one of our old politicians, in a coffee-houſe; on a damp, gloomy day: terribilem piceâ tectus caligine vultum. (As Ovid ſays of Auſter; Note 11, anteh.)

(14) ——Aut unde nigerrimus Auſter
Naſcitur; et pluvio contriſtat frigore cœlum.
G. 3. ℣. 279.

(15) ——Et nocti concolor alis,
Nimborum cum prole, Notus.——
Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. ℣. 612.

(16) ——Dum ſe continet Auſter;
Dum ſedet, et ſiccat madidas in carcere pennas.
Juvenal. Sat. 5. ℣. 101.

(17) ——Fundunt ſe carcere læti
Thraces equi, Zephyruſque; et nocti concolor alis
Nimborum cum prole Notus: crinemque procellis
Hiſpidus, et multâ flavus caput Eurus arenâ.
Argon. 1. ℣. 613.

(18) Ver erat æternum: placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 108.

(19) See Lucretius, Lib. 5. ℣. 736, to 739.

(20) Chloris eram, quæ Flora vocor (corrupta Latino
Nominis eſt noſtri litera Græca ſono)
Chloris eram, nymphe campi felicis; ubi audis
Rem fortunatis ante fuiſſe viris.——
Ver erat; errabam. Zephyrus conſpexit; abibam.
Inſequitur; fugio. Fortior ille fuit.
Et dederat fratri Boreas jus omne rapinæ,
Auſus Erictheâ præmia ferre domo.
Vim tamen emendat, dando mihi nomina nuptæ;
Inque meo non eſt ulla querela toro.
Vere fruor ſemper: veri nitidiſſimus annus;
Arbor habet frondes, pabula fundit humus.
Eſt mihi fœcundus dotalibus hortus in agris;
Aura fovet; liquidæ fonte rigatur aquæ.
Hunc meus implevit generoſo flore maritus;
Atque ait, arbitrium tu dea floris habe.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 212.

(21) Μηδε (δει) τον Βορεαν, κηδες-ην γε ουτα, και παρα παντας τας Ανεμους αρσενα, ποιεισθαι θηλυν. Philoſtratus; Vita Apollonii, Lib. 4. Cap. 21.

to ſuffer from the extreme cold of the climate over which he preſides: agreeably to which one of the poets calls him (22), "The ſhivering Tyrant." However, I am apt to think that the moſt common way of repreſenting him of old, was as impetuous, and troubleſome to others; this being his moſt uſual character in the Roman poets. Ovid in particular ſays, that he is almoſt always rough, and (23) in a paſſion. This is in his account of the rape committed by this deity on Orithyia; in which that poet riſes, (or endeavours at leaſt to riſe,) into an higher ſtyle, than is uſual with him; to paint out the terrours that belong to this deity. He makes him (24), "The former of ſnow, and the diſpenſer of hail-ſtorms; one great cauſe of lightnings and thunders; and the ſole cauſe of earthquakes, and all the terrible conſequences that attend them: he ſays, that he moves on encompaſſed with dark clouds, in the heavens; and in a thick cloud of duſt, over the earth." Conſidering his effects, and how he employs himſelf, whenever he is employed; one would be glad to have this tyrant always, (as he is repreſented in his figure at Athens,) with his robe before his mouth.

SUCH are the characters of the four principal deities of the Winds, according to the Roman poets: from conſidering all of which together, one may find that they would ſerve extremely well to contraſt, and ſet off each other, in a picture; if any good hand was to undertake it. For according to their diſtinguiſhing characters above mentioned, Eurus ſhould be of a lively, briſk air; Auſter, gloomy and aged: Zephyrus, young and charming; and Boreas, old and angry.

THE names of the other four Winds, in the diviſion of eight, are Solanus, Africus, Corus, and Aquilo. I do not remember that any one of the Roman poets has ever ſpoken of Solanus: they ſeem to have given up his place entirely to Eurus. Every one of the other three are mentioned by them; and that under the characters of perſons, tho' they ſpeak of them but ſeldom. Silius Italicus deſcribes Africus, or the deity of the South-weſt Wind, as having (25) dark wings; and gives us a picture of Corus, (or the North-weſt,) as ſpreading out his duſky pinions, and (26) driving on a tempeſt of ſnow before him; againſt Hannibal's army, in their paſſage over the Alps. This gives us no bad idea of the Wind, which old Lucilius, (I know not on what grounds,) calls, (27) The king of all the reſt. Ovid ſpeaks of Hiems, as trembling at the preſence of Aquilo (28), (or the North-eaſt;) and there is an expreſſion (29) in Statius, relating to the ſame; which may poſſibly have been borrowed from ſome figures of old, not unlike thoſe bluſtering faces we ſee ſo often in the corners of our maps.

THESE

(22) Illic et gelidi conjux Actæa tyranni,
Et genetrix facta eſt.———
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 711. (of Orithyia.)

(23) ——Horridus irâ,
Quæ ſolita eſt illi.———
Ibid. ℣. 686.

It is thus that he was repreſented by Zeuxis; as we learn from Lucian. Ου Θρᾳσυκλης ο φιλοσοφος ϗτος εστιν; ου μεν ϗν αλλος. Εκπεταται γϗν του πωγωνα, ϗκαι τας οφρυς ανατειναι, ϗκαι βρενθυομενος τι προς αυτον ερχεται, τιτανωδες βλεπων, ανασεσοβημενος την επι τω μετωπω κομην· Αυτοβορεας τις, η Τριτων, οιϗς ο Ζευξις εγραφεν. Τιμων. Tom. 1. p. 158. Ed. Blaeu.

(24) "Apta mihi vis eſt: vi triſtia nubila pello;
Vi freta concutio, nodoſaque robora verto:
Induroque nives; et terras grandine pulſo.
Idem ego, cum fratres cœlo ſum nactus aperto,
(Nam mihi campus is eſt;) tanto molimine luctor,
Ut medius noſtris concurſibus intonet æther;
Exiliantque cavis eliſi nubibus ignes.
Idem ego, cum ſubii convexa foramina terræ
Suppoſuique ferox imis mea terga cavernis,
Sollicito Manes totumque tremoribus orbem." ——
Hæc Boreas, aut his non inferiora, locutus
Excuſſit pennas; quarum jactatibus omnis
Afflata eſt tellus, latumque perhorruit æquor:
Pulvereamque trahens per ſumma cacumina pallam,
Verrit humum; pavidamque metu, caligine tectus,
Orithyïan amans fulvis amplectitur alis.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 707.

(25) Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc fuſcis Africus alis
Bella movent.———
Silius Ital. 12. ℣. 618.

(26) Interdum adverſo glomeratas turbine Corus
In media ora nives fuſcis agit horridus alis.
Ibid. 3. ℣. 524.

(27) Rex Corus ille duos hos Ventos, Auſtrum atque Aquilonem, noviſſimè alebat; &c. Lucilius, Sat. Lib. 23.

(28) —Cum triſtis Hiems Aquilonis inhorruit alis.
Ovid. Ibis, ℣. 201.

(29) ———Primique Aquilonis hiatus.
Statius, Theb. 7. ℣. 37.

THESE principal deities of the Winds, were all (30) brothers; tho' I do not know enough of their genealogy, even to tell you who was their father and mother. They are ſometimes repreſented with wings, and (31) ſometimes without; in the few remains we have of the antient artiſts, relating to this ſubject. Were theſe more frequent, I imagine we ſhould moſt commonly ſee them repreſented with wings; becauſe that part is generally ſpoken of by the poets, where they deſcribe any of theſe deities. Their uſual manner of blowing, as appears both from the poets and the remains of the artiſts, was not by diſtorting their faces in that ſtrange manner that our modern painters and ſculptors are pleaſed to imagine. They gave them wreathed trumpets for that purpoſe; not unlike the twiſted ſhell, uſed as a trumpet by the Tritons: as you ſee it on the medallion by that window; copied from the Ara Ventorum, in the Capitoline gallery at Rome. This general attribute of the Winds is hinted at, by ſome of the poets (32); and expreſly ſpoken of, by others.

PL. XXVIII. FIG. 1.

BESIDE theſe general attributes of wings, and flabra, (or the wreathed trumpets they breathed through,) the particular deities of the Winds had others, according to their particular characters. One of the Winds on their temple at Athens holds a water-pot in his hand; to denote the rains he generally brought with him, in that climate. Auſter was probably repreſented ſometimes (33) with the ſame attribute. It is only a ſmall vaſe indeed; but that does not hinder its ſignifying very heavy ſhowers: for Aquarius, (who was looked on as the cauſe (34) of thoſe heavy rains, that uſually fall in Italy about the (35) winter-ſolſtice,) has juſt ſuch another on the Farneſe globe. It is perhaps that little vaſe in particular, which the Romans called, (36) Urceus.

I HAVE ſaid enough, (and as we have ſo few remains relating to them, perhaps too much,) on theſe deities of the principal Winds. It is probable there were (37) many others under each of them, who had their name from the chief of their particular quarter; and ſome which were diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, by particular names: ſuch, for inſtance, as Vulturnus; whom Lucretius introduces as an (38) attendant of the autumn, in his proceſſion of the ſeaſons: and the Eteſiæ, a (39) gentler ſort of northern gales; in ſpeaking

(30) Ovid calls Boreas Zephyrus's brother, in his Faſti 5. ℣. 203. and in ſpeaking of all the four principal Winds, calls them all brothers; in his Metamorphoſis, 1. ℣. 60.

(31) They are winged, on a Sarcophagus repreſenting the Fall of Phaeton, in the Borgheſe gardens; and without wings, on the Ara Ventorum, at the Capitol.

(32) Cum ſua quiſque regant diverſo flamina tractu.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 59.
——Neque hic Boreæ flabra, nec arma timet.
Propert. Lib. 2. El. 27. ℣. 12.
——Freta circum
Ferveſcunt graviter ſpirantibus incita flabris.
Lucretius, 6. ℣. 427.
——Mihi pontus inertes
Submittit fluctus; Zephyrique tacentia ponunt
Ante meos ſua flabra pedes.——
Petronius Arb. p. 259. Ed. Lond.

(33) Defundit imbres.——
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 352. (of Auſter.)

(34) ——Contriſtat Aquarius annum.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 1. ℣. 36.

(35) ——Brumæ intractabilis imbrem.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 211.

(36) Tho' the Urceus was but a ſmall veſſel, Petronius uſes the expreſſion of nimbus urceatim detumens, for a violent ſudden ſhower. (Petr. Arb. p. 24. Ed. Lond.) Indeed the ſize of the veſſel is out of the queſtion; becauſe this kind of expreſſion is only meant to ſignify that the rain poured down, not in diſtinct drops, but as it were in one continued ſtream.

(37) Nigram Hiemi pecudem; Zephyris felicibus albam.
Virgil. Æn. 3. ℣. 120.
The ſame poet ſpeaks of the Euri too in the plural; and of ſeveral of the other Winds.
——Hybernis parcebant flatibus Euri.
Georg. 2. ℣. 339.
Nimborum in patriam, loca fœta furentibus Auſtris,
Æoliam venit.——
Æn. 1. ℣. 52.
Aut actum cœlo magnis Aquilonibus imbrem.
Georg. 2. ℣. 334.

(38) Inde Autumnus adit; graditur ſimul Evius Evan,
Inde aliæ tempeſtates Ventique ſequuntur;
Altitonans Vulturnus. & Auſter fulmine pollens.
Luc. 5. ℣. 744.

(39) They are not of the rougheſt kind, by the offices attributed to them. Lucretius makes them companions of the ſummer;

Inde

ſpeaking of which one of the Roman writers in proſe, (and one of the beſt they ever had,) uſes ſome expreſſions (40), which would be ſcarce juſtifiable; unleſs they were grounded on thoſe Winds being commonly repreſented, and known as perſons, among the Romans.

ALL that I have yet mentioned are males: for fear therefore that you ſhould imagine the Winds to be a people of one ſex only; (or to uſe Florus's expreſſion, a Populus virorum,) we will now, if you pleaſe, conſider ſome of thoſe female figures, that you ſee diſpoſed here, in each of the diviſions of the dome. Theſe are ſo many aerial nymphs: what the Romans called, (41) Auræ; and what we call, Sylphs. Theſe Auræ are chiefly marked out by the veil, which they hold in their hands, and which flutters archwiſe over their heads. They are oftner to be found in the antient paintings of ceilings; than perhaps in all the other remains of antiquity, put together. In particular, I have never yet met with any ſtatue of an Aura, that I know of: but Pliny (42) ſpeaks of two; which were a good deal admired, even in his time, at Rome.

THO' theſe deities are ſo uncommon now in ſtatues, that loſs is ſufficiently made up to us by their being commonly enough to be met with in the paintings of the antients; and eſpecially, as I was ſaying, on ceilings: which is certainly the propereſt place of any for them to be repreſented on. I dare ſay I could point out two or three dozen of them (43); in Dr. Mead's collection of paintings, and drawings from the paintings of the antients: of which, it would be a very ſparing commendation only to ſay, that it is the nobleſt collection, on this ſide of the Alps; it being probably the nobleſt, of its kind, in the whole world. The drawings, in particular, were taken by the famous Bartoli; on the ſpot, as the paintings were diſcovered. And as the latter loſe their colours on being expoſed to the air; and are almoſt wholly extinguiſhed, by the courſe of a few years: theſe copies of them, in which the colours appear as vivid and ſtrong as when they were firſt diſcovered, are in that reſpect a more valuable treaſure, even than the originals themſelves would be; were they all remaining, and all collected together: whereas moſt of them are ſcattered; and many of them, quite loſt. All my Air-nymphs here, are borrowed from this collection of Dr. Mead's: who did not only give me a full liberty of having whatever I pleaſed copied from it; but gave it always with ſo many obliging circumſtances, as doubled the favour. Indeed, by what I have experienced myſelf, and by what I have heard from ſeveral others; I am apt to think, that the ſureſt method to make that gentleman one's friend, (as well as to get a friendſhip for him,) is to put

Inde loci ſequitur Calor aridus; & comes una
Pulverulenta Ceres, et Eteſia flabra Aquilonum.
Lucr. 5. ỳ. 741.

And Horace, (if I miſtake not,) of the ſpring.

Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant,
Impellunt Animæ lintea Thraciæ:
Jam nec prata rigent, nec fluvii ſtrepunt
Hybernâ nive turgidi.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 12. ỳ. 4.

By the laſt words it appears that Horace ſpeaks here of the latter end of the ſpring; for in the beginning of it, the rivers in Italy are generally moſt ſwoln with the melting of the ſnows. I ſuppoſe, from comparing Horace and Lucretius together, that theſe Eteſian (or Thracian) gales might blow commonly, about the cloſe of the ſpring, or the beginning of the ſummer.

(40) Iratus temporibus, in Græciam deſperatâ libertate rapiebar: quum me Eteſiæ, quaſi boni cives, relinquentem rempublicam proſequi noluerunt; Auſterque adverſus maximo flatu me ad Rhegium retulit. Cicero. Lib. 12. Epiſt. 25.

(41) That the Romans uſed the word Aura perſonally, for the nymphs of the air, is evident from the quotation in the following note. I ſuppoſe they might borrow that uſe of it from the Greeks; who ſeem to have uſed Αυρα ſometimes in the ſame manner.—I remember to have ſeen an antient gem repreſenting two greyhounds purſuing a hare with their names engraved under them; which had, probably, been the ſeal of ſome old ſportſman. The name of one is, Χρυσις, and of the other Αυρα, or the air-nymph; to denote her ſwiftneſs.

(42) Multa in eâdem ſcholâ ſine auctoribus placent: ſatyri quatuor;—duæque Auræ, velificantes ſuâ veſte. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 36. Cap. 5. p. 472. Ed. Elz.

(43) In Bartoli's finiſhed drawings from the paintings of the antients, formerly in the poſſeſſion of the Maſſimi family at Rome, and now in the hands of Dr. Mead; there are ſeveral figures which I take to be air-nymphs. Particularly, Fol. 69, 71, 73, 75, 78, 87, 89, 111, 112, 113, 147, and 148.

put it in his way to oblige you heartily. All the world knows———But to cut my gratitude ſhort; and to return to my Air-nymphs: this with the blue veil, in the compartiment juſt over Zephyrus, has wings; and that next her, (with a red veil, fluttering all over her head,) has none; tho' they are both, you ſee, in the attitude of flying. The latter, holds a bundle of flowers, in each hand; perhaps, to ſcatter them down, over the earth: for theſe ladies are of a mild and gentle character; and would make very proper wives for the Zephyri: part of whoſe office was that of diſpenſing and cheriſhing flowers; even ſo far back, as in the times of (44) the golden age. In this drawing, I have a Zephyr and Air-nymph, who may actually have been married together, for what I know; or who, at leaſt, ſeem not at all averſe to each other. Theſe, and the two Air-nymphs I deſired you to obſerve, were found, (on three different ceilings,) in Titus's palace, at Rome. As there is no great variety in the characters of theſe ladies; I ſhall point out no more of them to you, at preſent. They are all light and airy; generally with long robes, and flying veils; of ſome lively colour, or other: and fluttering about, as diverting themſelves in the light and pleaſing element, aſſigned to them. In ſhort, they are all ſo many Sylphs: a ſpecies, of ſportive, happy beings, in themſelves; and well-wiſhers to mankind.

Pl. xxviii. Fig. 2, 3.

Pl. xxviii. Fig. 4.

'Till I got acquainted with theſe Auræ, (or Sylphs,) I found myſelf always at a loſs in reading the known ſtory of Cephalus and Procris, in Ovid. I could never imagine how Cephalus's crying out, Aura venias, (tho' in ever ſo languiſhing a manner,) could give any body a ſuſpicion of his being falſe to Procris. As I had been always uſed to think that Aura ſignified only the air in general, or a gentle breeze in particular; I thought Procris's jealouſy leſs founded, than the moſt extravagant jealouſies generally are: but when I had once found, that Aura might ſignify a very handſome young lady, as well as the air, the caſe was entirely altered; and the ſtory ſeemed to go on in a very reaſonable manner. To ſay the truth; this exclamation of Cephalus, is not only very apt to be miſunderſtood by an Engliſh reader: but even when it is underſtood, it is impoſſible to be render'd into Engliſh. As much impoſſible, as it would be to tranſlate ſeveral of the Latin puns, which we meet with in Cicero and others of the Roman writers: Aura, in Latin, being (45) an equivocal word; and we not having any equivocal word, in our language (46), fit to anſwer it.

One may learn from this new ſet of beings, as well as from ſeveral others I have had occaſion to mention to you, (particularly in our viſit to the beings which relate to the times and ſeaſons;) that the Romans made perſonages of ſeveral ideas, and ſeveral things, which we have not been uſed ever to conſider in that light. In the preſent caſe, beſide the number of winds that they turned into gods, and of breezes to which they gave the gentler character of goddeſſes; they had ſeveral other ſuppoſed inhabitants for the air: and that of many more kinds, than I can pretend to ſhew you any figures of. It is certain that the Winds, in their ſcheme, were (47) capable of having ſons and daughters; and how far their families might run on, would be difficult to determine. The clouds, nay perhaps every diſtinct cloud, might be a (48) goddeſs: and this by the way, might enable

(44) See Note 18, anteh.

(45) The whole turns upon this; as Ovid, indeed, has very diſtinctly remarked in that ſtory.

Aura (recordor enim) venias, cantare ſolebam,
Meque juves; intreſque ſinus gratiſſima noſtros!—
Vocibus ambiguis, deceptam præbuit aurem
Neſcio quis; nomenque auræ tam ſæpe vocatum
Eſſe putans Nymphæ, Nympham mihi credit amari.
Met. 7. ℣. 823.

(46) Our word, Air, ſignifies the element, and is never uſed perſonally; our word, Sylph, ſignifies a perſon, but is never uſed of the element: the word, Zephyr, may be uſed by us, both of the element, and of a perſon; but then it is a perſon of the wrong ſex for this ſtory.

(47) Thus Calaïs and Zethes, for inſtance, were the ſons of Boreas by Orithyia;

Cætera qui matris, pennas genitoris haberent:
Says Ovid, Met. 6. ℣. 713.

(48) The Νεφελαι appear perſonally, in Ariſtophanes's play of that name: and may be called, The Nymphs of the Clouds; as the Auræ, are the Nymphs of the air.

Pryxus

enable one to account as well, for the ſtory of Juno's cheating Ixion; as the perſonal ſenſe of Aura does, for the jealouſy of Procris. Bad weather (49), as well as (50) good, had a place among the divinities of the Romans: and there were ſet forms of prayer (51), even to tempeſts; in their old rituals. Dark and damp weather (52) is ſpoken of as a perſon, by Valerius Flaccus; as are Froſt, and Cold (53), by Lucretius. Heat had as much right to be a perſon, as Cold; and is ſpoken of (54) as ſuch, by the ſame poet, on the ſame occaſion. Showers, and ſtorms of rain, are ſpoken of as perſons by ſome of the Roman poets; and thunder, and lightning, were actually repreſented as ſuch, by the very beſt (55) of all the Grecian painters.

So wide a region as the air, with ſuch a number of inhabitants, (and ſome of them ſuch wild ones,) ought to have good governors, to keep things in order in it: and, to ſay the truth, the poets ſeem to have provided it with ſuch, in the propereſt manner that could be. Over the rougher Winds, they placed Æolus; over the ſofter, Juno: and the Rains, Thunders, and Lightnings, they ſuppoſed to be under the immediate direction of Jupiter himſelf.

Æolus I have never yet met with; either in any gem, medal, picture, or relievo, of the antients. The poets, you know, deſcribe him (56) as of an angry temper, and rough look; ſetting in the midſt of a vaſt cave (57): with his ſubjects fettered, or chained down, round about him. Virgil, and Valerius Flaccus after him, give a picture of Æolus letting the Winds out of this their priſon; to direct the ſtorms, that are ſo particularly deſcribed by both of theſe poets. By their joint account of him, he ſeems to be the moſt of a tyrant, of any of the gods; or, (to uſe a word that with the old Romans was but a little ſofter,) the fitteſt king, for ſuch unruly ſubjects.

THE

Pryxus and Helle had one of theſe Cloud-nymphs for their mother. Whence Ovid calls Helle, Nepheleïda; the daughter of a Nephele, or Cloud-nymph. Met. 11. ℣. 195. and Lucian ſays, in his uſual laughing way; Ουκουν εχρην την μητερα, την Νεφελην, βοηθειν πιπτουσῃ;——Εχρην· αλλα η μοιρα πολλω της νεφελης δυνατωτερα. Tom. I. p. 252. Ed. Blaeu.—The ſame author, in his long liſt of fabulous ſtories, does not forget to inſert this. Και μετα ταυτα, την Αθαμαντος μανιαν, και των Νεφελης παιδων επι τω χριω την διαφοραν φυγην. Ibid. p. 803.

(49) Nigram Hiemi pecudem. ——
Virgil. Æn. 3. ℣. 120.

(50) When the altar of the Winds was found at Nettuno; another altar, inſcribed Ara Tranquillitatis, was found with it: they are both now in the Capitoline gallery.

(51) Tempeſtates, quæ populi Romani ritibus conſecratæ ſunt. Cicero. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. p. 70. Ed. Ald.

(52) ——Pontum pater & turbata reponit
Litora, depellitque Notos; quos cærulus Horror,
Et madido gravis Unda ſinu, longèque ſecutus
Imber, ad Æoliæ tendunt ſimul æquora portæ.
Valerius Flaccus, Arg. 1. ℣. 654.

(53) Lucretius, 5. ℣. 745, & 746.

(54) Id. Ibid. ℣. 740.

(55) Pinxit (Apelles)—Tonitrua, Fulgetra, Fulguraque: Bronten, Aſtrapen, Ceraunubolon appellant. Pliny, Lib. 35. Cap. 10. p. 438. Ed. Elz.

(56) Ut ferus eſt, multoque ſuis truculentior Euris,
Spectaſſet ſiccis vulnera noſtra genis.
Scilicet eſt aliquid cum duris vivere Ventis;
Ingenio populi convenit ille ſui:
Imperat heu ventis; tumidæ non imperat iræ.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 11. ℣. 15. (Canace, Mac.)

(57) ——Hic magno rex Æolus antro
Luctantes Ventos Tempeſtateſque ſonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinclis & carcere frænat:
Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum clauſtra fremunt. Celſâ ſedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollitque animos, & temperat iras.
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 57.

——Chalybs iterataque muris
Saxa domant Euros. Cum jam prohibere frumentum
Ora nequit rex, tunc aditus & clauſtra refringit
Ipſe volens; placatque datâ fera murmura portâ.
Nuntius hunc ſolio Boreas proturbat ab alto; &c.
Valerius Flaccus, Arg. 1. ℣. 597.

Juvenal, to ſtrengthen the force of his ſatire againſt Xerxes ſays, he was a greater tyrant even than Æolus; that he was not content to chain Corus and Eurus, but whipped them with rods; and that (whereas Æolus fettered only the Winds,) Xerxes fettered even the preſiding deity of the ſeas.

In Corum atque Eurum ſolitus ſævire flagellis
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere paſſos;
Ipſum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennoſigæum.
Juvenal, Sat. 10. ℣. 182.

The deities of the ſeveral Winds were ſuppoſed to be let out of this cave, for a ſtorm; and to be ſhut in again, after it.

——Tum valido contortam turbine portam
Impulit Hippotades. Fundunt ſe, &c.——
Flaccus, Arg. 1. ℣. 610.

——Ad Æoliæ tendunt ſimul æquora portæ.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 654.

So Virgil: Æn. 1. ℣. 81, & 140.

The character of Juno, as preſiding over the air, is well known; and as ſuch, the aerial nymphs we have been conſidering may very well be ſuppoſed to have been her proper ſubjects. When therefore Virgil makes her ſpeak (58) of the fourteen nymphs, that were choſen out as her particular attendants; theſe may moſt probably be ſuppoſed to have been ſo many of the Auræ, or nymphs of the air: and what makes it yet more likely is, that ſhe offers one of them, for a wife to Æolus, the god of the Winds. Juno, in her character of preſiding over the air, is repreſented as you ſee her here, in a light car, drawn by peacocks. For want of choice I was forced to admit of the figure you ſee; tho' it is copied from a Grecian medal; and is of a character that was as proper among the Greeks, as it would have been improper among the Romans: the latter, (as I have obſerved before,) dreſſing Juno uſually like one of their own matrons; and covering her from head to foot: whereas the former did not uſe near ſo much ſtrictneſs; and were accuſtomed to figures of her, almoſt quite naked. It is remarkable, that an (59) epithet which Homer gives perpetually to Juno, as preſiding over the air; and well agreeing with the Greek manner of repreſenting her; is never imitated by Virgil, or any other of the Latin poets, that I know of.

Pl. XXIX. Fig. 1.

Jupiter is almoſt as well known for being a chief ruler of the air, as he is for being the huſband of Juno. His particular province there was to direct the Rains, the Thunders, and the Lightnings. I have already ſpoke to you of the figures of Jupiter, as diſpenſing thunder and lightning: and have only reſerved his character of preſiding over the rain, as the moſt proper of all for this place.

I Do not remember ever to have met with any repreſentations of Jupiter the diſpenſer of rain, or (as he is commonly called) the Jupiter Pluvius, except on a medal, which I am going to ſhew you; and in thoſe remarkable hiſtory-pieces, on the Trajan, and Antonine pillars, at Rome. On this medal, you ſee him ſeated on the clouds: holding up his right hand; and pouring a ſtream of hail and rain from it, on the earth: whilſt his fulmen is held down, in his left. This figure is remarkable enough, as it is the only one, perhaps, of a Jupiter Pluvius on medals; tho' that on the Antonine pillar, has been much more talked of. The latter, you know, relates to Marcus Aurelius; and the great danger from which the Roman army was delivered under his conduct; in a battle againſt the Marcomani, and ſome other of the German nations. The Romans, (who were few in number, and had been long incloſed in ſome very dangerous ſtraits by a vaſt multitude of the Barbarians;) were almoſt ſpent with heat and thirſt, and on the point of being defeated by their enemies: when, on a ſudden, the heavens were overcaſt, and a great ſhower fell; which extremely refreſhed the Romans: at the ſame time that the lightnings, (which were very frequent, and ſeemed pointed at their enemies breaſts,) helped greatly to intimidate, and defeat them. This had ſo much the air of a miracle, that it has been challenged as ſuch by ſeveral of the chriſtian, as well as heathen writers. That diſpute is too large for us to enter into now, as well as beſide my preſent purpoſe; which is only to conſider the figures of the Jupiter Pluvius; and how far they may ſerve to explain any paſſage in the Roman poets. He appears on the Antonine pillar, as well as on my medal, with an elderly and ſedate countenance (60): and holds out his arms, almoſt in a ſtrait line, each way. The wings which are given him on the former, relate to his character of preſiding over the air: which indeed was the original (61), and principal character of Jupiter,

Pl. XXIX. Fig. 2.

(58) Sunt mihi bis ſeptem præſtanti corpore nymphæ:
Quarum, quæ formâ pulcherrima, Deïopeam
Connubio jungam ſtabili propriamque dicabo;
Omnes ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos
Exigat, & pulchrâ faciat te prole parentem.
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 75.

(59) Λευκωλενος Ηρη.

(60) See Bartoli's Columna Antonina, Pl. 15.

(61) Hoc vide circum ſupraque, quod complexu continet
Terram. Id quod noſtri cœlum memorant, Graii
perhibent æthera.
Quicquid eſt hoc, omnia is animat, format, auget,
alit, ferat:
Sepelit,

Jupiter (62), among the antients. His hair and beard are all ſpread down, by the rain; which deſcends in a ſheet from him, and falls down for the refreſhment of the Romans: whilſt their enemies are repreſented, as ſtruck down with the lightnings; and lying dead before their feet.

THIS Jupiter Pluvius may help one to explain a paſſage in Lucan; where that poet, in ſpeaking of the power of the witches in Theſſaly, ſays among other things:

———Nunc omnia complent
Imbribus; & calido producunt nubila Phœbo:
Et tonat ignaro cœlum Jove. Vocibus iſdem
Humentes latè nebulas nimboſque ſolutis
Excuſſere comis (63).

THE commentators on this paſſage ſeem to think no more is meant in the latter part of it, than when Horace (64), in ſpeaking of Canidia, ſays, ſhe has all her hair looſe about her head. But I think any one who would look on that figure firſt; and then conſider Lucan's expreſſion, (nimbos ſolutis excuſſere comis;) will eaſily ſee that the poet meant to deſcribe his witches, not only with their hair looſe, but as actually pouring the ſhowers down from it; as Jupiter does from his, in that repreſentation of him.

THAT Jupiter often aſſiſted, or directed, their armies by ſudden ſtorms of rain and thunder, was a notion received very early among the Romans. I remember there is an inſtance of this ſort recorded by Livy (65), toward the beginning of the republic; and there is another, in the ſecond Punic war; which was much more cried up among them, as it was exerted on ſo critical a time; againſt Hannibal the moſt formidable of all their enemies, when he had drawn up his army juſt before the gates of Rome. Some of their hiſtorians ſpeak of this (66) as ſupernatural; and Silius Italicus, (who himſelf is more of an hiſtorian than a poet,) attributes it expreſly to the Jupiter Capitolinus. You muſt know, that beſide the figure of Jupiter in his ſhrine within his chief temple on the Capitoline hill, there was another (67) figure of him on the outſide of it; on the top of the dome;

Sepelit, recipitque in ſeſe omnia; omniumque idem eſt pater.
Ennius, in Chryſe.

Mater eſt terra; ea parit corpus: animam æther adjugat.
Id. Ibid.

———Pereunt imbres, ubi eos Pater Æther
In gremium matris Terraï præcipitavit.
Lucretius, 1. ℣. 252.

Iſthic is eſt Jupiter quem dico, Græci vocant Aëra.———
Ennius, in Epicharmo.

———Aſpice hoc
Sublime candens, quem vocant omnes Jovem.
Id. in Thyeſte.

(62) This is wholly founded on the authority of a gem, which I remember to have ſeen in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. It relates to Jupiter's amour with Semele. That lady had the raſhneſs to wheedle him out of an abſolute promiſe, that he would appear to her in all his glory. This appearance is the ſubject of the gem I am ſpeaking of: and you ſee Jupiter in it, with wings on his ſhoulders; and lightnings all around him: both of which, relate to his character of preſiding over the air.

(63) Lucan. Pharſ. 6. ℣. 469.

(64) Canidiam pedibus nudis, paſſoque capillo.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 8. ℣. 24.

(65) Eodem anno, (284 V. C.) Valerius Coſ. cum exercitu in Æquos profectus, cum hoſtem ad prælium elicere non poſſet, caſtra oppugnare eſt adortus. Prohibuit fœda tempeſtas, cum grandine ac tonitribus cœlo dejecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, ſigno receptui dato, adeo tranquilla ſerenitas reddita, ut veluti numine aliquo defenſa caſtra oppugnare iterum religio fuit: omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Livy, Lib. 2. §. 62.

(66) Inſtructis utrimque exercitibus, in ejus pugnæ caſum, in quâ urbs Roma victori præmium eſſet; imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit, ut vix armis retentis in caſtra ſeſe receperint.—Poſtero die, eodem loco acies inſtructas eadem tempeſtas diremit: ubi recepiſſent ſeſe, mira ſerenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. Livy, Lib. 26. §. 11.

Quid ergo miramur moventi caſtra à tertio lapide Annibali, iterum ipſos deos, (deos inquam, nec fateri pudebit,) reſtitiſſe? Tanta enim ad ſingulos illius motus vis imbrium effuſa, tanta ventorum violentia coorta eſt, ut divinitùs hoſtem ſummoveri; neque cœlo, ſed ab urbis ipſius mœnibus & Capitolio ferri videretur. Florus, Lib. 2. §. 6.

(67) This was one of the earlieſt ſtatues introduced at Rome; and was, originally made of earth.——M. Varro tradit elaboratam hanc artem, (Plaſticen,) Italiæ, & maximè Hetruriæ; Turianumque à Fragellis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priſcus effigiem Jovis in

dome; ſtanding in his chariot, and probably holding the fulmen in his hand. Silius makes him diſcharge (68) this full at Hanibal, on this occaſion; as Lucius Florus ſeems to make the ſtorm of rain (69) come from the ſame quarter.

THERE was, I think, ſcarce any character of Jupiter among the Romans, that was more capable of giving ſublime ideas to their artiſts, than this of the Jupiter Pluvius. In my medal indeed, as well as on the Antonine pillar, he is all calm and ſtill; but on the Trajan pillar (70), he appears a good deal more agitated: and had we a greater variety of his figures remaining to us, I doubt not but that in ſome of them we ſhould ſee his face, and his whole form, under yet much ſtronger emotions, than we do there. For the Roman poets, (whoſe works the more one conſiders, the more one finds them to be counter-parts to thoſe of their painters and ſtatuaries,) do not only ſpeak of Jupiter as deſcending in violent ſhowers (71); but as all ruffled too with thoſe winds, which moſt uſually attend them. Silius Italicus riſes quite into poetry, where he is treating this ſubject: and one of the fineſt paſſages, even in the Æneid, relates to the ſame. It is where Evander is pointing out the Capitoline hill to Æneas. On which occaſion I do not know whether Virgil endeavours to confirm an old opinion, or to inſinuate a new one; "That Jupiter was the guardian deity of that place, even before Rome was built." They afterwards indeed ſuppoſed him to be preſent there (72) as fully, and in as much glory, as in the higheſt heavens; but I do not remember any paſſage but this in Virgil which ſuppoſes him to have choſe that hill for his peculiar reſidence, before his temple was built on it. The poet chuſes to deſcribe his appearance there, in all the majeſty of clouds and darkneſs.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam ſedem & Capitolia ducit:
Aurea nunc, olim ſylveſtribus horrida dumis.
Jam tum relligio pavidos terrebat agreſtes
Dira loci: jam tum ſylvam ſaxumque tremebant.
Hoc nemus, hunc (inquit) frondoſo vertice collem,
Quis deus incertum, habitat deus: Arcades ipſum
Credunt ſe vidiſſe Jovem; cum ſæpe nigrantem
Ægida concuteret dextrâ, nimboſque cieret (73).

MAY

in Capitolio dicandam: fictilem eum fuiſſe, & ideo miniari ſolitum; fictiles in faſtigio templi ejus quadrigas, de quibus ſæpe diximus. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 35. Cap. 12. It was afterwards caſt in ſome richer metal; as we learn from Livy. Ænea in Capitolio limina, & trium menſarum argentea vaſa in cellâ Jovis, Jovemque in culmine cum quadrigis, & ad Ficum Ruminalem ſimulacra infantium conditorum urbis ſub uberibus lupæ, poſuerunt. (Ædiles Curules, anno 457 V. C.) Livy, Lib. 10. §. 23.

(68) ——Ipſe à Tarpeio ſublimis vertice cuncta,
Et ventos ſimul & nubes & grandinis iras,
Fulminaque & tonitrus, & nimbos conciet atros.
—— Celſus ſummo de culmine montis
Regnator Superûm ſublatâ fulmina dextrâ
Libravit; clypeoque ducis non cedere certi
Incuſſit.——————
Silius Ital. 12. ℣. 625.

It is not improbable from what follows in Silius, that this figure of Jupiter held the Ægis in its left hand, as it did the Fulmen in its right.

——Sed enim, adſpice, quantum
Ægida commoveat nimbos flammaſque vomentem
Jupiter; & quantis paſcat ferus ignibus iras!
Huc vultus flecte; atque aude ſpectare Tonantem.
Quas hiemes, quantos concuſſo vertice cernis
Sub nutu tonitrus! Oculis qui fulguret ignis!
Cede Deis tandem; & Titania deſine bella.
(Juno to Hannibal,) Ibid. ℣. 725.

(69) See Note 66, anteh.

(70) See Bartoli's Col. Traj. Pl. 18.

(71) ——Jupiter uvidus Auſtris.
Virgil. G. 1. ℣. 418.
Nec ſævus ignis, nec tremendo
Jupiter ipſe ruens tumultu.
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 16. ℣. 12.
——Quàm multâ grandine nimbi
In vada præcipitant; cum Jupiter, horridus Auſtris,
Torquet aquoſam hiemem & cœlo cava nubila rumpit.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 671.

(72) Si adhuc dubium fuiſſet, forte caſuque rectores terris an aliquo numine darentur, principem tamen noſtrum liqueret divinitùs conſtitutum. Non enim occultâ poteſtate fatorum, ſed ab Jove ipſo coram ac palam repertus, electus eſt: quippe inter aras & altaria; eodemque loci, quem deus ille tam manifeſtus ac præſens, quàm cœlum ac ſidera, inſedit. Pliny's Paneg. on Trajan, ſub init.

(73) Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 354.

MAY I take the liberty of adding here, that the ſame ſort of idea is uſed more ſtrongly, by a poet of our own nation?

——————How oft amidſt
Thick clouds and dark, doth heav'n's all-ruling Sire
Chuſe to reſide; his glory unobſcur'd?
And with the majeſty of darkneſs round
Covers his throne (74).——

AND that it is expreſſed in the greateſt dignity of all, in the Holy Scripture. There are numerous inſtances of this kind, but I ſhall mention only two of them: Moſes's account of the preſence of God on Mount Horeb; where he ſays "that the mountain "burnt with fire, unto the midſt of heaven; with darkneſs, clouds, and thick dark-"neſs (75):" And that moſt ſublime deſcription of the Pſalmiſt; "The earth trembled "and quaked; the very foundations of the hills ſhook, and were removed.—There went "a ſmoke out of his preſence; and a conſuming fire out of his mouth.——He bowed "the heavens alſo, and came down: and it was dark under his feet. He rode upon "the Cherubims and did fly: he came flying upon the wings of the wind. He made "darkneſs his ſecret place; his pavilion round about him: with dark water, and thick "clouds, to cover him (76)."

THE thoughts in the latter part of this paſſage are ſo exceſſively great, that they were capable of inſpiring even Sternhold with poetry enough to write the following lines; which are probably the nobleſt that were written by any Engliſh poet of thoſe times.

The Lord deſcended from above; and bent the heav'ns ſo high;
And underneath his feet he caſt the darkneſs of the ſky:
On Cherubs and on Cherubims full royally he rode;
And on the wings of mighty winds came flying all abroad.

ANY one who conſiders the ſublimity of theſe lines, together with the meanneſs of moſt of the others which came from the ſame hand, will be ſtill more convinced of the greatneſs and energy of the thoughts expreſſed in them. Indeed the idea of darkneſs in itſelf is exceedingly fit for majeſty: perhaps even more ſo, than the glare of light, which moſt people are ſo apt to make their heaven of. There is ſcarce any thing of a more ſolemn and venerable turn, than the profound ſtillneſs of midnight: and this, probably, was yet more ſtriking to the heathens of old; for they, (beſide what they felt from nature as well as we,) uſed to look upon darkneſs as one of the (77) moſt antient, and moſt reſpectable, of all their deities.

AS Polymetis ſtopped here, and ſeemed to have finiſhed what he had to ſay on this ſubject; Philander thought it a proper occaſion to aſk after a goddeſs, whom he had been expecting for ſome time. You ſeem, Polymetis, (ſays he,) to have forgot one of the moſt beautiful and ſtriking of all the beings that were ſuppoſed to belong to the region of the air; Iris, or the genius of the Rainbow: who ſurely, if ſhe be not handſomer, ought at leaſt to be finer dreſſed than any of thoſe you have mentioned. I beg her pardon for forgetting her in my account, ſays Polymetis; but I have not forgot her in my collection. There ſhe is, by that window juſt behind you. The antients make her the daughter, (tho' I think they ſhould rather have made her the mother,) of Admiration.

(74) Milton, Paradiſe Loſt, 2. ℣. 268.

(75) Deut. iv. 11.

(76) Pſ. xviii. 7—11.

(77) Several of the heathen nations held Nox and Chaos to be the eldeſt of all their deities.

Aque Chao denſos Divûm numerabat amores.
Virgil. G. 4. ℣. 347.

Nocte, Deæ Nocti criſtatus cæditur ales.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 455.

Noxque, tenebrarum ſpecie reverenda tuarum!
Id. Ibis. ℣. 73.

ration (78). This figure of her was copied from one of the pictures in the Vatican Virgil: in which ſhe is repreſented flying downwards, in the attitude you ſee her here, to deliver a meſſage from Juno to Turnus. She has, you ſee, a very noble reſplendency, or glory, round her head; is ſurrounded with clouds; and has her feet on a level with ſome of that riſing ground: all which particulars may ſome way or other be ſignificant of her character: as the veil, which ſhe holds with each hand, and which circles over her head, may ſignify both the arch ſhe preſides over; and her being an inhabitant of the region of the air. The Roman poets ſpeak of her, both as handſome (79), and as very finely dreſſed. They make her the meſſenger of Juno in as diſtinguiſhed a manner, as Triton was of Neptune; or Mercury, of Jupiter. She has (80) wings to ſhew her diſpatch in that high office. Statius ſeems to give her a robe of various colours; collected about her with a Zone which has all thoſe beautiful ſtreams of different colours upon it, that we admire ſo much in the rainbow. She ſeems to have been ſometimes repreſented, by the antient painters, as enlightned by the lucid bow that is arched over her head; or perhaps as diffuſing a brightneſs from her own perſon. I take up with this notion of the old pictures of this goddeſs, chiefly at ſecond hand: I mean, from what the poets ſay of her; and, particularly, from the large deſcription of her (81) in Statius.

Pl. XXIX. Fig. 3.

The figure which anſwers this, a little farther on her right hand, with its wing ſpread out; is the goddeſs of Fame. You ſee, all the upper part of her wing is quite ſtudded, as it were, with eyes; as Virgil ſays, that ſhe had an eye almoſt under every feather. The only figure I have ever ſeen of her is the little one in braſs, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence; from which this was copied. The poets are much more frequent, in their accounts of her perſonage. They deſcribe her as winged (82), and as hurrying along with a very buſy motion. Virgil makes her (83) a growing figure: a thing, which was out of the power of the ſtatuaries or painters to expreſs; and which it is difficult enough even to conceive. By the way, I remember but one inſtance beſide this, of any growing figure; in all the Roman poets. That is in Virgil too: and is perhaps the greateſt inſtance of imagination, that we have in all his works. It is where he ſays, that as Alecto regarded Turnus, "her face (84) grew larger, and larger, upon him:" not unlike thoſe frightful faces that one ſometimes ſees juſt as one is ſinking into ſleep, or in ſome troubled dream. But to return to Virgil's deſcription of Fame: he gives her, not only a great number of eyes; but of ears (85), tongues and mouths, too: ſo

Pl. XXIX. Fig. 4.

(78) The poets call her Thaumantis, Thaumantia virgo, and Thaumantias: and Cicero gives us the reaſon for it.——Quia ſpeciem habeat admirabilem, Thaumante dicitur eſſe nata. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. p. 70. Ed. Ald.

(79) Sic roſeo Thaumantias ore locuta eſt.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 5.
Nuntia Junonis, varios induta colores.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 270.

(80) ——In cœlum paribus ſe ſuſtulit alis;
Ingentemque fugâ ſecuit ſub nubibus arcum.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 15.

(81) Orbibus accingi ſolitis jubet Irin; & omne
Mandat opus. Paret juſſis dea clara; polumque
Linquit, & in terras longo ſuſpenditur arcu.
Statius, Theb. 10. ℣. 83.
Huc ſe cæruleo libravit ab æthere virgo
Diſcolor: effulgent ſylvæ, tenebroſaque Tempe
Adriſere deæ; & Zonis lucentibus icta
Evigilat domus: ipſe* autem nec lampade clarâ
Nec ſonitu, nec voce deæ perculſus, eodem
More jacet.—— * Somnus.
Ibid. ℣. 123.

(82) ——Pedibus celerem, & pernicibus alis.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 180.
——Pavidam volitans pennata per urbem
Nuntia fama ruit———
Id. Ib. 9. ℣. 474.
——— Dea turbida Thebas
Inſilit, & totis perfundit mœnia pennis.
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 209.

(83) Mobilitate viget; vireſque acquirit eundo:
Parva metu primo, mox ſeſe attollit in auras;
Ingrediturque ſolo, & caput inter nubila condit.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 177.

(84) Tantaque ſe facies aperit! ——
Æn. 7. ℣. 448.

(85) ——Cui quot ſunt corpore plumæ,
Tot vigiles oculi ſubter; (mirabile dictu!)
Tot linguæ, totidem ora ſonant, tot ſubrigit aures.
Æn. 4. ℣. 183.

I am apt to imagine that ſome of the lower painters of old uſed to repreſent Fame, (as ſome of the moderns have done of late,) with eyes, and ears, all over her body; even to her fingers ends: for which, in particular, Lucian ſeems to ridicule them in the following

ſo that he may very well call her, a (86) horrid goddeſs; and even a monſter, as he does in the ſame place. Statius dreſſes her up in a robe (87), wrought all over with murthers, battles, and ſieges. Ovid is yet more particular in his account of this goddeſs, than either of them. He deſcribes her court, and all (88) her attendants in it. He ſays, her palace is in the midſt of the world (89), between the earth, ſeas, and heavens; whence ſhe ſees and hears whatever is tranſacted in all of them. Virgil makes her (90) fly about, by night; and ſit on the top of this her palace, or on ſome other eminence, by day. It is from both their accounts that I thought I had a right to place her figure here, among the imaginary inhabitants of the air. I had ſome thoughts of introducing the Sirens here too; and ſome other beings, which ſeem rather to belong to this element than either of the other: but as I am not yet quite reſolved, I have no more here to trouble you with at preſent. I am very glad to hear it, ſays Myſagetes, (getting a little haſtily toward the door;) when firſt you pointed out your figure of Fame, I expected we ſhould ſoon have had Pegaſus; and the Lord knows how many Sphinxes: and all the Stymphalides. In a word, every monſter that ever the poets ſuppoſed to have had a pair of wings. When you were in the temper of introducing Fame here, how came the reſt to eſcape you? What a ſtrange collection of creatures, have we been in danger of being in company with? I queſtion whether you have not ſeveral of them in your drawers already.——What are you waiting for there, Philander? Come along with me! ——Let us get out of this dangerous place, as faſt as we can, I beſeech you.

lowing paſſage. Πολυωτου σεαυτου αναπεφηνας, τοσαυτα ακηκοως· ως, και κατα το τερατωδες, και δια των ουυχων ηκηκοεις. Tom. II. p. 765. Ed. Blaeu. Lucian here calls Fame, το τερατωδες, as Virgil calls her monſtrum.

(86) ——Dea fœda——— Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 195.

Monſtrum horrendum——— Id. Ibid. ℣. 181.

(87) Fræna miniſtrat equis Pavor armiger: & vigil omni
Fama ſono, varios rerum ſuccincta tumultus,
Ante volat currum; flatuque impulſa gementum
Alipedum, trepidas denſo cum murmure plumas
Excutit: urget enim ſtimulis auriga cruentis
Facta, infecta loqui; curruque infeſtus ab alto
Terga comaſque Deæ Scythicâ Pater increpat haſtâ.
Statius, Theb. 3. ℣. 431.

She is here repreſented as running, and urged on, before the chariot of Mars. The charioteer is Bellona: Theb. 7. ℣. 73. Mars, (as all the great warriors of old,) has one to drive, that he himſelf may be at full liberty to fight.

(88) Atria turba tenent; veniunt leve vulgus euntque;
Mixtaque cum Veris paſſim Commenta vagantur:
Millia Rumorum, confuſaque Verba volutant.
Ovid. Met. 12. ℣. 55.

Illic Credulitas; illic temerarius Error;
Vanaque Lætitia eſt; conſternatique Timores;
Seditioque repens; dubioque auctore Suſurri.
Ibid. ℣. 61.

(89) Orbe locus medio eſt, inter terraſque fretumque
Cœleſteſque plagas; triplicis confinia mundi;
Unde quod eſt uſquam quamvis regionibus abſit
Inſpicitur, penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures:
Fama tenet; ſummâque domum ſibi legit in arce.
Ibid. ℣. 43.

(90) Nocte volat cœli medio terræque per umbram,
Stridens; nec dulci declinat lumina ſomno:
Luce ſedet cuſtos, aut ſummi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis. ——
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 187.

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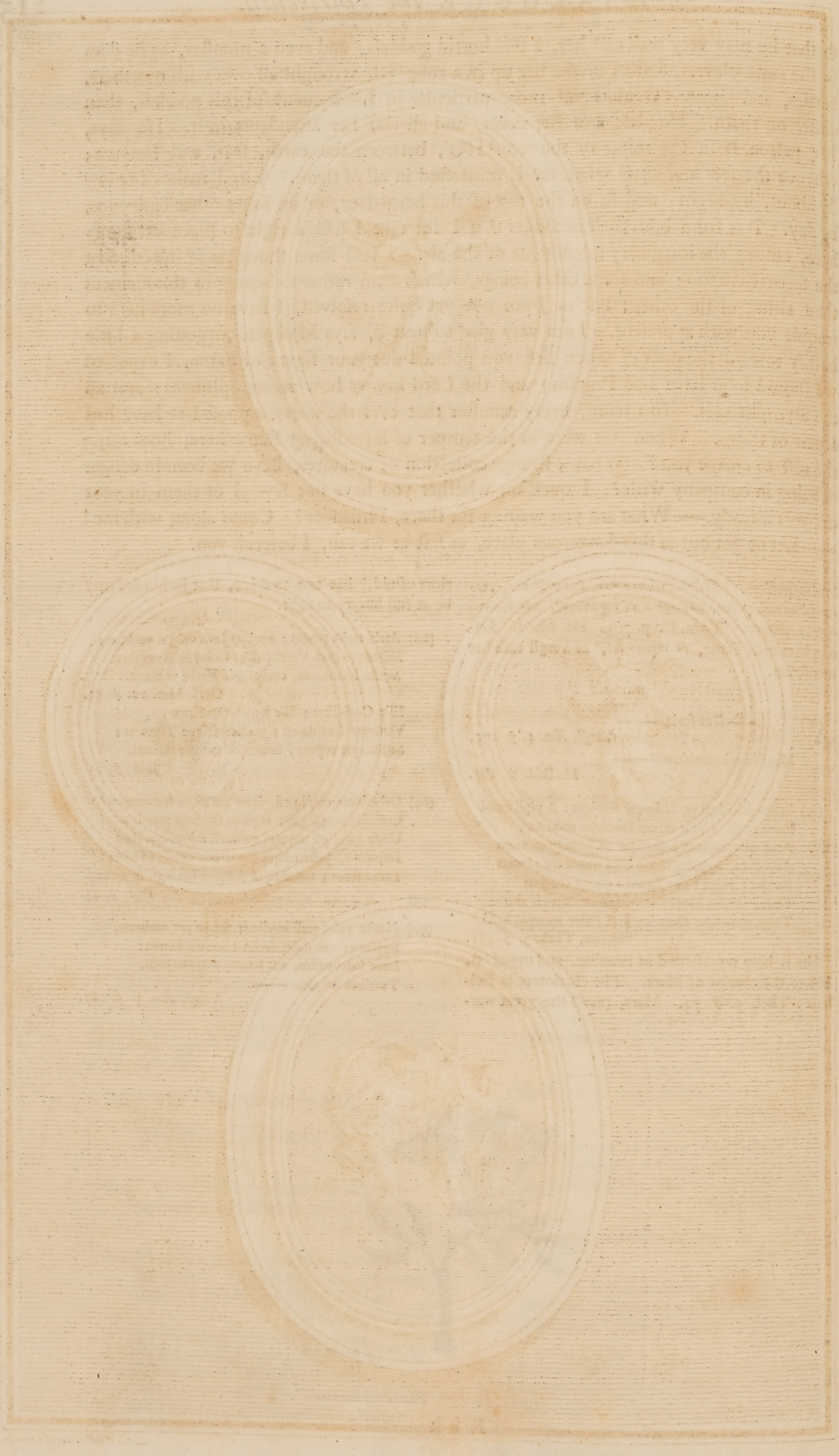

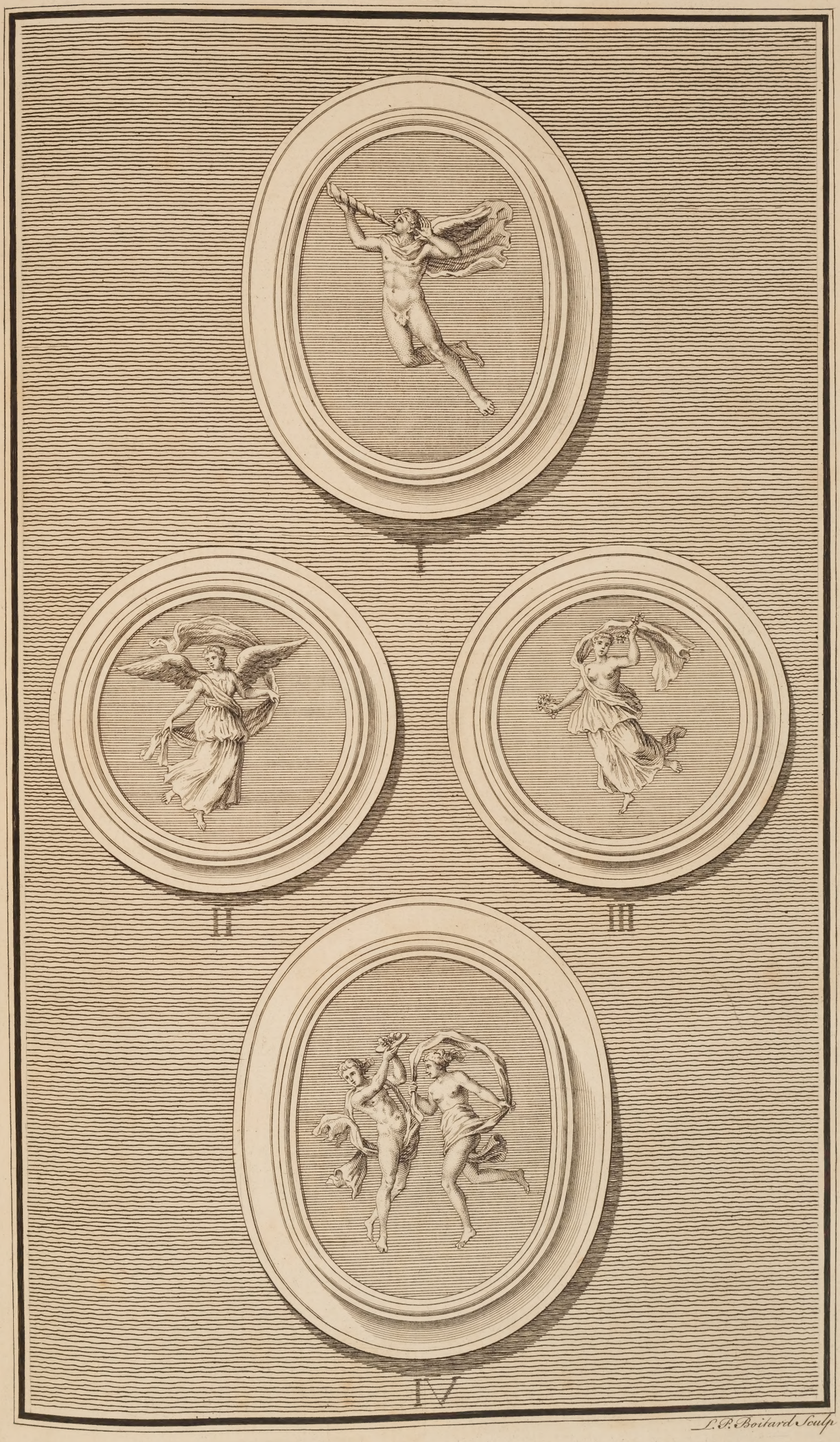

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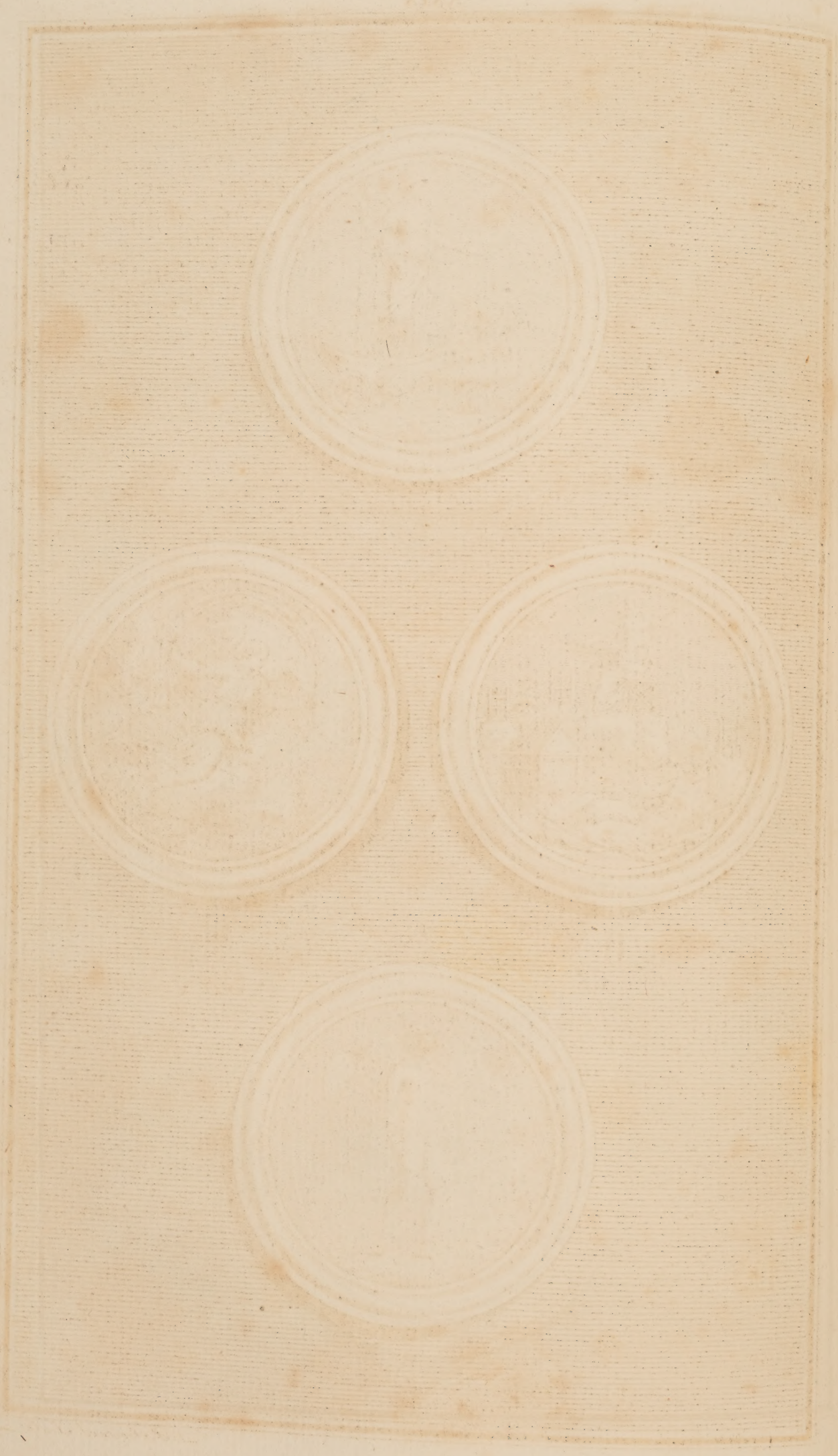

I

II

III

IV

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BOOK the Seventh.

DIAL. XIV.

Of the Deities of the WATERS.

DIRECTLY under the temple of the Winds, and juſt at the foot of the hill, ſtood another building; which, at firſt ſight, looked more like a great grotto than a temple. The pillars about it and the architrave were indeed of the Tuſcan order; but it was deſigned ſo as to appear yet more rude and more like rock-work, than buildings even of that order generally are. In this Polymetis had placed ſome of the deities who preſided over the Sea: and in the inſide it was ſtuck about with rough ſhells, and coral, and petrified herbs of ſeveral ſorts. The plain which ſlopes down gently from thence to the river he had planted all with little groves, and cluſters of willows and alders; which were ſo irregular, that they ſeemed much more to have grown there by chance, than to have been even helped by art: and in the openings, he had left here and there, in ſeveral parts of this unartificial piece of grove-work, were ſeveral fountains; all with the natural turf, and the wild flowers of the place, for their margins. If his fountains did not at all reſemble thoſe of Freſcati, or Verſailles; they were, at leaſt, a great deal more like thoſe in uſe in the better ages of antiquity. At one, you had the figure of a ſingle river-god, leaning on his urn: from which the water guſhed out, (as from a ſpring juſt dug up;) and then wandered down a little bed of ſcattered flint, into its natural baſon: and at another, a water-nymph aſleep; with her hand dropt negligently by her ſide; her jar as ſliding a little from it; and the water running out, as if it was juſt then fallen.

THIS, all together, made a very agreeable retreat, in the few days that we have too hot among us: and therefore Polymetis carried his friends thither, the next day after dinner; when they had been juſt wiſhing for ſome place, where they might have ſhade and coolneſs. He led them firſt into his Tuſcan grotto; and when they had ſeated themſelves there, on ſome ſeats that ſeemed to be cut out of the rock that made the arch over their heads; he began ſpeaking to them, in the following manner.

THE different ranks and orders ſettled among the antients for the Deities of the Sea, have not yet been put into ſo clear a light as I think they might eaſily have been. I ſhould imagine, at leaſt, that they may all be well enough diſpoſed into ſix claſſes. Of the higheſt claſs, are Oceanus (1) and Tethys, as governours in chief over the whole world of Waters. Neptune and Amphitrite, as governours of the Mediterranean ſea; the Venus Marina; and poſſibly one or two more, of characters that might deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed above all the reſt.——In the next claſs, we may reckon Triton and Proteus; and all ſuch as were exalted by their high employs, or great perſonal qualifications.——Of the third, ſhould be the immediate progeny of Oceanus and Tethys; ſuch as Nereus; Doris; and all the Oceanitides.——The fourth, may conſiſt of the Neptunines; or deſcendants of Neptune.——The fifth, of the Nereids; or deſcendants of Nereus

(1) Virgil calls Oceanus, Pater rerum, "Lord of all the watry world;" G. 4. ℣. 382. whereas Juvenal calls Neptune only, Pater Ægei, or "Lord of the inland-ſeas." Sat. 13. ℣. 81. He mentions the Ægean ſea, rather than any other of the Mediterranean ſeas; becauſe the great Reſidence of Neptune was ſuppoſed to be in a cave, under the promontory of Tænaros, in that ſea; according to Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 47.

Nereus and Doris;——and the ſixth, of all the adventitious or made gods of the Sea; ſuch as Ino, Palæmon, and the like.

As this temple, or grotto, (call it which you pleaſe,) is of ſo rude a ſtyle; built as you ſee chiefly of pumice-ſtone, and deſigned ſo as to be almoſt incapable of ornaments: I have been very ſparing of admitting any ſtatues into it. There are none but thoſe that belong to that fountain, in the midſt of it. To ſupply the want of others, I have brought two or three medals with me, which relate to the deities of the Waters; and which I ſhall produce, when I may have occaſion for them.

It would not have been difficult for me, to have got a figure of Oceanus; if I had been deſirous of introducing one here. At leaſt, I am apt to imagine that he is repreſented in ſeveral antiques: as whenever you ſee Tellus, and a Water-deity, oppoſed to one another, on Sarcophagus's; and on moſt relievo's, where the four elements are expreſſed by perſons: particularly, in ſuch as repreſent the creation or new formation of any perſon; as in that fine one of Neriene (2), which I ſhewed you in my temple of the Great Celeſtial Deities: in which I take the uppermoſt and moſt erect of the two Water-deities, to be Oceanus. I cannot ſay, that I have ever met with any figure of his wife, Tethys. The poets ſpeak of them both (3), under their perſonal characters; but ſay very little that is deſcriptive, of either.

I Have already (4) mentioned to you that noble idea of Neptune, in Virgil; where he ſpeaks of the countenance of this god, as calm and ſerene; even at the time that he is provoked, and might be expected to have appeared diſturbed, and in a paſſion. There is ſerenity and majeſty (5) in the air of his face; on the medal I have in my hand. You ſee he treads on the beak of a ſhip; to ſhew, that he preſided over the ſeas; or more particularly, over the Mediterranean ſea: which was the great, and almoſt the only ſcene for navigation, among the old Greeks and Romans. He is ſtanding (6), as he generally was repreſented; he moſt commonly too has his trident, in his right hand: this was his peculiar ſcepter (7); and, ſeems to have been uſed by him, chiefly to rouſe up the waters: for we find ſometimes that he lays it aſide, when he is to (8) appeaſe them; but he reſumes it, where there is any occaſion for violence. Virgil makes him ſhake Troy from its

Pl. XXX. Fig. 1.

(2) See Plate 9. anteh.

(3) Genitor nympharum Oceanus.
Catullus, ad Gellium, 85. ℣. 6.

An Deus immenſi venias maris, ac tua nautæ
Numina ſola colant: tibi ſerviat ultima Thule;
Teque ſibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 31.

Sæpe aliquis ſolio quod tu, Saturne, tenebas
Auſus de mediâ plebe ſedere Deus:
Et latus Oceano quiſquam Deus advena junxit;
Tethys & extremo ſæpe recepta loco eſt.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 22.

Intumuit Juno, poſtquam inter ſidera pellex
Fulſit: & ad canam deſcendit in æquora Tethyn,
Oceanumque ſenem; quorum reverentia movit
Sæpe Deos: cauſamque viæ ſcitantibus, infit.
"Quæritis ætheriis quare regina Deorum
Sedibus huc adſim?" &c.——
Id. Met. 2. ℣. 513.

(4) See Dial. 7. p. 65.

(5) Cum (Euphranor) Athenis duodecim Deos pingeret, Neptuni imaginem quàm poterat excellentiſſimis majeſtatis coloribus complexus eſt; perinde ac Jovis aliquanto auguſtiorem repræſentaturus: ſed omni impetu cogitationis in ſuperiori opere abſumpto, poſteriores ejus conatus aſſurgere quo tendebant nequiverunt. Valerius Max. Memorab. Lib. 8. Cap. 11.

It was on this account that the artiſts gave Neptune the ſame ſort of dark hair, as Jupiter. Αναπλατ]ωσι γενειη]ην μεν του Δια· παιδα δε ες αει του Απολλωνα· και τον Ερμην υπηνη]ην· και Ποσιδωνα κυανοχαιτην· και γλαυκωπιν την Αθηναν. Lucian, Tom. I. p. 367. Ed. Blaeu.

(6) Stare Deum pelagi, longoque ferire tridente
Aſpera ſaxa facit——
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 77.

(Of a deſign, wrought in tapeſtry; by Minerva.)
——Ubicunque rotis horrendus equiſque
Stas pater.——
Val Flaccus, Arg. 1. ℣. 680.

(7) ——Deus æquoreas qui cuſpide temperat undas.
Ovid. Met. 12. ℣. 580.

This is called, triplex cuſpis, ibid. ℣. 594. and Neptune himſelf, Tridentifer, ib. 8. ℣. 595.

Per ſolis radios, Tarpeiaque fulmina jurat;
Et Martis frameam, & Cirrhæi ſpicula vatis;
Per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellæ;
Perque tuam, Pater Ægei Neptune, tridentem.
Juvenal. Sat. 13. ℣. 81.

(8) ——Poſitoque tricuſpide telo,
Mulcet aquas rector pelagi——
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 331.

its foundations (9) with it; and, in Ovid, it is with the ſtroke of this (10), that the waters of the earth are let looſe for the general deluge.

THE poets have generally delighted, in deſcribing this god as paſſing over the calm ſurface of the waters, in his chariot drawn by ſea-horſes. The fine original deſcription of this is in Homer; from whom Virgil (11) and Statius have copied it. The make of the ſea-horſe, as deſcribed by the latter, is frequent on gems and relievo's: in which there is ſometimes a Triton too repreſented (12) on each ſide, as guiding thoſe that draw the chariot of Neptune.

IT would have been difficult enough to have got any undoubted figure of Amphitrite; tho' I think ſhe is ſometimes repreſented (13) with Neptune in his chariot. The poets have ſcarce any perſonal deſcriptions of this goddeſs. All that I can recollect of that kind, is a paſſage in Ovid; in which it is doubtful enough too, whether that poet ſpeaks perſonally, of her; or literally, of the element over which ſhe preſides. If there were antiently any figures of Amphitrite embracing (14) a globe, it might relate to them: tho' to ſay the truth, if there actually was any repreſentation of this kind, it would be much properer for a Tethys, than an Amphitrite.

THE Sea-Venus, as ſhe was called by the Romans, or the Venus Anaduomenè as ſhe was called by the Greeks, ought I think to be placed in the higheſt claſs of the deities of the Sea; in reſpect to her more exalted character, when conſidered among the Great Celeſtial Deities. The moſt celebrated picture in all antiquity, was that of this goddeſs by Apelles. Some ſay that in drawing it he uſed Campaſpe (15) for his model; that favourite miſtreſs of his, who was given him ſo generouſly by Alexander the Great. This picture came afterwards into the hands of the Romans; and was (16) probably, for ſome time, in that noble collection in the palace of Auguſtus: tho' it was afterwards placed by that emperor, in the temple which he dedicated to his predeceſſor Julius. It was quite faded, and run to decay, in Pliny's time. But tho' the original has been ſo long loſt, we may ſtill ſee ſeveral ſtrokes that were copied from it, in the writings of the Roman Authors who enjoyed the ſight of it; and who have marked out ſome of its beauties for us, even in their proſe, as well as their verſe writings. You ſee her in them as juſt born from the ſea; compleat, at once, in her form; with all her beauties freſh about her; and with her body as ſtill wet and humid, from the waves that produced her in

9) ——Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit; totamque e ſedibus urbem
Eruit.——
Virgil. Æn. 2. ℣. 612.

(10) Ipſe tridente ſuo terram percuſſit; at illa
Intremuit, motuque ſinus patefecit aquarum.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 284.

(11) Cymothoë ſimul & Triton adnixus acuto
Detrudunt naves ſcopulo: levat ipſe tridenti;
Et vaſtas aperit ſyrtes & temperat æquor:
Atque rotis ſummas levibus perlabitur undas.——
Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor; æquora poſtquam
Proſpiciens genitor, cœloque invectus aperto,
Flectit equos curruque volans dat lora ſecundo.
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 155.

——Hiemes ventique ſilent: cantuque quieto
Armigeri Tritones eunt; ſcopuloſaque Cete
Tyrrhenique greges circumque infraque rotantur,
Rege ſalutato. Placidis ipſe arduus undis
Eminet, & triplici telo jubet ire jugales:
Illi ſpumiferos glomerant à pectore fluctus;
Pone natant, delentque pedum veſtigia caudâ.
Statius, Achil. 1. ℣. 60.

(12) In portum deducit equos: prior haurit arenas
Ungula; poſtremi ſolvuntur in æquora piſces.
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 47.

——Venit æquoris alti
Rex ſublimis equis; geminuſque ad ſpumea Triton
Fræna natans late pelago dat ſigna cadenti.
Id. Ib. 5. ℣. 708.

——Ubicunque rotis horrendus equiſque
Stas pater, atque ingens utrinque fluentia Triton
Fræna tenet; tantus noſtras condêre per urbes.
Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. ℣. 680.

(13) See Muſ. Flor. Vol II. Pl. 48. 4.

(14) ——Nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 14.

(15) See Pliny, Lib. 35. c. 10. p. 436. Ed. Elz.

(16) It belonged to Auguſtus; and one may reaſonably ſuppoſe that, (before it was dedicated,) he kept the beſt picture in the world, in his favourite collection. Ovid in ſpeaking of ſome of the fineſt pieces in that collection, mentions one exactly with the character of this. Triſt. Lib. 2. ℣. 521, &c.

in all this perfection. Some of these passages are so strong, that I am thoroughly persuaded they might have gone a great way towards (17) helping some painter of an extraordinary genius, (such, for instance, as Raphael or Corregio,) to have restored this lost beauty of Apelles's to the world: and perhaps Titian had considered some of them pretty thoroughly; before he drew that beautiful Venus of his, with her wet hair and humid body, which is at present in the Duke of Orleans's collection at Paris.

THERE is scarce any character under which we see Venus more frequently, than this of the Venus Marina: probably all the figures which represent her as just coming from bathing herself, ought to be ranked under this head: and there are many others which indisputably belong to it. The most famous Venus of Medici, in particular, is not only formed as just come out of the water; but has a dolphin too at her feet, to determine what particular Venus she is: and there is another very fine figure of her, on a relievo at the Palazzo Mattei in Rome; where she sits in a shell, and is held up (18) by two Tritons. This is what is followed pretty exactly, (tho' the figures are so much enlarged,) in my fountain here. Statius (19) seems to allude to some such representation of Venus, as this, in a couple of lines, which are not well to be understood without it. You see how beautiful she is even here; how gracefully she sits: and how she holds up her long hair in each of her hands: from which the water distills into her shell, and thence falls into that larger bason of water below.——This idea was in all respects so proper for a fountain-statue; that I make no doubt they had some fountains of old, not unlike that which you see before you. It would lead me into too long a digression, if I should endeavour here to prove to you, at large, how much the antients excelled the moderns, in the justness and simplicity of their ideas for fountain-statues; I shall therefore wave that subject; and shall only observe to you at present, that my Venus holds up her hair much in the same manner as the famous Venus Anaduomene, is said to have done: only that

PL. XXX. FIG. 2.

(17) It appears from these passages in the Roman authors relating to the Venus Anaduomenè; 1. That she should be without any drapery:

Nuda Cytheriacis edita fertur aquis.
Ovid. Her. Ep. 7. ℣. 60. (Dido, Æn.)

Litore siccabat rorantes nuda capillos.
Id. Fast. 4. ℣. 143.

2. Her hair, (which should be the finest that can be imagined,) should be very wet; and all her body, humid and shining.

——Venus artificis labor est & gloria Coi,
Æquoreo madidas quæ premit imbre comas.
Ovid. ex Ponto, Lib. 4. Ep. 1. ℣. 30.

Formosæ periere comæ, quas vellet Apollo,
Quas vellet capiti Bacchus inesse suo;
Illis contulerim, quas quondam nuda Dione
Pingitur humenti sustinuisse manu.
Id. Amor. Lib. 1. El. 14. ℣. 34.

——Madidos siccat digitis Venus uda capillos,
Et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis.
Id. Trist. Lib. 2. ℣. 528.

3. The colouring might have been learnt from Tibullus's description of Apollo; (p. 84. anteh.) had not Cicero given us so strong an idea of it, in this very picture itself. It is in his Treatise de Naturâ Deorum; (where his Academic Philosopher, in disputing against the Epicurean, says,) Illud video pugnare te, species ut quædam sit deorum, quæ nihil concreti habeat, nihil solidi, nihil expressi, nihil eminentis; sitque pura, levis, perlucida. Dicemus ergo idem, quod in Venere Coâ: corpus non est, sed simile corpori; nec ille fusus & candore mixtus rubor, sanguis est, sed quædam sanguinis similitudo; sic in Epicureo Deo non res, sed similitudines rerum esse. Lib. 1. p. 16. Ed. Ald.

In the collection of the Greek (Epigrams or) Inscriptions, there are several relating to this Venus of Apelles; and particularly two which speak very strongly, of her holding up her hair; and of the water, falling from it.

On Apelles's Venus.

Αυλαν εκ πολλοιο τιθηνητηρος Απελλης
Την Κυπριν γυμναν εισε λοχευομενην·
Και τοιαν ετυπωσε διαβροχον υδατος αφρω,
Θλιβουσαν θαλεραις χερσιν ειλ πλοκαμον.

On the same.

Αρτι θαλασσαιης Παφιη προϋκυψε λοχειης,
Μαιαν Απελλαιην ευραμενη παλαμην·
Αλλα ταχυς γραφιδων αποχαζεο, μη σε διηνη
Αφρος αποσαζων θλιβομενων πλοκαμων.

The author (I think) had better have left off here; but he adds;

Ει τοιη ποτε Κυπρις εγυμνωθη δια μηλου,
Την Τροιην αδικως Παλλας ελητσατο.

(18) Lucian, in a very beautiful description of Europa's passage from Phœnicia to the island of Crete, (which he seems to have taken from some antient painting,) introduces Venus, much in the same manner as she is represented at the Palazzo Mattei. Επι πασι δε την Αφροδιτην δυο Τριτωνες εφερον, επι κογχης κατακειμενην· ανθη παντοια επιπαπτωσαν τη νυμφη. Tom. I. p. 260. Ed. Blaeu.

(19) Hæc & cæruleis mecum consurgere digna
Fluctibus, & nostrâ potuit considere conchâ.
(Spoke by Venus, of Violantilla.)
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 118.

that the latter preſſes her hair with her fingers; and, if ever ſhe adorned a fountain too, ought to have the water flowing more copiouſly from it.

THIS goddeſs ſeems to retain her dignity as one of the Great Celeſtial Deities, even when ſhe is repreſented as a deity of the Waters. You ſee here ſhe has two Sea-deities of the higheſt claſs but one, to attend her. Their office, ſhews their inferiority to her; as their looks, ſhew reſpect and admiration. There were ſeveral Tritons; but one chief over all: the diſtinguiſhed meſſenger of Neptune (20); as Mercury was of Jupiter, and Iris of Juno. Triton is repreſented by the artiſts, as he is deſcribed by the poets; his upper parts are human, and his lower like a fiſh. I queſtion whether they did not ſometimes give him (21) ſcales, even on the human part of his body. Where this was done with judgment, there was room (22) to ſhew as much art as in the figures of the Centaurs; ſome of the moſt celebrated of which were chiefly admired, for its having been extremely difficult to diſtinguiſh where the brutal nature ended, or where the human began: and the dark colour of his ſkin, might perhaps aſſiſt a painter in making this union of two ſuch different natures yet more imperceptible in a Triton, than it could poſſibly have been in a Centaur.

ONE often ſees Triton holding his trumpet in his hand, with which he was ſuppoſed to convene all the deities of the waters about their monarch, whenever he had occaſion of their aſſiſtance, or counſel. It is (23) wreathed; like thoſe ſhells which the country-men uſe ſometimes to this day in Italy, to direct their herds of cattle by the ſound of them. It was ſometimes a real ſhell; and ſometimes an inſtrument of ſilver, (or ſome other metal,) formed like one. When part of the Lacus Fucinus was to be let out, in the time of the emperor Claudius, they had a Naumachia repreſented firſt on that lake, to add to the magnificence of ſo great an undertaking. Juſt as the two adverſe fleets were drawn up in order of battle, a ſilver figure of Triton, (prepared privately for that purpoſe,) roſe on a ſudden to the ſurface of the water, between the two fleets; and gave a loud (24) blaſt with his trumpet, as the ſignal for their engagement. This god muſt have made a very conſiderable figure, on that occaſion: but what was this, to the employment aſſigned him by Ovid (25)? who makes him give the ſignal to all the rivers to retire into their own channels, and to leave the earth once more to be inhabited by men, after the general deſtruction of almoſt their whole race by the deluge.

I HAVE never yet met with any figure of Proteus; who, as well as Triton, was advanced to a high charge by the great preſiding deity of the inland ſeas. Proteus indeed had a character more manageable for the poets, than for the ſculptors or painters. The former might very well deſcribe all the variety of ſhapes that he could put on, and point out the tranſition from one to the other; but the artiſts muſt have been content to ſhew him either in his own natural form, or in ſome one alone of all his various ſhapes. Among all the poets, no one has given ſo full a deſcription of this changeable deity as Virgil: in whom we have the character of his proper (26) perſonage; and a deſcription of his

(20) ——Summi Jovis aliger Arcas
Nuntius; imbriferâ potitur Thaumantide Juno;
Stat celer obſequio juſſa ad Neptunia Triton.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 3. ℣. 82.

(21) ——Supraque profundum
Extantem, atque humeros nativo murice tectum,
Cæruleum Tritona vocat.——
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 334.

(22) ——Cui laterum tenus hiſpida nanti
Frons hominem præfert; in priſtin deſinit alvus;
Spumea ſemifero ſub pectore murmurat unda.
Virgil. Æn. 10. ℣. 212.

(23) ——Cava buccina ſumitur illi
Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine creſcit ab imo;
Buccina, quæ medio concepit ut aëra ponto
Litora voce replet ſub utroque jacentia Phœbo:
Tum quoque & ora Dei, madidâ rorantia barbâ,
Contigit.——
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 340.

(24) Exciente buccinâ Tritone argenteo; qui e medio lacu per machinam emerſerat. Suetonius; in Claud: Cap. 21.

(25) Met. Lib. 1. ℣. 331, to 342.

(26) Senex, Georg. 4. ℣. 438.——Cæruleus, ibid. 386.——Glaucis oculis, ib. 451.

his (27) cave, and his ſea-herds (28) about him. He gives us a picture of him, as tending (29) them on the ſhore; as (30) plunging into the ſea; and as (31) riding over the ſurface of it. He marks out the whole ſeries of his transformations too: in a very few words indeed; but ſo ſtrong and well choſen (32), that each of them almoſt contains a picture. There are two paſſages in particular, in this full account which Virgil gives us of Proteus, which I ſuſpect very much to have been copied from ſome antient paintings: one relates to the (33) manner of Cyrene's placing Ariſtæus and herſelf; in order to ſurpriſe this deity; and the other, is that ſtrange (34) turn and ſtruggle in his eyes, in the moment that he is between anger and compliance: which caſt of them, by the way, ſeems to me not only to agree with the conteſt in his mind, between two ſuch different paſſions; but at the ſame time to have a peculiar fitneſs to the character of Proteus, conſidered as a prophet.

I Have looked much after ſome figure of Glaucus too, but am not yet ſure that I have found any; tho' he is deſcribed particularly enough, I think, by the antient writers, to be knowable if one did meet with him. Tho' the ſea-gods are pretty much alike as to their ſhape, and the colour of their ſkin, hair, and eyes; Glaucus perhaps might be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the uncommon length (35) of his hair, and the crown of (36) reeds on his head. Tho' ſome deſcriptions of this god in the Roman poets, are more particular than they uſually are of ſea-deities; there is a paſſage in one of their hiſtorians, that is more explicit than any of them. It is in Paterculus; where he is ſpeaking of Munatius Plancus: whoſe name Horace has made us ſo well acquainted with in his Odes; and whoſe monument to this day makes ſo conſiderable a figure on the hill near Gaëta. This Plancus, whom we now perhaps are apt generally to think well of, as a friend of Horace's; was ſcarce ſo much eſteemed in his own times. At leaſt, we find that he ſubmitted himſelf to ſome very great meanneſſes, to ingratiate himſelf with Auguſtus. Among other things that hiſtorian (37) ſays, in particular, "that he danced the character of Glaucus, on the public ſtage." For this purpoſe he was ſtripped naked; and had his ſkin painted all over, of a ſea-green, or dark, colour; and his head covered with a chaplet of reeds: after which, he moved on, (as well as he could,) on his knees; and dragged a long tail like that of a fiſh after him. Conſidering all theſe particulars, and the great difficulty of dancing a fiſh-dance, I do not ſee how any courtier could well contrive to make a meaner and more deſpicable appearance, than he muſt have done on this occaſion. That of Lazarello de Tormes, (when he was ſhewed about in his tub, for a ſea-fiſh,) muſt have been quite creditable, in compariſon to this. Indeed, Glaucus himſelf, is of the loweſt rank of all the ſea-gods; and I have mentioned him out of his place;

(27) Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 418—422.

(28) Ibid. ℣. 430, 431.

(29) Ibid. ℣. 433—436.

(30) Ibid. ℣. 528, 529.

(31) Ibid. ℣. 386, 387.

(32) Tum variæ eludent ſpecies atque ora ferarum:
Fiet enim ſubito ſus horridus; atraque tigris;
Squamoſuſque draco; & fulvâ cervice leæna.
Ibid. ℣. 408.

(33) Juvenem in latebris, averſum a lumine, nympha
Collocat; ipſa procul, nebulis obſcura, reſiſtit.
Ibid. 4. ℣. 424.

(34) ——Ad hæc vates, vi denique multâ,
Ardentes oculos intorſit lumine glauco;
Et graviter frendens, ſic fatis ora reſolvit.
Ibid. ℣. 452.

If this was not taken from ſome painting of old, it might at leaſt give a very ſtrong idea to a painter now.

(35) ——Tuta * loco, monſtrumne deuſne
Ille ſit ignorans, admiraturque colorem;
Cæſariemque, humeros ſubjectaque terga tegentem:
Ultimaque excipiat quòd tortilis inguina piſcis.
* Galatea. Ovid. Met. 13. ℣. 915.

(36) Hanc ego tum primùm viridem ferrugine barbam,
Cæſariemque meam quam longa per æquora verro,
Ingenteſque humeros & cærula brachia vidi;
Cruraque pinnigero curvata noviſſima piſce.
Ibid. ℣. 963.

(37) —Cum cæruleatus, & nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, & caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum ſaltaſſet. Vel. Paterc. Lib. 2. §. 85.

In the little quarrel between two low people, in Horace's journey to Brunduſium, one of them begs the other, (who was of a large aukward make,) "To dance the Cyclops." (Lib. 1. Sat. 5. ℣. 63.)

This

place; by talking of him ſo early, and before ſo many of his betters: for he was, originally, no more than a poor fiſherman; and at laſt, only an adventitious god of the ſea; and conſequently of the ſixth and loweſt claſs of all.

THE ſea-deities of the third claſs, Nereus, Doris, and her ſiſters the Oceanitides, are mentioned ſometimes by the poets; but without any thing particular to diſtinguiſh them by: except that Virgil, in one place (38), in ſpeaking of two of the Oceanitides, ſeems to give them a dreſs, very different from the Neptunines and Nereids.

I HAVE here a drawing of Thetis; which you would not take to be a ſea-deity, at firſt ſight: ſhe having a helmet in one hand, and a coat of mail in the other. It is copied from a medal; on which ſhe is called, the mother of Achilles: and ſo, no doubt, is carrying him the arms, ſhe had promiſed him. It is therefore too, I ſuppoſe, that ſhe is in a long veſt; contrary to the cuſtom of the ſea-deities, who are uſually naked: but the artiſt has taken care, not quite to conceal her feet; the beauty of which are ſo perpetually mentioned by Homer (39), and not forgot by Ovid. This was a part that was much more obſerved among the antients, than with us. Their feet were not hid, and impriſoned, as ours are: and I remember one of the Roman hiſtorians, in ſpeaking of the perſon of Domitian, thinks it worth his while to obſerve (40) a particular, relating to that emperor's make; which muſt ſeem yet more minute and trifling to us, even than Homer's ſo conſtantly marking out the beauty of Thetis's foot. PL. XXX. FIG. 3.

THETIS

This ſort of dances I had no notion of, till I ſaw ſomething of the ſame kind in Italy. It is the repreſenting ſome character, and ſometimes a whole ſtory, in a dance: not unlike our dumb ſhews; only that all the particular actions muſt keep time with the muſic.

But the thing that gives one the moſt perfect idea of theſe ancient dances, is a paſſage in Longus's paſtoral Romance: where, (at a feaſt, after a ſacrifice to Pan) Lamon one of the old ſhepherds tells the reſt the ſtory of Pan and Syrinx; and Philetas gives the younger ſhepherds a leſſon on his pipe, how to conduct their flocks by the different notes and tunes of it. "All the company, (ſays Longus,) ſat in ſilence, and took a great deal of pleaſure in hearing him; till one of them, called Dryas, got up; and begged him to play one of their briſker airs in honour of Bacchus; and he, in the mean time, danced the character of a Vindemiator, or Vintager. In this dance, he flung himſelf into different poſtures, as if he was gathering the bunches of grapes; carrying them in baſkets; flinging them into the wine-vat; putting the liquor into veſſels; and drinking of the muſt. All which he did ſo naturally, and ſo expreſſively, that they almoſt thought they ſaw before their eyes the vineyard, the veſſels, the liquor, and Dryas taking a hearty draught of it. The good old man having ſo well performed his part; at the cloſe of his dance, went and ſaluted Daphnis and Chloe: on which they immediately roſe from their ſeats, and danced the ſtory which Lamon had been juſt telling them. Daphnis repreſented the god, Pan; and Chloe, was the fair Syrinx. He made his addreſſes to her; and ſhe only laughed at it. She runs from him; and he purſues her: huddling on upon the tips of his toes, the better to imitate Pan's cloven feet. She then made all the appearance of being quite tired with running: and (inſtead of getting between the reeds,) crept into the grove juſt by, to hide herſelf. On which, Daphnis taking up Philetas's pipe, (which was one of the largeſt and beſt ſort,) drew a languiſhing ſound from it, as of one in love; a pathetic ſound, as of one eager to enjoy; and a recalling ſound, as of one that is fondly ſeeking after what he has loſt. All which he did ſo well, and in ſo knowing a manner; that the good Philetas, quite aſtoniſhed at it, run to him and kiſſed him; and then made him a preſent of his pipe; praying the gods, that after him it might ſtill fall into as good hands. Daphnis on this hung up the little pipe he had always uſed before, as a preſent to Pan; and then ſaluting Chloe, as if he had found her again after a real flight, led his flock toward their fold for the night: playing all the way, on the pipe that Philetas had juſt given him." Amours of Daphnis and Chloe, B. 2. ſub fin.

Virgil ſpeaks of a feaſt juſt like this; and of the Pan, or Satyr-dance; in his 5th Eclogue: where the ſhepherd Menalcas promiſes to keep an annual feſtival, in memory of one of his departed friends.

> Vina novum fundam calathis Ariuſia nectar:
> Cantabunt mihi Damætas, & Lyctius Ægon;
> Saltantes Satyros imitabitur Alpheſibæus.
> Ecl. 5. ℣. 73.

(38) Clioque & Beroë ſoror, Oceanitides ambæ;
Ambæ auro, pictis incinctæ pellibus ambæ.
Virgil. G. 4. ℣. 342.

(39) Ἀργυροπεζα Θέτις.

> Hoc flavi faciunt crines, & eburnea colla;
> Quæque, precor, veniant in mea colla manus:
> Et decor, & vultus ſine ruſticitate pudentes;
> Et Thetidi quales vix reor eſſe pedes.
> Ovid. Ep. Her. 20. ℣. 60. (Acontius, Cyd.)

(40) Pulcher & decens maximè in juventâ, & quidem toto corpore; exceptis pedibus: quorum digitos reſtrictiores habebat. Suetonius, in Domitiano. Cap. 18.

THETIS is one of the ſea-nymphs, of the fourth claſs; one of thoſe whom the poets call Neptunines; as deſcendants of Neptune: It was therefore the greater (41) honour for Peleus to obtain her in marriage. Peleus, you know, was one of the heroes who accompanied Jaſon in the Argo, (ſuppoſed to be the firſt ſhip that ever ventured on the ſea,) in that famous expedition for the Golden Fleece. So great a novelty, as a vaſt hollow of wood with ſeveral men in it, floating over the ſurface of the water, called all the ſea-nymphs (42) immediately from their loweſt habitations, to gaze upon it. Thetis was among the ſpectators of ſo ſtrange a ſight. All theſe ladies of the water, (as our ladies on land are generally apt to be,) were extremely charmed with the novelty of the ſight, and the hardineſs of their enterprize. They looked on theſe heroes with admiration; and from admiration, they were eaſily led to love. Thetis fixed her chief regards on Peleus; and it is therefore with a great deal of propriety that Valerius Flaccus names her, in particular, as one that haſtened to the (43) aſſiſtance of the ſhip; when firſt it was in danger of being loſt. Catullus (44) tells all the ſtory of the marriage of Thetis to Peleus very much at large: and Valerius Flaccus (45) gives us a ſhort picture of her, when going to be married; and of the marriage-feaſt, which was honoured with the preſence of all the chief deities of the Sea. He ſays ſhe went on a dolphin; with a veil over her face, as the brides (46) uſually had of old; but not with that melancholy face, which the brides of thoſe days uſed to affect, to the greateſt exceſs. He ſeats Peleus at the feaſt, among the gods of the ſea; and near him is his friend Chiron, to celebrate their nuptials with his lyre. I might have had a repreſentation of this marriage, if I could have truſted to the print of it in father Montfaucon's collection (47): but that agrees ſo little with the poets, and has ſo many marks of being a modern invention, that I was forced to reject it.

THE Nereids, (who are of the fifth claſs, and the loweſt of all the native deities of the ſea,) are all called (48) ſiſters; as being the family of Doris and Nereus; and their faces, (as

(41) Tene Thetis tenuit, pulcherrima Neptunine?
Tene ſuam Tethys conceſſit ducere Neptem?
Catullus, de Nupt. Pelei, 62. ℣. 29.
Eſt aliquid non eſſe ſatum Nereïde; ſed qui
Nereaque & natas, & totum temperat æquor.
Ovid. Met. 12. ℣. 94.

(42) Quæ ſimul ac roſtro ventoſum proſcidit æquor
Tortaque remigio ſpumis incanduit unda;
Emerſere feri candenti e gurgite vultus,
Æquoreæ monſtrum Nereïdes admirantes:
Illâque, (haudque aliâ,) viderunt luce marinas
Mortales oculi, nudato corpore, nymphas;
Nutricum tenus extantes e gurgite cano.
Catullus, Nupt. Pel. 62. ℣. 18.

(43) Jam placidis ratis extat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
Et Thetis & magnis Nereus ſocer erigit ulnis.
Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. ℣. 658.

(44) Poem. 62, de Nuptiis Pelei.

(45) Hic * inſperatos Tyrrheni tergore piſcis
Peleos in thalamos vehitur Thetis. Æquora delphin
Corripit: illa ſedet dejectâ in lumina pallâ,
Nec Jove majorem naſci ſuſpirat Achillem.
Hanc Panope, Dotoque ſoror, lætataque fluctu
Proſequitur nudis pariter Galatea lacertis,
Antra petens; Siculo revocat de litore Cyclops.
Contra, ignis viridique torus de fronde; dapeſque,
Vinaque; & æquoreos inter cum conjuge Divos
Æacides: pulſatque chelyn poſt pocula Chiron.
* Painted on Argo. Val. Flaccus, Argon. 1. ℣. 139.

(46) —Timidum nuptæ leviter tectura pudorem
Lutea demiſſos velarunt flammea vultus.
Lucan. 2. ℣. 361.
Anna tegens vultus, ut nova nupta, ſuos.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 690.
———Sedet illa parato
Flammeolo, Tyriuſque palam Genialis in hortis
Sternitur.——
Juvenal, Sat. 10. ℣. 335.

One can hardly read theſe paſſages, without being put in mind of the figure of the bride in the Aldobrandine marriage; and ſome other antiques, relating to the ſame ſubject: in which the brides generally appear extremely concerned; and to be melancholy and grieved, beyond what ſhould be naturally expected, for the change they are going to make; and to which they were not really, perhaps, ſo averſe as they would ſeem. Flaccus ſays, Thetis had the veil; but not this very melancholy air: ſhe did not grieve, as other brides then uſed to do; becauſe ſhe knew that the effect of her marriage would be the birth of the greateſt hero in the world: of Achilles, that was to be ſo highly celebrated to all poſterity, by Homer.

(47) See Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. 107.

(48) Officio careat glaucarum nulla ſororum.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. ℣. 34.
Eſt aliquid non eſſe ſatum Nereïde; ſed qui
Nereaque, & natas, & totum temperat æquor.
(Spoke by the Son of a Neptunine,) Ovid. Met. 12. ℣. 94.

(as Ovid (49) obſerves,) ſhould all bear a reſemblance to one another, like that of ſiſters; tho' there ſhould be ſome difference in each, to diſtinguiſh them from one another. We know the particular names of ſome of them; (as Doto (50), and Galatea, for example:) but the attributes and characters given them by the artiſts are ſo uniform, that it would be very difficult at preſent to diſtinguiſh any one of them from the reſt; and we can only ſay of any ſuch relievo, or picture, that it is a Nereid-piece, in general.

THE deſcriptions of theſe ſiſter-goddeſſes, in the poets, are moſtly of a general nature too. I fancy, from Ovid's account (51) of them, that they were very rarely ſuppoſed to be carried, on dolphins; and, perhaps, never on Tritons: as ſome of the ſuperior goddeſſes of the Sea were. The poets moſt uſually deſcribe them as parting the water with their arms; and with their long hair, floating over the ſurface of it: ſometimes, riſing above the water to admire ſome ſtrange ſight, (as (52) that of the firſt ſhip that ever ventured on the ſea, above mentioned;) ſometimes, as buſied in aſſiſting (53) ſhips, and conducting them in ſafety toward their port; and, ſometimes as ſitting together on ſome rock (54), and telling thoſe ſtories which were ſo much in vogue in the higheſt antiquity; and which ran chiefly on the numberleſs amours of Jupiter, and the other celeſtial deities.

I HEARTILY pity them, (interpoſed Myſagetes,) that after all their fatigues, they had nothing but a bare rock to ſit upon; no very eaſy reſting-place, and perhaps expoſed all to the ſun: which could not be ſo agreeable, one would think, to ladies of their fine make and complexion. Surely, the old poets were a little defective in this particular. I remember to have read a very pretty ſtory, (in the Perſian Tales, or ſome like excellent book,) which is founded wholly on the notion of the ſea's being as well inhabited as the earth. The author has not only ſtocked the watry element, with men and women; but has given them houſes too, and cities under water, as regularly as we have on land. It is a pity the antient poets had not had as much imagination, as this modern writer; they might then have found out ſome more tolerable conveniences for your Nereids, and Neptunines: as it is, any tender-hearted perſon muſt have a great deal of compaſſion for the poor ladies; when he ſees them thus, only ſprawling on the water, or reſting themſelves on a hard rock.

YOU may ſpare all your compaſſion for them, on this account; (replied Polymetis;) for I can aſſure you that the antient poets, when they were about it, could furniſh their inhabitants of the ſea, with as many and as fine palaces, as any modern author whatever. Beſide the numerous hollows and caves in the ſhore, which were generally ſuppoſed to ſerve for this purpoſe, the antients ſeem to have imagined, that the whole ſea reſted (55) on a ſort

(49) Doridaque & natas: quarum pars nare videntur;
Pars in mole ſedens virides ſiccare capillos:
Piſce vehi quædam: facies non omnibus una,
Nec diverſa tamen; qualem decet eſſe ſororum.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 14.

(50) ——Nereïa Doto.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 103.
At mihi, cui pater eſt Nereus, quam cærula Doris
Enixa eſt; quæ ſum turbâ quoque tuta ſororum; &c.
(Says Galatea, in) Ovid's Met. 13. ℣. 743.

(51) ——Placidis—natant Nereïdes undis.
Ovid. Met. 13. ℣. 399.
Vos quoque cæruleum, Divæ Nereïdes, agmen—
Surgite de vitreis ſpumoſæ Doridos antris;
Baianoſque ſinus & fœta tepentibus undis
Litora, tranquillo certatim ambite natatu.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. ℣. 18.
——Pars nare videntur;
Pars in mole ſedens virides ſiccare capillos.
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 12.
——Virides Nereïdum comas.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 28. ℣. 10.

(52) See Note 42, anteh.

(53) ——Vos ſtuppea tendite mali
Vincula; vos ſummis annectite ſuppara velis:
Vos Zephyris aperite ſinus. Pars tranſtra reponat;
Pars demittat aquis curvæ moderamina puppis.
Sunt, quibus exploret rupes gravis arte molorchus;
Quæque ſecuturam religent poſt terga phaſelon:
Uncaque ſubmerſæ penitus retinacula vellant.
Temperet hæc æſtus; pelaguſque inclinet ad ortus:
Officio careat glaucarum nulla ſororum.
Statius, Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. ℣. 34.

(54) See Dial. 7. Note 66.

(55) Unde terra, & quibus librata ponderibus: quibus cavernis maria ſuſtineantur. Cicero. Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 5. p. 513. Ed. Blaeu.

ſort of arched work: under which, what an ample ſpace muſt there have been for habitations for all theſe gods and goddeſſes, were they ever ſo numerous? In this light, what made that ſolid bottom of the ſea, would at the ſame time ſerve for the roofs of their palaces: and below, it might be all divided into grotto's, and caves; like the habitation of the nymphs (56) deſcribed by Virgil in his Æneid; or the palace (57) of Cyrene, in the Georgics. Some of the nobleſt parts of this ſubmarine-rockwork, (if you will give me leave to make uſe of a new name, for ſo ſtrange a thing,) may be ſuppoſed to have been ſet apart for the (58) palaces of Oceanus: ſome, under the Mediterranean ſea, for the court of Neptune; and others, for the other ruling deities of that ſea. In one province, might be the grotto's of Proteus; and in another, the caves of Doris and Nereus, and all (59) their numerous family. Theſe lower habitations of the Sea-deities might be ſuppoſed, if you pleaſe, to be full of water; (for water is their proper element, as much as air is ours:) or if that ſhocks you too much, they might be always free from it: for one learns from the account of Cyrene's palace, in Virgil, that the antients ſuppoſed this ſort of deities had a full power over the waters; and could make them hang (60) ſuſpended in the air, juſt when, and however, they pleaſed.

The habitations of the River-deities and their attendants, were in the ſame manner ſuppoſed to be under water; and generally, I believe, ſomewhere near the place (61) whence each river took its riſe: where, if there was any grotto, they uſually had ſome figure of the preſiding deity of the ſtream in it; with his urn, and the waters guſhing out of it; to denote the ſource of the river. The temples to River-gods were moſt commonly built in the ſame part; as the younger Pliny tells us expreſly, in the (62) particular account he has given of the temple of Clitumnus: and it is for the ſame reaſon, that Virgil makes Ariſteus go to the very ſource of the river, when he wants to addreſs himſelf to the Water-goddeſs his mother. The poets often ſpeak of theſe habitations and grotto's of the River-deities; and deſcribe (63) ſome of them: particularly, that of Peneus; the very river to whoſe ſource Virgil ſends Ariſtæus.

I Have

(56) Hinc atque hinc vaſtæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cœlum ſcopuli; quorum ſub vertice latè
Æquora tuta ſilent: tum ſylvis ſcena coruſcis
Deſuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ.
Fronte ſub adverſâ, ſcopulis pendentibus antrum:
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque ſedilia ſaxo;
Nympharum domus.——
Æn. 1. ℣. 168.

(57) See the latter part of Note 63, poſth.

(58) The poets ſpeak expreſly of the palace of Oceanus: and ſeem to place it, ſometimes on the weſtern ſhore; and ſometimes under the ſea.

Tempus erat junctos cum jam ſoror ignea Phœbi
Sentit equos; penituſque cavam ſub luce paratâ
Oceani mugire domum——
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 273.

Frangebat radios humili jam pronus Olympo
Phœbus; & Oceani penetrabile littus anhelis
Promittebat equis.——
Id. Achil. 2. ℣. 17.

Deſeret ante dies, & in alto Phœbus anhelos
Æquore tinget equos.——
Ovid. Met. 15. ℣. 419.

(59) Surgite de vitreis ſpumoſæ Doridos antris.
(Says Statius; invoking the Nereïds,) Lib. 3. Sylv. 2. ℣. 16.

(60) Duc, age; duc ad nos: fas illi limina Divûm
Tangere, ait: ſimul alta jubet diſcedere late
Flumina, quà juvenis greſſus inferret: at illum
Curvata in montis ſpeciem circumſtetit unda;
Accepitque ſinu vaſto; miſitque ſub amnem.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 362.

Thus Ovid ſays, very ſtrongly, of another River-god:

Cedere juſſit aquam; juſſa receſſit aqua.
Lib. 3. El. 6. ℣. 44.

This is repreſented ſometimes in antiques: as partibularly on a gem in Maffei's collection, (Vol. II. Pl. 34.) where you ſee Neptune beneath the water; which hangs ſuſpended, in a ſort of arch, over his head.

(61) Statius ſpeaks of the ſource of a river, and the habitation of the River-god, as one and the ſame thing.

——Æternæ largitor corniger undæ!
Lætus eas, quâcunque domo gelida ora reſolvis.
(Speaking of a river, whoſe ſource they were unacquainted with) Theb. 4. ℣. 832.

(62) See Pliny's Epiſtles, Lib. 8. Ep. 8.

(63) Statius, (where he is deſcribing a water-grotto in Vopiſcus's gardens at Tivoli,) hints at ſome of the moſt noted ones, in his time.

Illis ipſe antris Anienus, fonte relicto,
Nocte ſub arcanâ glaucos exutus amictus
Huc illuc fragili proſternit pectora muſco;
Aut ingens in ſtagna cadit, vitreaſque natatu
Plaudit aquas: illâ recubat Tiberinus in umbrâ;
Illic ſulphureas cupit Albula mergere crines.

Hæc

I HAVE got the figures of ſome of theſe River-deities; and have diſpoſed of them among my fountains without: which we may conſider as much, or as little as you pleaſe, in continuing our walk thro' the groves about this temple. The firſt I ſhall carry you to is the Tiber. After going down a walk that led them irregularly thorough a grove of poplar-trees, they came into a good ſpacious opening, in the higher part of which they ſaw the ſtatue of Tiberinus, reclined and leaning on his urn: from which the water poured down a bank of graſs, into a little lake, or fountain; if ſo irregular a thing may be called one. The ſides of it were, here and there, over-run with high weeds; and ſometimes overſhaded by willows. Juſt by the figure of the god, lay the wolf and twin founders of Rome. The creature ſeemed to have loſt all the ſavageneſs of her nature; and in particular was drawing in one of her feet, that it might not hurt one of the infants who was ſtretching out its little leg toward it. Her head too was turned with an air of regarding them, as they lay ſmiling and playing together about the teat. The god himſelf was crowned with fruits and flowers: of a large (64) ſize; and with a venerable

PL. XXXI. FIG. 1.

Hæc domus Ægeriæ nemoralem abjungere Phœben,
Et Dryadum viduare choris algentia poſſit
Taygeta; & ſylvis arceſſere Pana Lycæis.
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. ℣. 78.

The grotto of Egeria was more celebrated of old than even that of the Tiber itſelf. Livy mentions it in his Hiſtory, and Ovid, in his Faſti; and (if I am not miſtaken,) in one of his Elegies.

Lucus erat, quem medium, ex opaco ſpecu, fons perenni rigabat aquâ: quo quia ſe perſæpe Numa, ſine arbitris, velut ad congreſſum Deæ inferebat; Camænis eum lucum ſacravit, quòd earum ibi concilia cum conjuge ſuâ Egeria eſſent: &c. Livy, Lib. 1. §. 21.

Defluit incerto lapidoſus murmure rivus;
Sæpe, ſed exiguis hauſtibus, inde bibi:
Egeria eſt quæ præbet aquas, Dea grata Camænis;
Illa Numæ conjux conciliumque fuit.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 276.

Stat vetus & multos incidua ſylva per annos;
Credibile eſt illi numen ineſſe loco:
Fons ſacer in medio, ſpeluncaque pumice pendens;
Et latere ex omni dulce queruntur aves:
Hic ego dum ſpatior, tectus nemoralibus umbris,
Quod mea quærebam muſa moveret opus.
Venit odoratos Elegeïa nexa capillos, &c.
Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 1. ℣. 7.

The grotto of Achelous is deſcribed by the ſame poet:

Pumice multicavo nec lævibus atria tophis
Structa ſubit: molli tellus erat humida muſco;
Summa lacunabant alterno murice conchæ.
Met. 8. ℣. 563.

And ſo is that of Peneus:

Eſt nemus Hæmoniæ, prærupta quod undique claudit
Sylva; vocant Tempe: per quæ Peneus, ab imo
Effuſus Pindo, ſpumoſis volvitur undis:
Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, ſummaſque aſpergine ſylvas
Impluit; & ſonitu plus quam vicina fatigat.
Hæc domus, hæc ſedes, hæc ſunt penetralia magni
Amnis. In hoc reſidens facto de cautibus antro
Undis jura dabat, nymphiſque colentibus undas.
Met. 1. ℣. 581.

Where Horace ſpeaks of the habitation of Albunea; (Lib. 1. Od. 7. ℣. 12.) he may mean ſomething farther than a meer grotto. The lake of Albunea is that lake, which is ſo much viſited in the way to Tivoli, for the ſmall iſlands (or oval tables) that float on its ſurface. The ſame ſort of ſulphureous concretions that form thoſe little iſlands, add from time to time to the ſolid concretions on the ſides; ſo that but a ſmall part of the ſurface of the lake appears at preſent; and, probably, in time it will be wholly hid. For a great way round it, the earth ſounds hollow under your feet; which ſhews that you tread only on the cruſt that covers the lake. This probably is what Horace alludes to, in calling it Domus Albuneæ reſonantis: had it been ſpoke of a running ſtream, reſonantis might have had another ſenſe: but as it is ſaid of a ſtill lake, I think it can be accounted for no other way than this; and this accounts for it very ſtrongly, and fully.

The compleateſt deſcription of an habitation under the water, that I know of in the Roman poets, is that of the palace of Cyrene, in Virgil. He expreſly ſays, that it was at the bottom of the river.

At mater ſonitum thalamo ſub gurgitis alti
Senſit.———
Georg. 4. ℣. 334.

Duc, age; duc ad nos: fas illi limina Divûm
Tangere, ait. Simul alta jubet diſcedere latè
Flumina, qua juvenis greſſus inferret; at illum
Curvata in montis faciem circumſtetit unda;
Accepitque ſinu vaſto, miſitque ſub amnem.
Ibid. ℣. 362.

The ſame poet mentions ſomething of the manner in which it was made; like the water-grotto's, above deſcribed: and ſomething of the furniture in it; like the vivo ſedilia ſaxo, in his grotto of the nymphs.

Poſtquam eſt in thalami pendentia pumice tecta
Perventum.———
Ibid. ℣. 375.

——Iterum maternas impulit aures
Luctus Ariſtæi; vitreiſque ſedilibus omnes
Obſtupuere.———
Ibid. ℣. 351.

They give him an entertainment there; and make a ſacrifice. Ib. ℣. 376, & 381.

One ſees from this whole account, that they had three ſorts of habitations for their River-deities. Grotto's by the ſide of the river, and generally at the ſource of it; as that of Egeria: others under the earth, for ſubterraneous waters; as that of Albunea: and others under the waters; as that of Cyrene.

(64) Ipſe pater flavis Tiberinus abhorruit undis;
Suſtulit e medio nubilus amne caput:
Tum ſalice implexum muſcoque & arundine crinem
Cæruleum, magnâ legit ab ore manu.
Ovid. Conſol. ad Liviam, ℣. 124.

venerable look; as lord (65) of all the rivers of the province, thorough which he leads his waters to the ſea. Any one, ſays Polymetis, would eaſily know this to be the figure of the Tiber; from the little Romulus and Remus, that were firſt diſcovered in this manner, with their foſter-mother, on his banks. It was where they afterwards built Rome; and at the bottom of the Palatine hill, in particular. He is reclined; as the figures of River-gods almoſt always are. The antients in this particular acted with more propriety, than has perhaps been generally obſerved. They did not only ſtock every element with imaginary beings that are proper for it; but ſeem alſo to have been very exact in adapting the appearance, and the very poſture of thoſe beings, to the nature of the particular elements to which they reſpectively belong. Thus their imaginary inhabitants of the air are repreſented always under light, eaſy, figures; and generally, as flying. As they looked on the earth to be immoveable, and ſpread out on all ſides of us; Tellus, Cibele, and the other chief goddeſſes that were ſuppoſed to preſide over it, are generally drawn, either as ſitting, or as lying down at their eaſe: and as water always ſtrives to keep its level, we find the figures of the River-deities always more or leſs reclined. In this poſture is the figure before us, of Old Father Tiber, as the Roman poets ſo often call him; and which, in their language, ſignified the ſame as Tiber the majeſtic, or Tiber the governor (of many rivers,) does in ours. His countenance here ſhews his dignity and command. He was ſometimes repreſented too with horns (66); which of old was a known emblem of power, and might ſignify that he preſided over ſeveral ſtreams.

If the paintings of the antients remained to us in as great numbers as one could wiſh for in enquiries of this kind, I doubt not but that we ſhould have ſeveral other lights as to this River-deity; who was ſo much celebrated, and ſo highly worſhipped, among the Romans. Their poets indeed tell us the colour (67) of his ſkin, of his hair, and of his robes; which is every thing almoſt that is neceſſary towards drawing a picture of him: but then the Latin names for colours are very doubtful, and very ill underſtood at preſent; whereas a painting would be clear, and indiſputable. We meet with ſeveral deſcriptions

(65) Virgil calls the Tiber, "Lord of all the Rivers of Latium."

Corniger Heſperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
Æn. 8. ℣. 77.

Tacitus gives us a little piece of hiſtory, which ſhews the reſpect the old Romans paid to this River-god, very remarkably. On ſome frequent inundations of the Tiber, it was propoſed in the Roman ſenate; whether they might not divert the courſe of ſome of the leſſer rivers, that fall into it. The deputies of the Florentines, Interamnates, Reatini, and others, were heard againſt the queſtion: who brought their devotions, and the majeſty of the Tiber in particular, as an argument on their ſide.——Spectandas religiones ſociorum, qui ſacra & lucos & aras patriis Amnibus dicaverint: quin ipſum Tiberim nolle prorſus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloriâ fluere. Seu preces coloniarum, ſeu difficultas operum, ſeu ſuperſtitio valuit, ut in ſententiam Piſonis concederetur; qui nil mutandum cenſuerat. Tacitus, Annal. lib. 1. ſub finem.

(66) The horns of the River-gods may be often hid by the large crowns of reeds, leaves, or flowers, that we ſee on ſo many of them. I imagine, that Tiber was ſometimes repreſented with them; becauſe Virgil calls him, Corniger, (Æn. 8. ℣. 77.)

Valerius Flaccus gives them to all the greater River-gods;

Sylvarumque Deæ; atque elatis cornibus Amnes!
Argon. 1. ℣. 106.

And I think it appears from an expreſſion in the ſame poet, that their having horns ſignified their preſiding over ſeveral ſtreams.

Haud procul hinc ingens Scythici ruit exitus Iſtri:
Fundere non uno tantum quem flumina cornu
Accipimus: ſeptem exit aquis, ſeptem oſtia pandit.
Ibid. 8. ℣. 187.

(67) ——Cæruleus Tibris——
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 64.

Crinem cæruleum——
Ovid. Conſol. ad Liv. ℣. 124.

——Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
Carbaſus——
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 34.

I imagine cæruleus ſignifies a darkiſh, or ſea-green colour here: tho' it may in general ſignify any colour that the ſea is of; and that varies according to the objects that reflect the light upon it. Near the ſhore it is always tinged with the predominant colour of the ſhore, and is generally more or leſs green: far out at ſea, it is of whatever colour the clouds happen to be of: ſo that cæruleus is a very vague and indeterminate expreſſion.

The meaning of the word Glaucus, is almoſt as uncertain. One of the beſt vocabularies we have for the Latin tongue, ſays it ſignifies "Grey, blue, ſky-coloured, azure, ſea-green, or a bright and fiery red." (See Glaucus; in Ainſworth.)

ſcriptions of him in the poets too, on particular occaſions, (as when (68) amazed at ſome extraordinary incident, or when under a deep uncommon (69) concern,) which are pictureſque enough to have been drawn originally perhaps from ſome paintings, which are now loſt: but this is a misfortune which I have lamented ſo often already, that I think I will leave off even mentioning it to you any more, for the future.

IN the opening next to this, (which was yet larger, and all one exact level,) they eaſily knew the Nile, by his large cornucopia; by the Sphynx, couched under him; and the number of little children playing about him. The cornucopia, ſays Polymetis, tho' it is given to ſo many River-gods, (and particularly to that we have juſt left,) is ſcarce given to any of them with ſo much propriety as to the Nile. Other rivers may add to the fertility of the ſeveral countries thro' which they paſs; but the Nile is the abſolute cauſe of that great fertility of the Lower Egypt: which would be all a deſart, as bad as any of the moſt ſandy parts of Africa, without this river. It ſupplies it, you know, both with ſoil, and moiſture. He was their Jupiter Pluvius (70), as well as their chief River-god; and it may be therefore, perhaps, that he is called by an antient writer (71), the Egyptian Jupiter. The Sphynx by him, may allude either to the famous (72) ſtatue of the Sphynx on his bank, in the plain of Memphis; or to the myſtic (73) knowledge, ſo much cultivated in Egypt. The children, that are playing about him, are ſixteen (74) in number; to denote the ſeveral riſings of the river every year, ſo far as to the heighth of ſixteen cubits: as Pliny tells us, in ſpeaking perhaps of the very ſtatue now in the Vatican, of which this is a copy. PL. XXXI, FIG. 2.

YOU ſee, the water flows down here, from under his robe; which conceals the urn, or ſource, of it: and I have ſeen ſome modern ſtatues of the Nile, (perhaps copied from ſome antient one,) in which this deity has pulled his robe ſo far over his head, that he has quite hid it. Both theſe methods allude to the head or ſource of this river (75) not being diſcovered by the antients: and both ſeem (76) to be hinted at, in the antient poets. The noble figure of the Nile, from which this is copied (77), is of Baſalt or black marble; and even the very colour of it may not be (78) without its ſignification.

VIRGIL,

(68) ——Virgineæ (mirabile monſtrum!)
Quot prius æratæ ſteterant ad litora proræ,
Reddunt ſe totidem facies; pontoque feruntur.
Obſtupuere animi Rutulis: conterritus ipſe
Turbatis Meſſapus equis: cunctatur & Amnis
Rauca ſonans; revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 125.

(69) Ipſe pater flavis Tiberinus abhorruit undis;
Suſtulit e medio nubilus amne caput: &c.
Ovid. Conſol. ad Liv. ℣. 122.

(70) Te propter nullos tellus tua poſtulat imbres;
Arida nec Pluvio ſupplicat herba Jovi.
Tibullus, Lib. 1. El. 7. ℣. 26.

(71) Αιγυπτιε Ζευ, Νειλε. Parmeno Byzantius; as quoted by Athenæus, 1. 5.

(72) This figure is ſaid to have been cut out of the rock there. The head and neck of it, which ſtill appear, are 27 foot high: and the part concealed by the yearly riſing of the ground, from the overflow of the Nile, muſt be much more; in proportion to its breaſt, which is 33 foot broad; and its length, which is 113: according to Dr. Pocock's account, in his Travels, Vol. I. p. 46.

(73) ——Si Sphyngos iniquæ
Callidus ambages, te præmonſtrante, reſolvi.
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 66.

(74) Nunquam hic [lapis, quem vocant Baſalten] major repertus eſt, quam in Templo Pacis ab imperatore Veſpaſiano dicatus, argumento Nili; ſexdecim liberis circa ludentibus: per quos totidem cubiti ſummi incrementi augentis ſe amnis intelliguntur. Lib. 36. c. 7. p. 479. Ed. Elz.

Theſe ſeem to have been the cubits which meaſured the height of the overflow of the Nile, perſonified: and if ſo, may ſhew that the Egyptians were as bold in their allegories, as any of the Roman poets. Ειπε του Νειλου ειδες γραφη μεμιμημενου, αυλου μεν κειμενου επι κροκοδειλε τινος, η ιπποποταμε·——μικρα δε τινα παιδια παρ' αυλου παιζοντα. Πηχεις αυλης οι Αιγυπτιοι καλεσι. Lucian, Tom. 2. p. 311. Ed. Blaeu.

(75) Te fontium qui celat origines
Niluſque, & Iſter, te rapidus Tigris, &c.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 14. ℣. 45.

(76) Ille fluens dives ſeptena per oſtia Nilus,
Qui patriam tantæ tam bene celat aquæ;
Fertur in Evadne collectam Aſopide flammam
Vincere gurgitibus non potuiſſe ſuis.
Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 6. ℣. 42.

Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem;
Occuluitque caput, quod adhuc latet.——
Id. Met. 2. ℣. 255.

(77) See Note 74, anteh.

(78) Mr. Addiſon ſays, (in his Travels, p. 239.) that he has read in ſome author, that the ſtatues of the Nile were generally made of black marble: in alluſion to its coming from Æthiopia.

Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 293. (of the Nile.)

VIRGIL, in his account of the fine work on Æneas's ſhield, gives us a picture of this River-god; with that greatneſs of imagination, which he ſhews ſo particularly, when he is deſcribing divinities. He deſcribes him there, as of a vaſt ſize; and with a mixture of fright and concern, on his face; ſpreading out all his robe, and inviting the diſtreſſed, defeated fleet of Cleopatra, to the inmoſt receſſes of his ſtreams. That whole paſſage is as juſt, as it is great; and I queſtion, whether Virgil may not allude in it to the dark marble his ſtatues were uſually made of (79), as well as to the concealment of his ſource.

Pl. XXXI. Fig. 3,& 4. THE figure that you ſee thro' that ſhort viſto to the left hand, is the Tigris; as that to the right, is the Euphrates. The former of theſe River-gods is very well diſtinguiſhed from all the others I have met with, by the tiger on which he reſts his right arm. The Euphrates, (if it be the Euphrates, for I am not quite certain of it,) is marked out by the palm-branch which he holds in his hand. I choſe to place them ſo near one another, becauſe they are ſaid to ſpring from (80) the ſame ſource. They appear together on a medal of Trajan (81); on which the genius of Meſopotamia is repreſented, kneeling at that emperor's feet; with the Tigris on one ſide of her, and the Euphrates on the other: and Ovid (82) ſpeaks of them, as carried together in a triumph.

Pl. XXXI. Fig. 5,& 6. A LITTLE winding walk led them from theſe, to the figures of the Danube and the Rhine. They were both ſitting: each with his urn; and each with dignity: only the Danube was diſtinguiſhed by a large veil, floating over his head. The figure of the Danube which you ſee here, ſays Polymetis, was copied after one, on a medal of Trajan: tho' the fineſt I ever ſaw of this River-god, is on the column ſet up in honour of the ſame emperor, at Rome. I could not ſo well make uſe of that, becauſe it would ſcarce have done for a fountain; and indeed ought not to be detached from the other figures about it, in that hiſtorical piece of work. He is one of the firſt figures on that column; very near the baſe: and appears there, from the waiſt upward; as riſing out of his ſtream, to ſhew his duty to the Romans; and to ſupport the bridge of boats, they had laid over it. This is not expreſſed in Bartoli's edition of the Columna Trajana; but on the column itſelf, if you obſerve it well, you may diſcern the hand of the god, (tho' partly covered with the water,) is ſtretched quite to the bridge, and ſome way under it; as willing to ſupport it: ſo that he appears there in an attitude, juſt contrary to that (83) in which Virgil

(79) ——Omnis eō terrore Ægyptus & Indi,
Omnis Arabs, omnes verterunt terga Sabæi.
Ipſa videbatur ventis Regina vocatis
Vela dare; & laxos jam jamque immittere funes:
Illam inter cædes pallentem morte futurâ
Fecerat ignipotens undis & Iapyge ferri:
Contra autem, magno mærentem corpore Nilum,
Pandentemque ſinus, & totâ veſte vocantem
Cæruleum in gremium latebroſaque flumina victos.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 713.

He invites the vanquiſhed fugitives; "To his dark boſom, and moſt hidden ſtreams:" The former of which expreſſions alludes to his own colour, as the latter does to the ſource of his river being hid and unknown.

(80) ——Quos non diverſis fontibus edit
Perſis, & incertum tellus ſi miſceat amnes.
Lucan, 3. ℣. 257.

Or, as a later writer ſays, more expreſly:
Tigris & Euphrates uno ſe fonte reſolvunt.
Boetius.

(81) Agoſtini Med. p. 107. Fig. 1.

(82) Spectabunt læti juvenes, miſtæque puellæ;
Diffundetque animos omnibus illa dies.
Atque aliqua ex illis cum regum nomina quæret,
Quæ Loca, qui Montes, quæve ferantur Aquæ;
Omnia reſponde, nec tantum ſi qua rogabit;
Et quæ neſcieris, ut bene nota refer.
Hic eſt Euphrates, præcinctus arundine frontem;
Cui coma dependet cærula, Tigris erit.
Hoc facito Armenios; &c.——
Ovid. de Art. Am. 1. ℣. 225.

(83) Virgil mentions the figure of Araxes; in the work on Æneas's ſhield.

Hic Lelegas, Caraſque, ſagittiferoſque Gelonos
Finxerat: Euphrates ibat jam mollior undis;
Extremique hominum Morini, Rhenuſque bicornis;
Indomitique Dahæ, & pontem indignatus Araxes.
Æn. 8. ℣. 728.

This laſt expreſſion might be drawn from ſome known figure of the Araxes; in which, (by the rule of contraries,) that River-god was repreſented as ſhoving down ſome bridge, which the Romans had built over his ſtream. "In this work, ſays Virgil, Euphrates let his ſtreams fall not ſo rapidly from him, as they did before he was conquered: there were the Dahæ, formerly looked on as invincible; and that Araxes, who would not ſuffer our bridge to remain over his waters." This may be the poetical meaning of this paſſage; tho' I doubt not it is more apt, to appear literal, to moſt of the readers of Virgil in our times and country.

Virgil ſeems to me to deſcribe the Araxes. I do not remember any thing in the poets, that is ſaid perſonally of the Danube. Ovid, tho' he mentions the Danube ſo often, eſpecially in his epiſtles from Pontus, has nothing deſcriptive of his perſon: that poet's ſpirits were then gone; and he never riſes above meer literal expreſſions, wherever he ſpeaks of him. The Rhine is ſpoken of perſonally, by ſeveral of the poets. They deſcribe him ſometimes as conquered by the Romans (84), all ruffled and wounded; and ſometimes in the low (85) ſtate of a captive: ſometimes as (86) yielding; and ſometimes as (87) received into favour on his ſubmiſſion, and reſtored to all his former honours by them: in all which caſes it is remarkable that they never ſpeak of him, without putting us in mind, at the ſame time, of their own conqueſts and their own vanity.

I SHOULD have been glad to have had ſome other River-gods here, and particularly ſeveral of the Italian ones; but have not yet been able to meet with their figures. What I have moſt regretted miſſing, is that of the Eridanus, or Po. When I was firſt in Italy, I remember to have ſeen a ſmall figure of him, in ſome palace at Rome; with the head of a bull, and all the other parts human. I did not then note down where it was; and I could never ſince recover it. If I could, I would certainly have had a copy from it here; tho' enlarged, and made more worthy of the (88) King of all the Rivers of Italy. I would have raiſed a mount for him, ſomewhere hereabouts; againſt the middle of which, he might have reclined, and held down his urn: from which, the waters ought to have run down the roughneſſes of the mount (89) in large quantities, and with a good deal of noiſe and rapidity. His having a head like that of a bull, would have diſtinguiſhed him well enough from all the other rivers of Italy; a thing which their poets do not attribute to any of them that I know of, except this; and, perhaps, the Aufidus (90). The reaſon why the antient poets and artiſts gave the head of a bull to Eridanus, may be from that river's having its ſource from mount Veſo; the higheſt mountain in that range of the Alps, which were antiently called the Alpes Taurinæ: and which makes a very diſtinguiſhed figure when you take a view of thoſe mountains from Turin, the capital of the antient Taurini; tho' it is above forty miles diſtant from it.

THE ſtatues of Eridanus were no doubt highly worſhipped, and honoured by the Romans, in the Auguſtan age; as being then the chief of all the Rivers of Italy. One way of their ſhewing their devotion, or particular reſpect, to their River-gods, was by (91) gilding their horns. Now taking it for granted that they paid a compliment to their greateſt River-god, which was commonly paid to thoſe of leſs regard with them; this

(84) Cornibus hic fractis, viridi male tectus ab ulvâ,
Decolor ipſe ſuo ſanguine, Rhenus erit.
(In the triumph of Germanicus,) Ovid. Triſt. Lib. 4. ℣. 2, 42.

(85) Thus was he repreſented under the famous equeſtrian ſtatue of Domitian; deſcribed by Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 1.
Ænea captivi crinem terit ungula Rheni.
℣. 51.

(86) Tradiderat famulas jam tibi Rhenus aquas.
(Giving up his urn to Germanicus,) Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 286.

(87) Nympharum pater Amniumque, Rhene,
Quicunque Odryſias bibunt pruinas!
Sic ſemper liquidis fruaris undis;—
Sic et cornibus aureus receptis,
Et Romanus eas utrâqua ripâ: &c.
(On Trajan's return,) Martial, Lib. 10. Ep. 7.

(88) Fluviorum Rex Eridanus.——
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 482.

(89) Alberti, (ſpeaking of two fountains on mount Veſo,) gives the following account of the ſource of the Po. Da quell' altra fontana, (da Plinio Viſenda nominata,) qual é piu baſſa, ha principio il Po; come etiandio ſcrive Strabone, nel 4 libro. Scende adunque da queſta fontana un rivo di chiara aqua, per ſtretti, difficili, & ſtrabbocchevoli balci; & caſca molto precipitoſamente, fra quelle picciole valli, ſopra il faſſoſo monte: & poi eſce fuori preſſo terra 40 braccia, parendo quindi ſcaturire & uſcir; con tanto empito & forza, & parimente con tant' abbondanza d'acqua, che é coſa maravigliosa. Nel cader ſuo ſopra i faſſi, dé quali ſon pieni tutti i luoghi vicini alle radici del monte, che continoamente caddono al detto, fa grandiſſimo ſtrepito & rimbombo. Leon. Alb. Italia. p. 386.

(90) Horace calls the Aufidus, Tauriformis, (Lib. 4. Od. 14. ℣. 25.) by which he may mean, either that in his ſtatues he had the head of a bull, or elſe that his whole form reſembled that animal.

(91) See Note 87, anteh.

this fact will set some lines of Virgil in a very clear light, which are otherwise perhaps apt to appear ridiculous, to most of his readers at present. The lines I mean are in the story of Aristæus; where, tho' the poet is speaking of all the rivers of the earth in general, he takes care to distinguish their own great River, the Po, in a particular manner.

Jamque domum mirans genetricis, & humida regna,
Speluncisque lacus clausos, lucosque sonantes,
Ibat; &, ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum,
Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ
Spectabat diversa locis. Phasimque, Lycumque;
Et caput, unde altus primùm se erumpit Enipeus:
Unde pater Tiberinus, & unde Aniena fluenta;
Saxosumque sonans Hypanis, Mysusque Caïcus:
Et, gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu,
Eridanus; quo non alius per pinguia culta
In mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis (92).

What you have advanced, says Mysagetes, of Eridanus's being represented with the head of a bull, and of his having his horns gilded; will account perhaps very well for the expressions in this passage which relate to the countenance of that River-god, and his golden horns: but there is another thing in it, with which I am not yet satisfied; and that is Virgil's calling the Po here, "the most violent of all rivers." I know, one of the most celebrated and most ingenious writers of our age has endeavoured to soften this, by understanding it only (93) of the rivers in Italy. But, (not to enquire at all whether the Po be really the most violent of all the rivers in Italy,) how can Virgil be understood of the rivers of one country only, where he is expresly speaking of all the rivers (94) of the world? and of one common point, from whence all their sources were anciently supposed to be derived?

I Am not quite clear as to that expression, replied Polymetis: but to answer you as far as I can, I must give you the opinion of a man whom you both know; and whose name I need not mention to you, when I have told you it is the person, who understands Virgil in a more masterly manner, than perhaps any one in this age. It is his opinion, (with all that modesty, with which he generally offers his opinions,) that the difficulty you mention may possibly be got over, by the expression joined with it; per pinguia culta. The most violent rivers in the world are such as run, or fall, thorough a chain of mountains; and, (not to speak of any of the Apennine rivers, or rather torrents, in Italy itself,) the Isar, which we cross so often in the two or three last days journey before we enter into Italy, is (in all that part of its course,) much more violent, and more disturbed, than the Po. But the Po, you know, very soon after its source, flows on thro' the vale of Piemont; and afterwards, traverses all the rich vale of Lombardy. These are the Pinguia Culta, which Virgil speaks of: almost the whole course of the Po, is thorough such rich low ground: and perhaps there may not be any river in the world, which has almost all its course through so flat and rich a soil, which is so violent as the Po is.

The Roman poets mention several other rivers of Italy in a personal manner, beside the last mentioned: but I have not met with the figures of any of them, among the remains of the artists; or at least, have not been able to distinguish them, where I may have met with them. According to Horace, the figure of the Aufidus should have the head of a bull, as well as Eridanus; or perhaps be yet more (95) taurine. The Mincius

(92) Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 373.

(93) See Mr. Addison's Travels, p. 72.

(94) Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ.
Georg. 4. ℣. 366.

(95) Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni perfluit Apuli;
Cum sævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris.
Horat. Lib 4. Od. 14. ℣. 28.

Mincius ſhould be (96) crowned with reeds, according to what Virgil ſays in one place; as he ſhews us the reaſon for it, in another. The Anio, I think, would be well repreſented, as plunging downwards (97); and Statius may poſſibly allude to ſome ſuch figures of him, of old. The neighbouring goddeſs of the Albula might be eaſily diſtinguiſhed, in a painting, by her (98) ſulphur-coloured hair. Numicius, ſhould be (99) ſmall himſelf; and with a little urn, ſuitable to his ſtream: Vulturnus, on the contrary, ſhould be very large; and with his hair mixed with ſand, or coloured like it; if we may truſt to what Statius (100) ſays of him. I ſhould have been glad to have found him on any relievo, in the attitude in which that poet deſcribes him; tho' he introduces him on ſo vile an occaſion, as that of commending one of their worſt emperors. But of all theſe River-gods, there are two in particular whoſe figures I have ſought after much; tho' as yet without any ſucceſs. One is Curtius; the hero who devoted his own life, to ſave his country: and the other Egeria; who inſpired Numa, with the laws he made to regulate ſo wild and barbarous a people, as the Romans originally were. Curtius, after plunging into the caverns (101) of the earth, was ſuppoſed to become the preſiding deity of that little lake, on the ſpot where he performed ſo glorious an action. It is juſt beſide the Via Sacra; and ſtill bears his name. Statius has a deſcription of him, as the deity of this lake: and ſeems to have borrowed his ideas from ſome old ſtatue of him; which, in his time, ſeems to have been all over-run with moſs (102); or that ſort of green, which you may have obſerved on Bernini's Triton-ſtatue, in the Piazza Barbarini at Rome. He ſpeaks of his wreath of oak: that ſort of crown, which the Romans gave to ſuch as ſaved the life of a citizen; and which belonged much more juſtly to ſuch as had ſaved (103) the ſtate. It is hence, that the flattery of the artiſts has given this oaken wreath to moſt of the Roman emperors, on the reverſe of their medals; and it was for the ſame reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that there was one uſually hung up, over the (104) entrance to their palace. Curtius wore it, as the preſerver of his country. He was a true patriot River-god; and Egeria deſerved ſomething of the ſame character: for ſuch as give good laws, are often of more uſe to a nation, even than thoſe who ſacrifice their lives for it. There is no true ſtatue, that I know of, of Egeria. There is indeed, as you may remember, the figure of a perſon reclined at the upper end of her grotto near Rome: but it is ſo defaced by time, and by the water that guſhes out all about it, that one cannot diſtinguiſh whether it was ever meant for her; or indeed, whether it may be any Water-goddeſs at all. It may as well have been the figure of an old Roman ſoldier, repreſented on the cover of ſome Sarcophagus,

(96) ——Velatus arundine glaucâ
Mincius.——
Virgil. Æn. 10. ℣. 206.

——Tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius; & tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas.
Id. Geor. 3. ℣. 15.

(97) Illis ipſe antris Anienus fonte relicto
Nocte ſub arcanâ glaucos exutus amictus,
Huc illuc fragili proſternit pectora muſco:
Aut ingens in ſtagna cadit.——
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. ℣. 73.

(98) Illic ſulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 75.

(99) ——Ubi tectus arundine ſerpit
In freta flumineis vicina Numicius undis.
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 599.

That poet deſcribes him there perſonally, as aſſiſting in the deification of Æneas; and, in another place, as raviſhing Anna, the ſiſter of Dido. Faſt. 3. ℣. 648.

(100) ——Flavum caput humidumque latè
Crinem mollibus impeditus ulmis,
Vulturnus levat ora; maximoque
Pontis Cæſarei reclinis arcu;
Pandis talia faucibus redundat.
Statius, Lib. 4. Sylv. 3. ℣. 71.

(101) It was a vaſt Hiatus in the earth, into which this hero plunged armed, and on horſeback; according to Livy's account. Lib. 7. §. 6. He is repreſented in this action on a fine relievo, at the Villa Borgheſe, near Rome; and I have ſeen the ſtory on ſome gems, in which there are flames iſſuing out of the gulph.

(102) Ipſe loci cuſtos, cujus ſacrata vorago
Famoſuſque lacus nomen memorabile ſervat;
Ut ſenſit mugire forum, movet horrida ſancto
Ora ſitu; meritâque caput venerabile quercu.
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 1. ℣. 70.

(103) ——Umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 771.

(104) Protegat & veſtras querna corona fores.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 614.

He is praying for Auguſtus. "May Jupiter, ſays he, add to your dominion, and to your years! and may the ſacred wreath of oak, that hangs over your doors, always protect your houſe! May others ſucceed you, with as ſacred a name as your own; and make us as happy, as you have done!"

Sarcophagus, in the manner that one often ſees them; and, to ſay the truth, has more the air of ſuch a figure than of a Water-deity. The ſtatue that is generally called Egeria, in a garden belonging to the Juſtiniani family, juſt by the Porta del Popolo; and which is publiſhed as a ſtatue of Egeria in Maffei's collection (105); has yet, leſs pretenſions than the former. It is a woman indeed; but then ſhe has two urns, and ſtands quite upright; whereas River-deities, as I mentioned before, are always more or leſs reclined. In this want of a figure of Egeria, all one can learn of her is what one may conjecture from a deſcription of her in Ovid. I ſhould imagine from that account (106) of her, that her figure ſhould be reclined, and in a melancholy poſture; as reſting on her hand, and weeping extremely: for he repreſents her as lying at the foot of a hill, and lamenting the loſs of Numa; where Diana, (obſerving the greatneſs of her affliction,) out of compaſſion, turned her body into a fountain; and made her ſoul the preſiding genius over it. This deſcription in Ovid agrees very well with the place, which is now called her Grotto; where the old ſtatue I was ſpeaking of, lies: but that ſtatue is not at all to be depended upon; becauſe the Grott has been new ordered, ſeveral times (107), ſince Ovid's days.

SEVERAL of the more famous rivers of Greece, are deſcribed perſonally in the Roman poets; but with the ſame inconvenience, that I have been juſt complaining of: for either there are not any repreſentations in the remains of the old artiſts, to be confronted with thoſe deſcriptions; or, at leaſt, I do not know of any ſuch. Peneus was looked on as the chief of all rivers, among the Greeks, juſt as Eridanus was among the Romans; or as we in England are apt to call the Thames, the nobleſt river in the world. It was hence probably, that they ſuppoſed the point whence all rivers had their riſe (108), to be near the ſource of the Peneus. The great caſcade he makes on his iſſuing out of mount Pindus, and his cave beneath it, are more diſtinctly (109) ſpoken of by Ovid, than the figure of the god himſelf.——Inachus is deſcribed, by Valerius Flaccus (110), as quite reclined; and by Statius (111), as ſitting, and leaning againſt a bank; holding his urn ſloping,

(105) The collection of ſtatues, printed by Roſſi. N°. 86.

(106) Non tamen Egeriæ luctus aliena levare
Damna valent; montiſque jacens radicibus imis
Liquitur in lachrymas. Donec pietate dolentis
Mota ſoror Phœbi, gelidum de corpore fontem
Fecit; & æternas artus tenuavit in undas.
Met. 15. ℣. 551.

(107) Juvenal complains of their having ſpoiled part of the natural beauties of this place, by their adorning it with marble; in his time.

In vallem Egeriæ deſcendimus, & ſpeluncas
Diſſimiles veris. Quanto præſtantius eſſet
Numen aquæ, viridi ſi margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum?
Sat. 3. ℣. 20.

There is now a long ſtone-table in the midſt of it, which is ſaid to have been placed there in the time of Charles V; when that emperor had the curioſity to dine in the place, where Numa uſed to receive his laws.

For the more antient accounts of it, ſee Note 63, anteh.

What Juvenal calls the Vallis Egeriæ, I take to be the ſame with what Ovid calls the Arician Vale; (Met. 15. ℣. 488.) Vitruvius, the Arician Grove: (Lib. 8. c. 3. p. 157.) and Statius, the Arician Grotto. (Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. ℣. 291.) Not that beautiful vale, under the town of Aricia; but that pretty one, near Rome, where it is univerſally agreed that the grotto of Egeria is. Perhaps Egeria was a native of Aricia; and thence her grotto, grove, and vale, near Rome, might be called Aricinæ: or ſhe might be particularly worſhipped at Aricia, and her ſtatue in the grotto near Rome, might be conſecrated to the Egeria Aricina: as there is a church dedicated to the Virgo Lauretana now in Rome; and as I have ſeen a chapel, which they call the chapel of Loretto, in Flanders.

(108) Virgil, Georg. 4. ℣. 363—369.

(109) Eſt nemus Hæmoniæ, prærupta quod undique claudit
Sylva; vocant Tempe; per quæ Penëus ab imo
Effuſus Pindo ſpumoſis volvitur undis:
Dejectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, ſummaſque aſpergine ſylvas
Impluit, & ſonitu plus quàm vicina fatigat.
Hæc domus, hæc ſedes, hæc ſunt penetralia magni
Amnis. In hoc reſidens facto de cautibus antro
Undis jura dabat, Nymphiſque colentibus undas.
Conveniunt illuc popularia Flumina primùm:——
Moxque Amnes alii.

(110) ——Veneranda fluenti
Effigies te, Phaſi, manet; quàm magnus Enipeus,
Et pater aurato quantus jacet Inachus antro.
Flac. Argon. 5. ℣. 210.

(111) ——Pater ipſe bicornis
In lævum pronâ nixus ſedet Inachus urnâ.
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 218.
——Pater ordine juncto
Lævus arundineæ recubanſque ſub aggere ripæ
Cernitur, emiſſæque indulgens Inachus urnæ.
Id. Ib. 6. ℣. 275.

ſloping, and pouring the waters out of it: and, (as the taſte began to be corrupted with finery in their time,) one of them ſeems to celebrate his cave, for being all ornamented with gilding on the inſide: which was yet worſe than the regular marble-work, which was introduced into Egeria's grotto, about the ſame time.——Any figure of Achelous would be eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from all his brother River-gods, by his having loſt one of his horns (112); if his crown of reeds, or willow, did not hide that defect.——We have a full picture of Iſmenos, in Statius's Thebaïd. According to that poet, he ſhould be of a vaſt ſize, with a pine-tree in one hand, and his urn under the other. He ſhould have his horns interwove with creſſes, or other herbs that grow in the water; and moſs all over his neck and ſhoulders. In that poet you ſee him riſing (113) above the river he preſides over; his hair mixed with froth, and the water falling from his beard, ſo faſt and in ſuch quantities, that it makes a ſtream all down his breaſt: his hair is loaded with icicles (114); and he drops his pine and urn on being ſtruck with the ſudden and violent complaints of one of his water-nymphs. His face is (115) diſturbed, and in a paſſion; and half covered with the water and ſand (116), that run down from his hair.

ONE might form a very good idea for a fountain-ſtatue, from this deſcription of the Iſmenos in Statius: but were I to introduce any figure in this part of my gardens, which was not copied from ſome work of the antient artiſts, I ſhould rather chuſe to borrow it from Ovid's deſcription of Acis than any other. You know the Loves of Acis and the Nereid Galatea. One day, as they were ſitting together under a rock by the ſea-ſide, Polyphemus ſaw them from far, and run toward them. Galatea, plunged into the ſea; and Acis fled, as faſt as his fears could carry him, from ſo formidable an enemy. Polyphemus purſued him, with the broken fragment of a rock in his hands; and when he came near enough, flung it at the unfortunate lover. The rock cruſhed him to death; and ſplit itſelf, in ſeveral pieces, in its fall. When the Cyclops came up to him, how great muſt his aſtoniſhment be, to find new created reeds growing thro' all the places where the rock was ſplit? to hear waters gurgling from within, as they roſe to the top of the broken rock, and then falling down on every ſide of it? and in fine to ſee a youth riſe, breaſt-high, above thoſe waters; in every thing like Acis, excepting all that additional dignity of a River-god, juſt then conferred upon him by the influence of his dear Galatea? Acis himſelf (juſt as he is deſcribed by Ovid (117)) for the fountain-figure; and the Cyclops, on one ſide of it; as ſtopping ſhort, with that mixture of rage and ſurprize which ought to appear on his countenance; would to my mind be a better ſubject for a fountain-ſtory, than any one in all that number they have made uſe of to adorn the gardens of Verſailles. I do not mean by this, that I would chuſe complex ſubjects for fountains. On the contrary, I ſhould think the ſingle figure of Acis, and his rock, better for a fountain by itſelf; than when, either with his rival, or his miſtreſs, by his ſide: but where complex ſtories are to be made uſe of, I ſhould imagine this ſtory would ſerve better, than the Revenge of the Frogs on Latona, or even the Reception of Apollo by the Nereids: which I mention as two of the propereſt ſtories for fountains, that

(112) ——Herculeâ turpatus gymnade vultus
Amnis.——
Statius. Theb. 4. ℣. 106.

——Vultus Achelous agreſtes,
Et lacerum cornu mediis caput abdidit undis;——
Cætera ſoſpes erat: capitis quoque fronde ſalignâ,
Aut ſuperimpoſitâ celatur arundine damnum.
Ovid. Met. 9. ℣. 100.

(113) ——Tantus tumido de gurgite ſurgit;
Spumoſum attollens apicem, lapſuque ſonoro
Pectora cæruleæ rivis manantia barbæ.
Statius, Theb. 9. ℣. 415.

(114) ——Levat aſpera muſco
Colla, gravemque gelu crinem: ceciditque ſolutâ
Pinus adulta manu; demiſſaque volvitur urna.
Id. Ib. ℣. 140.

(115) ——Stetit arduus alto
Amne: manuque genas & nexa virentibus ulvis
Cornua concutiens, ſic turbidus ore profundo
Incipit.——
Ib. ℣. 421.

(116) Turbidus imbre genas, & nube natantis arenæ.
Ib. ℣. 482.

(117) ——Tum moles jacta dehiſcit,
Vivaque per rimas proceraque ſurgit arundo;
Oſque cavum ſaxi ſonat exultantibus undis:
Miraque res! Subitò mediâ tenus extitit alvo
Incinctus juvenis flexis nova cornua cannis.
Qui niſi quòd major, quòd toto cærulus ore eſt,
Acis erat.——
Ovid. Met. 13. ℣. 896.

that I can remember, in thoſe celebrated gardens of a monarch, who is allowed, (even by his enemies,) to have been one of the greateſt, and the moſt magnificent, of any Europe has produced in our times.

EVERY River-god was ſuppoſed to be attended by ſeveral goddeſſes of an inferior nature, called Naiads; of whom, (as I obſerved to you in the caſe of the Nereids,) the poets ſay ſcarce any thing that is particular. What we learn of them in general is, that they were ſuppoſed to live in the palaces of the preſiding deities of fountains (118), lakes, and rivers. We have the names of no leſs than ſixteen of theſe deities, given us by Virgil (119); in his account of Cirene's apartment only, in the watry palace of Peneus: and Ovid ſpeaks of a hundred, at leaſt (120), in the river Anio. They had often a name, (121) from the particular river they inhabited. They are deſcribed with long (122), bright hair, flowing down their ſhoulders; their faces, ſhould have a ſhining (123), humid look, (not unlike the Venus Anaduomenè of Apelles:) their ſhape ſhould be fine, and their limbs well turned. Their robes, when they wear any, (for they are moſt commonly quite naked,) ſhould be of a greeniſh caſt (124); varied at pleaſure, ſome into lighter, and ſome into darker ſhades: and ſo thin, that you might diſcover all the turn of their limbs, and the fineneſs of their ſkin thorough them. They have ſometimes little flying veils (125), (in gems of the antients,) over their heads; like thoſe goddeſſes of the air, which the Romans called Auræ, and which we call Sylphs. Ovid dreſſes his Naiads with a good deal of variety (126); where he introduces them, as attending at a feaſt. Indeed this was their uſual employment: and, (to ſay the truth,) they ſeem to have been little better than ſo many domeſticks to the preſiding Water-deities. Almoſt all that we hear of them is, that they are lodged in their palaces (127); work (128), and tell ſtories together: and then come, and (129) wait at table.

As

(118) ——Illum fontana petebant
Numina Naïades; quas Albula, quaſque Numicî,
Quaſque Anienis aquæ, curſuque breviſſimus Almo,
Narque tulit præceps, & amœnæ Farfarus umbræ;
Quæque colunt Scythicæ regnum nemorale Dianæ;
Finitimoſque lacus.——
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 332.

(119) See Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 336, to 340; and 343, to 345.

(120) Ilia, pone metus: tibi Regia noſtra patebit,
Teque colent amnes; Ilia, pone metus:
Tu centum aut plures inter dominabere Nymphas;
Nam centum aut plures flumina noſtra tenent.
Ovid. Lib. 3. El. 6. ℣. 64.

(121) Thus the Water-nymphs, in the river Iſmenos, were called Iſmenides; (Statius, Theb. 9. ℣. 319.) and thoſe in the Tiber, Tiberinides: (Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 597.)

(122) Cæſariem effuſæ nitidam per candida colla.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 347.

(123) Ite, Deæ virides; liquidoſque advertite vultus!
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. ℣. 18.
—— Annuerunt omnes Tiberinides udæ.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 597.

(124) Valerius Flaccus, in his account of the rape of Hylas, (where by the way, he gives ſeveral other particulars of the Naiads,) introduces the nymphs of the water hunting, with thoſe of the woods; and dreſſes them all in green robes.

——Pulchro venantes agmine nymphas;
Undarum, nemorumque decus. Levis omnibus arcus,
Et manicæ virides, & ſtrictâ myrtus avenâ:
Summo palla genu. Tenui vagus innatat umbrâ
Crinis, ad obſcuræ decurrens cingula mammæ.
Argon. 3. ℣. 526.
——Caput glauco contexit amictu
Multa gemens, & ſe fluvio Dea condidit alto.
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 889.

Virgil ſpeaks this of Juturna, ſiſter of Turnus. She was a Naiad; and, in particular, one of the Tiberinides. See her ſtory, in Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 585—606.

(125) Perhaps theſe are what Ovid calls, Carbaſa; (where he ſpeaks of the water and wood-nymphs, as mourning.)

——Obſcuraque carbaſa pullo
Naiades & Dryades, paſſoſque habuere capillos.
Met. 11. ℣. 49.

(126) Naiades effuſis, aliæ ſine pectinis uſu,
Pars aderant comptis arte manuque comis.
Illa, ſuper ſuras tunicam collecta miniſtrat;
Altera, diſſuto pectus aperta ſinu.
Exerit hæc humerum; veſtes trahit illa per herbas:
Impediunt teneras vincula nulla pedes.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 410.

(127) ——Thalamo ſub fluminis alti.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 334.

(128) Inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
Vulcani, Martiſque dolos & dulcia furta;
Aque Chao denſos Divum numerabat amores:
Carmine quo captæ, dum fuſis mollia penſa
Devolvunt, &c.——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 349.

(129) ——Manibus liquidos dant ordine fontes
Germanæ, tonſiſque ferunt mantilia villis:
Pars epulis onerant menſas; & plena reponunt
Pocula.——
Ibid. ℣. 379.

So, in Achelous's grotto:

Protinus appoſitas nudæ veſtigia Nymphæ
Inſtruxere epulis menſas: dapibuſque remotis,
In gemmâ poſuere merum.——
Ovid. Met. 8. ℣. 572.

As Polymetis ſaid this, they came into the laſt opening; which was much wider than any of the reſt, and was bounded all along by the bank of the Thames. The grove-work run quite down to the river, at each end of it; and three or four fountains, with the ſtatue of a water-nymph to each of them, appeared along the margin of the intervening woods; at proper, tho' not quite equal diſtances, from one another. Their particular fountains were ſupplied by the water from above; and run off, in little winding ſtreams, thro' the graſs; till they were received in the river. Theſe nymphs, ſays Polymetis, are ſo many Naiads that I have ſeen in ſome work or other of the old artiſts; and, as they are unknown and without names, you may, (if you pleaſe,) call them, The Naiads of the Thames: a river, whoſe Genius deſerved a place among the moſt celebrated River-gods of antiquity; and would probably have been as much celebrated as any of them, had we happened to have been ſituated nearer to the center of the Roman empire. But we lay too far from them, to have been even heard of by the Romans, in the earlieſt ages of their empire; and ſo divided from all parts of it, that when they had diſcovered our iſland at laſt, they ſeem for a great while to have talked of it much in the ſame ſtyle that we uſed to talk of America. We were then the new world, and the other world; according to their notions of us. Had Britain lain as near Rome, as Sicily does; and in ſuch a ſituation, could have been as conſiderable for trade, as it has been ſince; I doubt not, but that the Thame and Iſis would have been as much celebrated by the Roman poets, I will not ſay as their Alpheus and Arethuſa, but as any of the rivers the moſt conſidered and the moſt talked of in antiquity. We ſhould not then have been at a loſs for figures of the venerable Thamus, on old medals and relievo's: and we might poſſibly have ſeen him there, crowned with oak: and holding the rudder of a ſhip in his right hand, and a cornucopia, in his left; the former, to denote our dominion over the ſea; and the latter, to ſignify that plenty which he ſpreads on each ſide his banks; perhaps as much as any river, except the Nile.

I Could ſay much more in praiſe of the river before us: but as the evening is coming on, and the dews begin to fall, we had better leave this damp part of my garden; and get within doors as faſt as we can. When we are there, in defect of paſſages from the Roman poets, we may, (if you pleaſe,) read over what our own poets have ſaid of the Thames; and perhaps we ſhall find ſome commendations of him in them, as well wrote, and better founded, than many of the allegorical compliments, that were ſo much in faſhion among the former.

Boitard sculp

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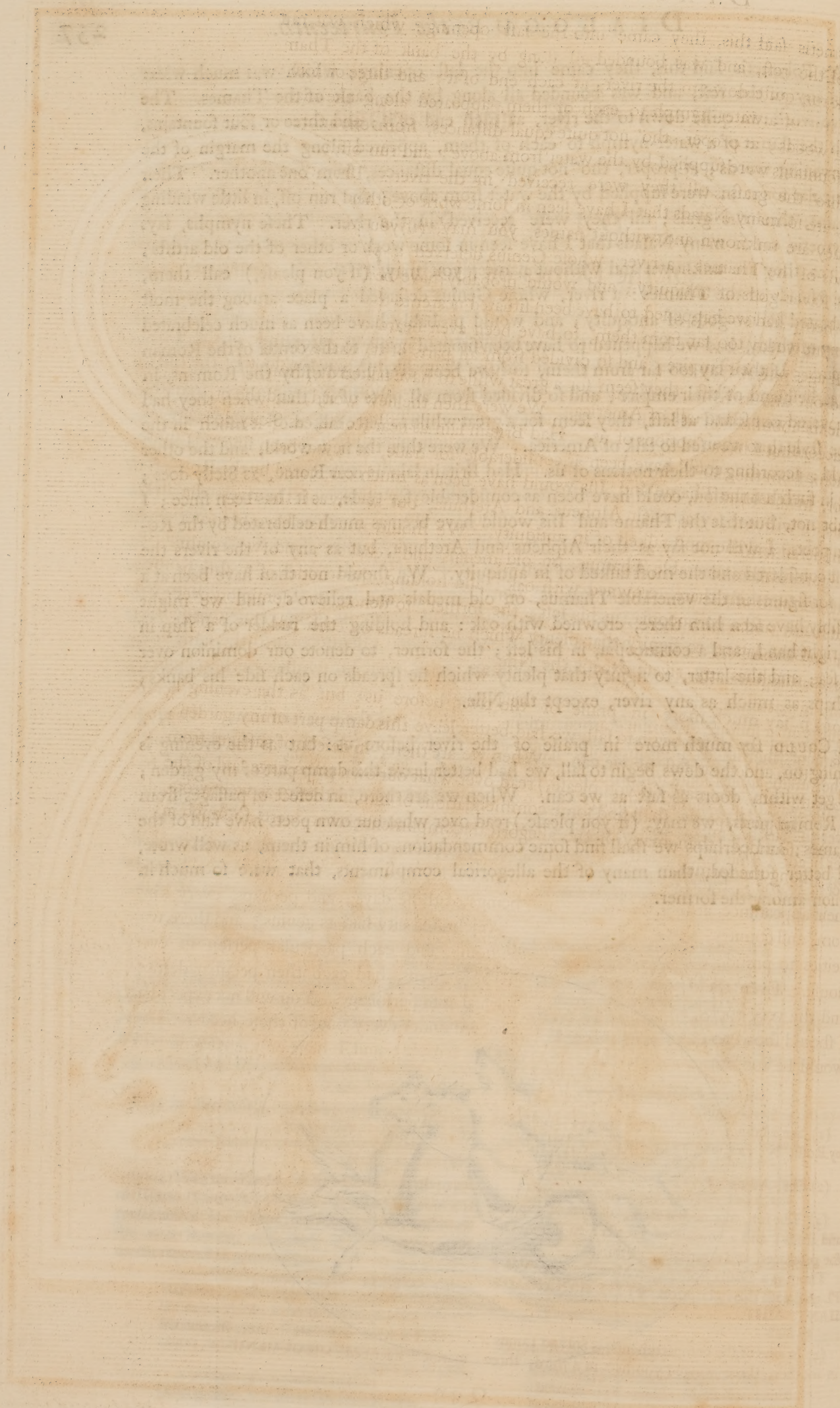

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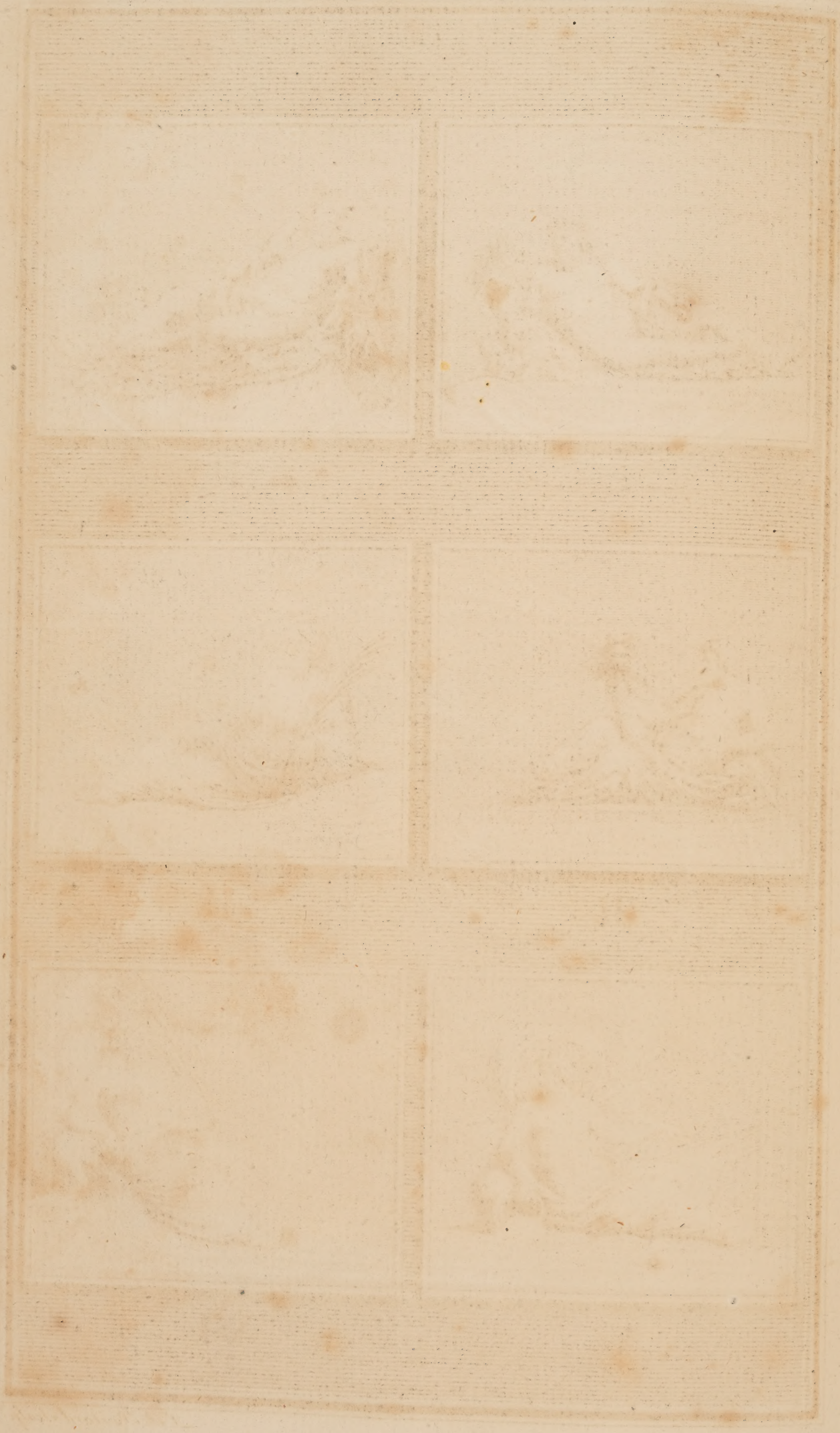

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III

IV

V

VI

L. P. Boitard Sculp

BOOK the Eighth.

DIAL. XV.

Of the Deities of the EARTH.

THE next morning Polymetis carried his two friends to his temple of the Terreſtrial Deities, oppoſite to that of the Water Deities; at the foot of the hill: and as they were going to it, "I need not now inform you, ſays he, that the antients abounded in this allegorical kind of beings, much more than is uſually imagined. This is what I have obſerved to you on ſeveral occaſions already: but it will be yet more evident from the claſs we are going to conſider. For they had formerly ſome deities relating to our world, which, probably, you have never yet thought of; and perhaps may not be ſo eaſy to admit, when I tell you of them. Nature was certainly repreſented as a perſon by them. There was a ſtatue, ſuppoſed to be of this goddeſs, in the Queen of Sweden's collection (1); and another juſt like it, in the Marquis Cavalieri's, at Rome: and, if you ſhould diſpute both of theſe, you may find her, with her name (2) ingraved under her; on that famous relievo at the Colonna palace, which repreſents the deification of Homer. The Great Diana of the Epheſians probably repreſented the ſame goddeſs; as appears, (I think, very plainly,) from the various (3) ſymbols on her figures: and, in particular, there is one in the Great Duke's collection at Florence, with different figures on it in four different compartiments, ſignifying (4) the four Elements. The four Elements themſelves are repreſented perſonally, in ſeveral (5) remains of the antient artiſts. They made a perſonage too, to repreſent our whole globe (6); and another, of the (7) habitable part of it: beſide Cybele, who was the goddeſs moſt uſually ſuppoſed to preſide over the earth; and who is therefore, generally, repreſented with a crown of turrets on her head. The Earth itſelf, you know, was a goddeſs; and had temples conſecrated to her at Rome. Each part of the then known world, (Europe, Aſia, and Africa,) made their appearance among the imaginary beings of thoſe days; and perhaps, every kingdom, and country, in each of them. Each celebrated city had its genius; and there were deities to preſide over every ſtreet, every houſe, and each particular perſon in every houſe. Even the woods, the fields, and the gardens, had each their peculiar deities; and the very rocks, and mountains, were turned into perſonages. You will not expect that I ſhould ſhow you all the figures I could procure under every one of theſe heads. They would be too numerous for this, or any other temple: and I have only endeavoured to get

(1) See Maffei's collection of ſtatues; publiſhed by Roſſi, N°. 121, and 134.

(2) See, Admir. Pl. 81.

(3) The ſun, moon, and ſtars; all ſorts of animals, and fruits; and a number of breaſts: to ſhow, that ſhe produces, and nouriſhes, all things.

There is a Diana Epheſia, in Montfaucon, (Vol. I. Pl. 96.) with this inſcription. ΦΥΣΙΣ ΠΑΝΑΙΟΛΟΣ. ΠΑΝΤ. ΜΗΤ.

(4) In one of the compartiments, is Sol and Lunus; in another, three winged youths: in a third, three nymphs with cornucopia's; and in the fourth, a Water-nymph. See Muſ. Flor. Vol. III. Pl. 20.

(5) In the entrance of the Florentine gallery, there is a fine relievo, with three of them; and all the four, are repreſented Pl. 9, anteh. and in the Adm. N°. 22, 66, &c.

(6) See Pl. 32. Fig. 3. poſth.

(7) There is a female figure, on the Colonna-marble; inſcribed, OIKOUMENH.

get either ſuch of them, as were the moſt conſiderable; or ſuch, as were the moſt likely to be of ſervice to my preſent purpoſe.

Pl.XXXII. Fig.1. THIS figure in the center, (added he, as he entered the temple,) is the goddeſs of Nature. She is repreſented, you ſee, with great ſimplicity; her robes fall down to her feet, (partly perhaps for dignity, and partly to ſhew how much her ways are concealed from us:) and ſhe has a baſket with fruits, on her head; as the cauſe of plenty, and the producer of all things. The poets ſpeak but very ſeldom of this goddeſs perſonally: and I remember only one picture of her, in any of their works; and that indeed is finely imagined. It is in Statius's Achilleid; where he is ſpeaking of the rebellion of the giants: on which occaſion, he repreſents Nature, as almoſt breathleſs with fear; and with her (8) eyes ſteadily fixed on Jupiter, as confiding ſolely in his aſſiſtance.

THE ſitting figure juſt oppoſite to the door, you ſee, is Cybele; and that, in a reclined poſture, on her right hand, is Tellus. Cybele is diſtinguiſhed ſufficiently, from all the reſt by the pine-branch, in her hand; and the lion, on each ſide of her chair. The poets, and artiſts, ſometimes gave her a chariot too drawn (9) by lions; and Ovid, in particular, deſcribes her as deſcending from the heavens to the earth (10), in the ſame equipage.

Pl.XXXII. Fig.2.

EVEN ſome of the Roman proſe-writers, ſpeak of Tellus perſonally (11); and attribute paſſions to her. Her figures are frequently (12) to be met with, in the remains of the antient artiſts. I never ſaw any figure of Tellus, which was not in a reclining poſture: for much the ſame reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that River-gods are always reclined; and the deities of the air, flying and alert. The only conſiderable deſcription I can recollect from

(8) Sic cum bellantes Phlegræa in caſtra coirent
Cœlicolæ; jamque Odryſiam Gradivus in haſtam
Surgeret, & Lybicos Tritonia tolleret angues;
Ingentemque manu curvaret Delius arcum:
Stabat, anhela metu, ſolum Natura Tonantem
Reſpiciens. ———
Statius, Achil. 1. ℣. 489.

(9) Et juncti currum dominæ ſubiere leones.
Virgil. Æn. 3. ℣. 113.
Alma parens Idæa Deum; cui Dindyma cordi,
Turrigeræque urbes, bijugique ad fræna leones.
Id. Ibid. 10. ℣. 253.
Hanc veteres Graiûm docti cecinere poetæ
Sedibus in curru bijugos agitare leones;—
Muralique caput ſummum cinxere coronâ:—
Quo nunc inſigni per magnas prædita terras
Horrificè fertur Divinæ Matris imago.
Lucretius, 2. ℣. 609.

(10) Cum memor has pinus Idæo vertice cæſas
Sancta Deûm genetrix, tinnitibus aëra pulſi
Æris & inflati complevit murmure buxi;
Perque leves domitis invecta leonibus auras,
"Irrita ſacrilegâ jactas incendia dexrrâ,
Turne, ait: eripiam," &c.
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 540.

The goddeſs Cybele, was one of the higheſt dignity, and worſhip; in the religion of the old Romans. I have often thought, that ſeveral of the honours paid by them to her, and ſeveral other of their deities, have been at different times, united and transferred to the worſhip of the Virgin Mary; by the artifices of the Church of Rome. To mention a few inſtances, out of many: they now generally apply to the Virgin Mary all over Italy, for rain; juſt as the old Romans did, to their Jupiter Pluvius.—The ladies at Rome who are deſirous of having children, pay their devotions now, at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore; as they did formerly, when it was the temple of Juno Regina.——They look on the virgin now, as the moſt preſent aid to women in labour; as they did formerly, on their virgin-goddeſs Diana.—And they have now in Italy perhaps as many and as magnificent proceſſions, in her honour; as they had formerly to Cybele.—There is ſome reſemblance too in the titles given to Cybele of old, and to the B. Virgin now. The old Romans called Cybele, Domina; Mater; Mater Cultrix; Divina Mater; Alma Parens Deûm; Sancta Deûm Genetrix; &, Mater Deûm. As to the titles given to the Virgin Mary in Italy at preſent, ſome that reſemble theſe will occur to every one; and to reckon them up all, might make this note, (which is but too long perhaps already,) longer than my whole book.

(11) Perſequimur omnes ejus (Telluris) fibras; vivimuſque ſuper excavatam: mirantes dehiſcere aliquando, aut intremiſcere illam. Ceu verò non hoc etiam indignatione Sacræ Parenti exprimi poſſit. Pliny, l. 33. Procem. p. 329. Ed. Elz.

(12) In the gems, where Sol is repreſented as ſetting out in his chariot.——On Sarcophagus's; where you often have Tellus and Oceanus in the front; I ſuppoſe, to ſignify that the perſon incloſed in it was returned to his firſt elements.——In pieces, relating to the creation of man: and in many other ſubjects, where the four elements are introduced perſonally, by the artiſt.——See Pl. 9.—Pl. 25. Fig. 3.—Pl. 26. Fig. 4.—Pl. 27. Fig. 3, and 4, anteh.

from the Roman poets relating to this goddeſs, is in Ovid's (13) account of the Fall of Phaëton. Ovid there hints, (I think, more than once,) at the low poſture of her figures: but he has ſo often daſhed the allegory and reality together, in that deſcription; that it is difficult enough to diſtinguiſh, where he is ſpeaking of the earth as an element, and where of Tellus as a goddeſs.

TELLUS is ſometimes repreſented (14) with a globe, (or the Orbis terrarum,) in her hand; and ſometimes the Orbis terrarum itſelf is perſonified, and appears under the figure of a man: as on this medal, in particular, where you ſee him quite naked; kneeling on one knee: and the emperor giving him his hand, to raiſe him up. PL. XXXII. FIG. 3.

THE three great diviſions of the world, Europe, Aſia, and Africa, were repreſented as perſons by the antient artiſts; and are ſometimes ſpoken of as ſuch, by their poets: tho' to ſay the truth this is much more common with the lower poets, than thoſe of the more allowed ages.

I TAKE Europe to have been often meant, under the figure of Europa on her bull; as you ſee her on this gem. This is a very common ſubject with the old artiſts: and they ſeem to have been as fond of repeating it, as Ovid is; in whom we have three or four (15) ſeveral accounts of this ſtory. There is however one thing obſervable enough on this gem; which I think he has not mentioned in any of them: and that is, the bull's walking over the ſurface of the water, as if it was firm land.——If you are not ſatiſfied with this miſtreſs of Jupiter, for a repreſentative of our part of the world; you may ſee her as ſhe was ſuppoſed to appear in perſon in the heavens, in a Greek relievo (16) relating to the deification of Hercules: where ſhe ſeems to attend that great hero; and, (to prevent all diſputes,) has her name engraved over her. PL. XXXII. FIG. 4.

ASIA appears on this medal; ſtanding on the roſtrum of a ſhip; with a rudder in one hand, and a ſerpent in the other. The two former of theſe attributes may refer to the greateſt improvements of navigation among the antients coming from that part of the world: for the Greeks and Romans owned themſelves to be much inferior in that art, to the people of Tyre and Sidon; and what the Africans had of it, was brought originally from Tyre. As to her other attribute, (or the ſerpent,) I am at a loſs to know what it means; unleſs it may poſſibly ſignify, that the art of phyſic came from the ſame quarter: for was it meant as a natural produce of that part of the world; it would, methinks, have been a more proper emblem for Africa, than for Aſia. The figures of Aſia are very uncommon. I never remember to have ſeen but three of them: that on this medal; another from a gem (17) repreſenting Hector's being dragged behind Achil- PL. XXXII. FIG. 5.

les's

(13) Alma tamen Tellus ut erat circumdata ponto,
Inter aquas pelagi, contractos undique fontes,
(Qui ſe condiderant in opacæ viſcera matris,)
Suſtulit omniferos collo tenus arida vultus:
Oppoſuitque manum fronti. Magnoque tremore
Omnia concutiens paulum ſubſedit; & infra,
Quàm ſolet eſſe, fuit: ſiccâque ita voce locuta eſt.—
Ovid. Met. 2. ℣. 278.

Vix equidem fauces hæc ipſa in verba reſolvo;
(Preſſerat ora vapor:) toſtos en aſpice crines!
Inque oculis tantum, tantum ſuper ora favillæ!
Hoſne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem
Officiique refers, quòd adunci vulnera aratri
Raſtrorumque fero, totoque exerceor anno?
Ibid. ℣. 287.

Dixerat hæc Tellus; neque enim tolerare vaporem
Ulterius potuit, nec diſcere plura; ſuumque
Retulit os in ſe, propioraque Manibus antra.
Ibid. ℣. 303.

Ovid here plainly endeavours to bring in the Earth as a perſonage; ſo that, during this appearance of her, he ſhould have conſidered her conſtantly as perſonified. He ſpeaks of the poſture of her Body; of her face, her forehead, her eyes, and her hands: and, in the ſame breath, talks of her being encompaſſed with the ſea; of her being ploughed up; of her fruit-bearing face; and of her hiding her head, in herſelf. This is juſt that ſort of confuſion which Mr. Prior complains of ſo much, (and with ſo much reaſon,) in the Hind and Panther. It runs indeed throughout that whole poem. Very few of the antients are apt to be guilty of it: and there are more inſtances of it perhaps in the works of Ovid, than in thoſe of all the Roman poets of the three good ages put together.

(14) See Oiſelius's medals, Pl. 15. 1.

(15) Faſt. 5. ℣. 605 to 614.—Met. 2. ℣. 870, to 875.—Ib. 6. ℣. 103, to 107.

(16) Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. 141.

(17) In Baron Stoſche's collection of drawings, at Florence.

les's chariot, round the walls of Troy; and the third on a fine relievo which I ſhall ſhew you by and by, relating to the deſtruction of that city, and the ſeat of Empire's being transferred from Aſia into Europe. In both the latter, this goddeſs appears as in deep diſtreſs, for the ſufferings and deſolation of her people.

Pl.XXXII. Fig.6. The figures of Africa are common, both on gems and medals. On this medal, you ſee, ſhe has her elephant-helmet, which is ſo often mentioned by Claudian; and a lion, by her; for the ſame reaſon that ſhe is ſometimes repreſented with a ſcorpion in her hand, or with an elephant at her feet. Oxen are alſo uſed as attributes of Africa, in the works of the antient artiſts; and ſo is corn often: and, ſometimes, a baſket of ſeveral ſorts of fruit; as you ſee it is, on the medal before you. As the antients were chiefly acquainted only with the lower Egypt, and the ſea-coaſt of Afric toward the Mediterranean, this part of the world ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed among them, by its fertility and plenty. Were our modern artiſts to invent a perſonage for Africa, I queſtion whether they would be ſo complaiſant to her. They would, perhaps, make her hold a branch in her hand, without any leaves on it; and if they placed a baſket by her, they would probably perhaps fill it with ſand, inſtead of fruit. Which, (by the way,) would be but too juſt an emblem for our African company too, at preſent; in the poor, diſtreſſed, and neglected ſituation, it has been forced to be left, by the difficulties of the times: tho' it is much to be hoped, that a more proper ſeaſon may ſoon offer, for reviving it; and making it, once more, one of the chief channels for wealth and plenty, to this nation.

Several kingdoms and provinces in each of theſe parts of the world, (as Cappadocia, Dacia, Arabia, Judea; Egypt; Italy, France, Spain; Germany, and our own Britain; and many others;) appear frequently in their perſonal characters on medals: all as ladies; tho' with ſome particular mark, or attribute, to diſtinguiſh each of them from the reſt. The poets, of the better ages, mention moſt of theſe too as perſons: but it is very ſlightly; and ſcarce ever in that full and diffuſed manner, with which they are deſcribed by ſome of the lower poets; and particularly, by Claudian (18). I do not know of any one line, in which even Italy is ſpoken of perſonally, in all Virgil's works; nor in any one of his cotemporaries. Lucan indeed, in the next age, has a pretty full deſcription of Italia. He makes her appear (19), in a diſtreſſed, melancholy attitude, to diſſuade Cæſar from paſ-
Pl.XXXII. Fig.7. ſing the Rubicon: and ſpeaks of her being crowned with turrets; as her figure is, on the reverſe of this medal: in which there is one thing ſo remarkable that I muſt juſt point it out to you. Italia, you ſee here is ſeated on a celeſtial globe, inſtead of a globe of the earth: ſo that the Romans ſeem to have arrogated to themſelves, not only the dominion of our world; but that of the univerſe, or of all worlds; which is going in fact very much beyond, what was looked upon as a very prepoſterous wiſh even in Alexander the Great. Ovid ſpeaks of Germania, perſonally, in two or three different places. He deſcribes her ſometimes as (20) kneeling or ſitting in a dejected manner, at the feet of her conqueror; and ſometimes as (21) recovering herſelf under the mildneſs of the Roman

(18) Whoever has a mind to ſee Claudian's manner of deſcribing provinces perſonally, may meet with three or four inſtances of it, in his panegyric on Stilicho; lib. 1. (Italy, ℣. 262, &c. Spain, 228, &c. France, 240, &c. Britain, 247, &c.)

(19) Ingens viſa duci Patriæ trepidantis imago,
(Clara per obſcuram vultu mœſtiſſima noctem, &
Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines)
Cæſarie lacerâ, nudiſque aſtare lacertis.
Lucan. 1. ℣. 189.

This was the manner in which the Roman matrons appeared, when they were lamenting the deceaſe of their huſbands, or beſt friends.

Effuſæque comas & apertæ pectora matres
Significant luctum.——
Ovid. Met. 13. ℣. 689.

Circum omnis famulûmque manus Trojanaque turba,
Et mœſtum Iliades crinem de more ſolutæ,
Ingentem genitum tunſis ad ſidera tollunt
Pectoribus.——
Virgil. Æn. 11. ℣. 38.

Their arms were bare on this occaſion, as well as their breaſts; as you may ſee in the relievo's relating to this ſubject, in the Adm. Pl. 71, &c.

(20) Jam fera Cæſaribus Germania, (totus ut orbis,)
Victa potes flexo ſuccubuiſſe genu.
Ovid. Triſt. lib. 4. El. 2. ℣. 2.

Crinibus en etiam fertur Germania paſſis;
Et ducis invicti ſub pede mœſta ſedet.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 44.

(21) ——Sparſos Germania crines
Corrigit auſpiciis, dux venerande, tuis.
Ovid. Faſt. 1. ℣. 646.

Roman government: and this indeed is the general method of repreſenting the conquered provinces on medals. They appear there almoſt always, either as depreſſed under one emperor; or raiſed up by the hand of another. It was a very old and conſtant opinion among the Romans, that they were a people deſigned by heaven (22) to ſubdue and govern the whole earth. It was they who were to give laws to all the different nations of it (23): "To ſpare the ſuppliant, and to quell the proud." This is the uſual ſtyle of their poets; their artiſts; and even of their hiſtorians: and that ſo equally, that it would be difficult perhaps to determine, by which of them the Roman arrogance is expreſſed the moſt ſtrongly and in the groſſeſt manner. Pl. XXXII. Fig. 8, & 9.

I WAS juſt now ſaying, that the poets of the Auguſtan age have but very few perſonal deſcriptions of the different provinces of the world, in their poems: and their figures are as difficult to be met with in the medals of that time. As the ſucceeding emperors added any new province to the Roman empire, the artiſts began to compliment them with a figure of it on the reverſe of their medals. This, I imagine, was done more ſparingly at firſt; but when a few emperors had been complimented thus, others began to expect it as their due: and ſo by degrees it grew to be a thing ſcarce to be omitted. This, if true, may account for the ſilence on this head, in the better poets; and for their lower poets abounding ſo much more, in deſcriptions of this kind.

WHAT has been ſaid of the deſcriptions of provinces, will hold equally of thoſe of cities. Any perſonal ſtrokes in relation to them are very uncommon in the good ages: but common enough in the lower ages; and particularly, in Claudian and Auſonius.

ROME indeed was always a ſubject for the medalliſts, and other artiſts: and we have more deſcriptive lines on her, even in the poets to whoſe works I have confined my enquiry, than of all the other cities put together. You ſee her there; ſitting, on a heap of arms: with a ſword in one hand, and a little figure of the goddeſs Victory in the other. She is frequently repreſented in this manner; only ſometimes the Victory has a globe added in its hands. Her look and poſture denote dignity: as thoſe attributes of the Sword, Victory, and Globe, ſay very plainly (in the language of the ſtatuaries) that ſhe made herſelf miſtreſs of the whole world by her atchievements in war. Accordingly, the Roman poets call her (24), The Martial City; the Eternal City; the Miſtreſs of all Cities; and the Goddeſs, that preſides over all countries and nations. By the way, this ſettled notion which prevailed ſo much among the Romans that they were to become maſters of the whole world, ſhews with how much more propriety the globe was given as an attribute to the city of Rome, when repreſented perſonally; than it is now to the ſtatues of each little prince, or the rulers of any particular kingdom. It was a very ſignificant emblem of univerſal monarchy; but has no ſignificance at all, when applied to the rulers of any portion only of the earth: and is no more proper in the hands of the Grand-Signor, than in thoſe of a petty king of Naples. Pl. XXXII. Fig. 10.

OVID

(22) ——Aſpera Juno
Conſilia in melius referet; mecumque fovebit
Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Veniet luſtris labentibus ætas,
Cum domus Aſſaraci Phthiam claraſque Mycenas
Servitio premet.——
Virgil. Æn 1. ℣. 285. Spoke by Jupiter.

Externi veniunt generi, qui ſanguine noſtrum
Nomen in aſtra ferent; quorumque ab ſtirpe nepotes
Omnia ſub pedibus, quà ſol utrumque recurrens
Aſpicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.
Oracle of Faunus, Ib 7. ℣. 101.

Livy ſpeaks of this notion as early as in Romulus's time; and often afterwards in his hiſtory.

(23) Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra: &c.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacique imponere morem:
"Parcere ſubjectis; & debellare ſuperbos."
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 854.

(24) Romulus excipiet gentem; & Mavortia condet
Mœnia.——
Id. Æn. 1. ℣. 277.

Romulus æternæ nondum formaverat urbis
Mœnia.——
Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 5. ℣. 24.

——O Tutela præſens
Italiæ, dominæque Romæ!
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 14. ℣. 44.

Terrarum Dea, Gentiumque Roma.
Martial. Lib. 2. Epig. 8.

Ovid describes Roma, (or the Genius of the city of Rome,) lying at the feet of Brennus (25), when the Capitol was taken by the Gauls; in the same manner as we see the conquered provinces at the feet of the Roman emperors, when they had extended their conquests so far. In another place, the same poet says her face was like that of Augustus Cæsar (26): and you will find that piece of flattery to have had some ground, if you compare their heads together; as you may, whenever you are looking over any tolerable collection of medals. Silius Italicus describes her with a crown of turrets (27) on her head. In all the figures I have seen of her, she appears always with a helmet: but the other is so proper for all the deities of cities in general, that it is highly probable that the artists represented Rome sometimes with it too: especially on some pacific occasion; or in any story, that had more relation to the gown, than to the sword.

However that be, the appearance of this goddess is generally so martial, that it has made some of the most knowing antiquarians mistake the goddess of Virtus for her: as Bellori in particular has done, several times (28), in speaking of the most celebrated relievo's in the Admiranda, and on the triumphal arches. The figures he calls Roma in these, is dressed partly like an Amazon. One of her breasts is bare; her garments fall only to the knee; she has buskins half way up the leg: a helmet on her head; a sword (or spear,) in one hand, and a globe in the other. This goddess, in the relievo's I am speaking of, is generally either going out with their emperors, on some expedition or other; or bringing them home, in triumph. I should therefore rather think that it is the goddess Virtus, than the goddess Roma: and indeed her dress agrees much better to the former, than to the latter. Rome is generally represented sitting; this appears always standing: Rome, is dressed to the feet; this, short, and in the Amazonian way: Rome, is still and imperial; this, like Virtus, always in action; and dressed fit for it.

Pl. XXXII. Fig. 11. We find (29) Alexandria, on gems, and medals; as on this, in particular: where she is marked out, like Africa, by attributes of plenty. She has corn, and wines about her. Egypt, you know, was the granary of Rome: so that the corn, at least, is very proper. I have seen a statue at Rome, of a woman with a pidgeon on her hand, which may signify (30) the genius of Naples. It was but a bad one; and so I did not get any copy of it. The figures of these deities of cities must have been (31) very common of old; but are either uncommon enough, or (32) not commonly known now. I have seen some others;

(25) ——Alpino Roma sub hoste jacet.
Hæc est, cui fuerat promissa potentia rerum,
Jupiter! hanc terris impositurus eras!
Ovid. 6. ℣. 360.

(26) Hunc ego cum spectem, videor mihi cernere Romam;
Nam patriæ faciem sustinet ille suæ.
Id. ex Pont. Lib. 2. El. 8. ℣. 20.

(27) Ipsam turrigero portantem vertice muros
Credite submissas Romam jam tendere palmas.
Silius Ital. 4. ℣. 411.

(28) See Adm. N°. 6, 12, & 24. Arc. Triumph. N°. 4, 28, & 42.

(29) Portus Alexandrea supplex,
Et vacuam patefecit aulam.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 14. ℣. 36.

(30) Tu ductor populi longè emigrantis Apollo;
Cujus adhuc volucrem lævâ cervice sedentem
Respiciens blandè felix Eumelis adorat.
Statius, Lib. 4. Sylv. 8. ℣. 49.

I know not, why Statius calls her Eumelis here; he uses the more known name of Parthenope, in another of his poems.

Parthenope, cui mite solum trans æquora vectæ
Ipse Dionæâ monstravit Apollo columbâ.
Id. Lib. 3. Sylv. 5. ℣. 80.

(31) They were carried in their triumphs:
Hoc facito Armenios; hæc est Danæïa Persis:
Urbs in Achæmeniis vallibus ista fuit.
Ovid. Art. Am. 1. ℣. 226.

Chrysippus, cum in triumpho Cæsaris eburnea oppida essent translata, & post paucos dies Fabii Maximi lignea; "thecas esse oppidorum Cæsaris," dixit. (Quintilian, Lib. 6. Cap. 3. p. 478. Ed. Hack.)—— L. Sylla, qui plurima bella civilia confecit; cujus crudelissimi & insolentissimi successus fuerunt; cum consummatâ potentiâ suâ triumphum duceret, ut Græciæ & Asiæ multas Urbes, ita civium Romanorum nullum Oppidum vexit. Valerius Maximus, Memorab. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

The Romans of old had statues of their little cities, as well as of their more considerable ones. Seiam a ferendo, Segestam a segitibus appellabant; quarum simulacra in Circo videmus. Pliny, Lib. 18. c. 2.

(32) Seia probably was represented with seed-corn in her hand, and Segesta with ears of corn: and who knows whether some of the statues, we now call by the name of Ceres, may not really be Segesta's? A Parthenope, with a pidgeon, would be apt generally to be mistaken for a Venus: and so, in many other cases.

others (33); eſpecially on medals: but as the Roman poets ſcarce mention even their names, or at leaſt not perſonally, they are nothing to my purpoſe.

NOT only the cities of old were repreſented perſonally, and ſo helped to ſwell up the multitude of their gods: but every houſe and family had its preſiding deities; and that of two ſorts, their Penates and their Lares. Theſe leſſer Penates, or guardians of private families, (as the great Penates were of the ſtate,) I take to have been nothing elſe but the ſouls of their departed anceſtors: and in a picture in the Vatican Virgil, (which is the only certain repreſentation I have ever met with of theſe deities,) their appearance agrees very well with this notion. The Roman poets ſay (34) but little of theſe deities, in a deſcriptive way: the other family-deities, the Lares, they deſcribe much in the ſame manner as they (35) appear in this drawing. The Lares probably were ſuppoſed PL. XXXII. to preſide over houſe-keeping, the ſervants in families, and domeſtic affairs; as the Pe- FIG. 12. nates were the protectors of the maſters of families, their wives and children: and it may be on this account that the Lares are dreſſed in ſhort, ſuccinct habits, to ſhew their readineſs to ſerve; and that they hold a ſort of cornucopia in their hands, as a ſignal of hoſpitality and good houſe-keeping. I ſhall ſay nothing here of the Genius's, or Congenial Deities, ſuppoſed to attend each perſon born into the world from his cradle to his grave; and whoſe ſtatues were ſometimes placed with thoſe of the Lares: having had an occaſion of talking to you ſufficiently, on that head, already (36).

IF you chuſe to ſtep from their cities and houſes into the country, you will find that too all ſtocked with imaginary beings. There was no part of it ſo barren, as not to afford its deity. The very mountains and rocks were turned into perſonages. The gardens; the fields; the lawn; the arable; the vineyards; the groves and foreſts, were all aſſigned to their particular deities; and all abounded with this fictitious kind of inhabitants.

THIS drawing that I have in my hand is a copy of the Farneſe-Atlas: ſupporting the PL. XXXIII. celeſtial globe; which took up ſo much of your time, in my temple of the Conſtellations. The genius's of mountains, as well as thoſe of cities, were carried (37) in the triumphs of the Roman generals; and the figures of them are ſtill to be met with, in the remains of

(33) Theſe are generally of Greek, or Aſiatic cities. I remember to have met with either the whole figures, or heads, of Silvium a city in Apulia; Tyana and Sparta, in Greece: Edeſſa, Pergamus, Damaſcus, Smyrna, Tarſus, Tyre, and Sidon, in Aſia: and any one, who is more verſed in the ſtudy of medals, has no doubt ſeen a great many others, that have miſſed me.

(34) Virgil, in that part of his Æneid which anſwers the picture above mentioned, is more expreſs about theſe deities; than any paſſage I know of in the other Roman poets. He ſpeaks of them, as ſome of Æneas's anceſtors.

Effigies ſacræ Divûm, Phrygiique Penates,
Quos mecum à Trojâ mediiſque ex ignibus urbis
Extuleram, viſi ante oculos aſtare jacentis
In ſomnis; multo manifeſti lumine——
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes, hinc Dardanus ortus
Iäſiuſque pater; genus à quo principe noſtrum.—
Talibus attonitus viſis, ac voce Deorum,
(Nec ſopor illud erat, ſed coram agnoſcere vultus,
Velataſque comas, præſentiaque ora videbar;
Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore ſudor:)
Corripio e ſtratis corpus.——
Æn. 3. ℣. 147—176.

(35) Nutriat incinctos miſſa patella Lares.
Ovid. Faſt. 2. ℣. 634.
Bullaque ſuccinctis Laribus donata pependit.
Perſius, 5. ℣. 31.

The old Scholiaſt on this place, ſeems to confound them with the Penates. Gabino habitu, cinctuque, Dii Penates formabantur: obvoluti togâ, ſuper humerum ſiniſtrum; dextro nudo.

According to Ovid, there was generally two of them, who were ſometimes repreſented with a dog at their feet.

At canis ante pedes ſaxo fabricatos eodem
Stabat. Quæ ſtandi cum Lare cauſa fuit?
Servat uterque domum; domino quoque fidus uterque:
Compita grata Deo; compita grata cani:
Exagitant & Lar & turba Diania fures;
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque canes.
Bina gemellorum quærebam ſigna Deorum,
Viribus annoſæ facta caduca moræ.
Mille Lares, Geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos,
Urbs habet; & vici numina trina colunt.
Faſt. 5. ℣. 146.

(36) See Dial. X. p. 153. anteh.

(37) Quæ Loca, qui Montes, quæve ferantur Aquæ.
Ovid. Art. Am. 1. ℣. 220.

Is qui Sidonio fulget ſublimis in oſtro,
Dux fuerat belli; proximus ille duci:
Hic, qui nunc in humo lumen miſerabile figit,
Non iſto vultu cum tulit arma fuit.
Hic, Lacus; hi, Montes: hæc, tot Caſtella, tot Amnes, &c.
Id. Triſt. Lib. 4. El. 2. ℣. 37.

of the artiſts, more frequently perhaps than has been generally imagined. The (38) Genius of Mons Palatinus makes its appearance on a famous altar belonging to the Mellini family at Rome. Mons Cælius is in another relievo, together with Jupiter Cælius; and both their names ingraved under their figures. The Monte Citorio is wrought on the baſe of that great column, which was laying on the hill of the ſame name, when we were at Rome; and which has lately been ſet up there by the preſent Pope; who ſeems to emulate his predeceſſor in his care for the finer remains of antiquity. Mount Taurus appears much in the ſame manner on a fine relievo in the Capitol, taken from the triumphal arch which ſtood formerly in the Corſo at Rome. The Genius of mount Ida, (or of one of the hills at leaſt, belonging to that chain of mountains,) is repreſented on a fine relievo, in the Medici-gardens. The head of Timolus, a mountain-deity of Aſia; and the whole figure of Rhodope, in Thrace; appear on medals. I mention only what I have ſeen; and, no doubt, there are a great many others.

Ovid (39) has a deſcription of mount Atlas, in a perſonal ſtyle: and there is another in Virgil (40), from which one might form a very good idea for a fountain-ſtatue; as perhaps it was, originally, taken from one. However that be, the moſt uſual way of repreſenting Atlas among the antient artiſts, (as well as the modern,) was probably as ſupporting a globe: for the old poets (41) moſt commonly refer to this attitude, in ſpeaking of him. Valerius Flaccus in particular, has a very remarkable deſcription of a figure of Atlas; as ſtanding in the midſt of the waters; and ſupporting an armillary globe of the heavens, with all the planets making their proper motions round it: as I mentioned to you (42), on a former occaſion.

Under that window, is a copy of the fine Medici-relievo: which, (tho' it has ſuffered ſo much in many parts of it,) I look upon as one of the moſt noble remains of antiquity; and which will therefore take us up more time than ordinary, to conſider it as we ought. It is ſtocked with a great variety of imaginary beings; among which, there is one mountain-deity at leaſt. This relievo contains two diſtinct ſtories; told too, very diſtinctly: but connected together, as cauſe and effect. The firſt, is the famous Judgment of Paris; in which that young Trojan prince, (tho' then looked upon only as a ſhepherd,) prefers the goddeſs of Pleaſure, to the goddeſſes of Honour and Wiſdom: and the ſecond, is Jupiter's giving his decree for the deſtruction of Troy, and the removal of the ſeat of empire from Aſia into Greece: which great revolution was antiently looked upon, as the fatal conſequence of ſo imprudent a choice.

Pl. XXXIV. Here on your left hand, you ſee Paris, with his long dreſs and Phrygian bonnet; ſitting on a rock: and his ſheep, and cattle, round about him. Behind him, are two Dryades; (or rather Oreades; for that, I think, is the more proper name for the nymphs of the mountains:) and before him, ſtand Juno, Minerva, and Venus: introduced, by Mercury. It is but the beginning of the ſtory; for they are yet cloathed. However

(38) This figure of Mons Palatinus, is in the Adm. N°. 5 ——Mons Cælius, in Topham's collection of drawings, B. m. 10. N°. 15.——Monte Citorio, is publiſhed by Bartoli, at the end of his Col. Anton.—and Mount Taurus, in his Arc. Triumph. N°. 49.

(39) Quantus erat, mons factus Atlas: jam barba comæque
In ſylvas abeunt; juga ſunt, humerique manuſque;
Quod caput ante fuit, ſummo eſt in monte cacumen;
Oſſa lapis fiunt: tum partes auctus in omnes
Crevit in immenſum, (ſic Dii ſtatuiſtis,) & omne
Cum tot ſideribus cœlum requievit in illo.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 661.

(40) Atlantis, cinctum aſſiduè cui nubibus atris
Piniferum caput & vento pulſatur & imbri;
Nix humeros infuſa tegit: tum flumina mento
Præcipitant ſenis, & glacie riget horrida barba.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 251.

(41) ——— Apicem & latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, cœlum qui vertice fulcit.
Ibid. ℣. 247.
——Ætherium qui fert cervicibus axem.
Ovid. Met. 6. ℣. 175.
Atlas, ætherios humero qui ſuſtinet orbes.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 137.
——Atlas humeros oneratus Olympo.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 169.

The ſeeming contrarieties, in theſe paſſages, are all reconciled by the Farneſe Atlas: in which figure, he is repreſented as ſupporting the globe of the heavens, at the ſame time, with his head, neck, and ſhoulders.

(42) See Dial. XI. p. 180, anteh.

However there is a figure of Victory, hovering over Venus; (and which, I imagine, originally held a crown of laurel in her hand;) to ſhew which way his determination inclined at laſt. This is what I call the firſt ſtory, in this relievo; and what is contained diſtinctly, in the former part of it.

In the other part, to your right hand; you ſee Jupiter ſeated on high, and in great ſtate. His feet are ſupported by a genius: riſing, a little above breaſt-high, out of part of a rock; and holding a veil, almoſt ſtreight, over his head. This I take to be the Genius of mount Ida; or rather of one of the riſings in that range of hills, called in general by that name: as the veil, which he holds over his head, may ſignify the clouds that reſt ſo often on the tops of ſuch high mountains. Under this mountain-deity, are two River-gods, which may probably be meant for Xanthus and Scamander; both which rivers have their ſource from mount Ida: with a water-nymph, on one ſide of them; and a lady, (with her hair falling looſe, and with a great deal of diſtreſs in the air of her face,) reſting on a piece of the rock, on the other. This I take to be the Genius of Aſia; from whom the empire was to depart, in conſequence of Paris's judgment: as that fine figure of a lady, with a gayer air, and introduced to the throne of Jupiter by Victory, is probably meant for the Genius of Greece. There are ſeveral other figures in this part of the relievo; who all bear ſome relation to the ſubject, tho' they are not ſo nearly concerned in it as the former. Among theſe, Mars is diſtinguiſhed by the eagerneſs of his look; and the cruel ſort of joy expreſſed in it, for the ſlaughter that muſt enſue before ſo great a change can be brought about. The heads of Juno, and Minerva, appear here, in a line above that of the Genius of Greece. They ſtand by her, as ſupporting and abetting her cauſe. The former, looks on Mars; and ſeems to be giving him ſome orders: as the latter, keeps her eye fixed upon Jupiter, and ſeems to be demanding juſtice of him. The goddeſs behind Jupiter, (with one of her breaſts quite bare,) may probably be Venus. She looks alarmed, and concerned; as all the deities of the Trojan, (or Aſiatic,) party are in this piece. Apollo may appear there, in the midſt, with the Zodiac over his head; becauſe it is time, that brings about all the revolutions decreed by Jupiter: as Diana may poſſibly have a place here, for the ſame reaſon. Mercury ſtands by Jupiter, as the meſſenger already employed in this affair, or to be ſent with farther orders: and Caſtor and Pollux may be introduced, as the brothers of Helena; the immediate cauſe of the war, which was to bring about this great revolution. They are extremely alike here, as they are in all their figures; and are to be diſtinguiſhed only by their different attitudes. He of the two who is next to Jupiter, and regards him with ſo much attention, I ſhould think is Pollux; the twin-brother of Helena, and ſon of Jupiter: and he, (who turns from Jupiter, and looks downwards,) may be Caſtor: who was only the ſon of a meer mortal father, as well as mother. This I take to be the intention of the artiſt, in the ſecond part of this relievo; which, (tho' it is ſo fine, and on ſo great a ſubject,) has never been publiſhed or explained by any one that I know of. I may very likely be miſtaken, in ſome of my particular conjectures relating to it; but the main drift of it, I think, is as clear and certain, as any thing of this nature can well be.

The face of the Mountain-genius, who ſupports Jupiter, has ſomething of concern expreſſed in it; as I was ſaying all the deities of the Trojan party have: and indeed Jupiter himſelf looks with ſome concern; at granting a decree, which was to be followed with ſo much ſlaughter; and to end in the ruin of a whole nation, that had been formerly ſo dear to him. Was this Mountain-deity a female, I ſhould call it Ida, without any manner of reſerve: becauſe the ſcene of Paris's judgment was at the foot of that mountain; and becauſe Homer ſo often deſcribes Jupiter as ſitting on the top of it, to obſerve the ſtruggle for empire between the Trojans and Greeks. The Roman poets ſcarce ſay any thing in a perſonal manner, of mount Ida: unleſs, poſſibly, Virgil may be underſtood in

that manner; where he is ſpeaking of the figures (43), wrought on the fore-part of Æneas's ſhip.

Virgil ſpeaks of Timolus (44) in a manner, that cannot be underſtood literally of a mountain; but is very proper, if taken perſonally: and Ovid deſcribes the ſame deity ſitting as judge, in the diſpute between Pan and Apollo, whether the pipe or lyre was the finer inſtrument. Ovid ſays that, on this occaſion, he was crowned with oak only; having taken away (45) the other branches that were about his head. I have never ſeen any whole figure of Timolus: but his head is on the reverſe of a Greek medal, in my collection. You ſee he is there crowned with vine-branches; which agree very well with the character (46) which Virgil and others give of the mountain he preſides over.

Pl. XXXV. Fig. 1.

You may have obſerved that there are ſome among theſe mountain-deities, who ſhould be females; as Rhodope in particular: of whom alſo I have another medal here, at your ſervice. Theſe muſt have been repreſented in ſtatues, as of a large ſize; and ſometimes no doubt there were vaſt coloſſeal figures of this Rhodope, and of the other goddeſſes of mountains. As the antients were familiarly acquainted with this ſort of figures, I have ſometimes thought; that the known fable, of (47) the Mountain in labour, carried a very different idea with it originally, from what is generally annexed to it at preſent. I always uſed to think it a very prepoſterous deſign for a fable: and could ſee nothing, either in nature; or in the imaginary world of the poets, (which is a kind of ſecond nature;) whereon they could ground ſuch an imagination. But when one conſiders that they had a ſettled notion of old, of ſuch gigantic ladies as preſiding over mountains; to ſuppoſe one of theſe in labour, and after all her vaſt pangs and groans to produce only ſo very ſmall an animal, is no inconſiſtent thought like the other; and is extremely better fitted for true ridicule.

Pl. XXXV. Fig. 2.

The large ſize of the ſtatues for the mountain-deities in general, will help to account too for ſeveral ſimilies of the antient poets, in which they compare their heroes to mountains. When Æneas is going to engage Turnus, Virgil ſays that he moved on

> Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx; aut ipſe coruſcis
> Cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
> Vertice ſe attollens pater Apenninus ad auras (48).

This ſimilie cannot well be underſtood literally of thoſe mountains; or will at leaſt become much more poetical and juſt, if you underſtand it of the deities ſuppoſed to preſide

(43) ——Æneïa puppis
Prima tenet; roſtro Phrygios ſubjuncta leones:
Imminet Ida ſuper, profugis gratiſſima Teucris.
Virgil. Æn. 10. ℣. 58.

(44) Sunt etiam Ammineæ vites; firmiſſima vina;
Tmolus & aſſurgit quibus, & Rex ipſe Phanæus.
Virgil. Georg. 2. ℣. 98.

(45) Judice ſub Tmolo certamen venit * ad impar.
Monte ſuo ſenior judex conſedit; & aures
Liberat arboribus: quercu coma cærula tantum
Cingitur; & pendent circum cava tempora glandes.
* Pan. Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 159.

This idea of Mountain-deities, explains an expreſſion juſt after in Ovid; which would be difficult enough to be underſtood without it.

Judicium ſanctique placet ſententia Montis
Omnibus.——
Ibid. ℣. 173.

(46) Virgil. Georg. 2. ℣. 98.
Cumque choro meliore, ſui vineta Timoli
Pactolonque petit.——
Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 87. (of Bacchus.)

It was called originally Timolus, and afterwards Tmolus; according to Pliny. Lib. 5. c. 29.

(47) Mons parturibat, gemitus immanes ciens;
Eratque in terris maxima expectatio:
At ille murem peperit. Hoc ſcriptum eſt tibi,
Qui magna cum minaris extricas nihil.
Phædrus, Lib. 4. Fab 21.

I am apt to ſuſpect that Ille, (in the third verſe,) might originally have been written, Illa; and been changed by ſome wiſe tranſcriber, who thought it could not otherwiſe agree with mons: tho' it is not without authority from the beſt Roman writers, to turn a maſculine ſubſtantive into a feminine one, when it is applied to any thing that is feminine. Thus Terence, for example, makes Eunuchus of the feminine gender; where it ſignifies not an Eunuch, but his comedy of the ſame name.

——Eas ſe non negat
Perſonas tranſtuliſſe in Eunuchum ſuam.
Terence's Eun. in Prol.

(48) Æn. 12. ℣. 703.

ſide over them: whoſe ſtatues were often of a vaſt ſize, among the antients; as they are ſometimes, even among the moderns. I never met with any antient figure of father Apenninus: but that famous modern one of him by John de Bologna, at a ſeat of the Great Duke's near Florence, if it ſtood up, would be above ſixty foot high. As the antients were much more magnificent in their works of art than the moderns, they had probably figures of mountain-deities, even much larger than this: and you know there was actually a propoſal made by one of their artiſts, to Alexander the Great; for forming the whole mountain of Athos into a ſtatue: which would have been ſo large, that it would have held a city, in one of its hands; and a river, in the other.

I REMEMBER, ſays Philander, to have read the ſtory in Vitruvius (49); and have ſometimes puzzled myſelf in endeavouring to imagine, how it could ever have been put in execution. I do not think that ſo very difficult to be conceived, ſays Myſagetes: and if any body would give me a good rough mountain, in Wales; and pay my workmen; I would engage to direct them how to perform it. In the firſt place, my figure ſhould be repreſented in a reclined poſture: as, I ſuppoſe, thoſe of the mountain-deities generally were. This would take off a great part of the difficulty; for the ſhape of a mountain would not ſerve for a ſtanding figure, without paring away the greateſt part of it, and immenſely increaſing the trouble and expence. In the ſecond place, I ſhould not think of forming the ſide of the mountain, which I found the moſt proper for my purpoſe, into the direct figure of a man; but of altering and managing it in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould appear in the ſhape I deſigned, when you were at a certain diſtance from it. You may remember that as we were travelling thro' part of the Alps, between Lyons and Geneva, we thought we ſaw the ruins of a city, at a diſtance before us; againſt the ſide of one of the mountains. The cathedral was very diſtinct; and there were ſtreets appeared on each ſide of it. As we drew near to it, this reſemblance leſſened by little and little; till, at laſt, we were quite convinced, that it was nothing but the natural irregularities of the ſtones all along that part of the rock, which had repreſented to us at a proper diſtance, a church and ſtreets in ruins. It is partly in this way, that I would manage my mountain. When I had fixed the deſign for my figure, I would clear away all the trees from that part which was to be the face of it: only leaving a wood on the top; ſome little hanging grove-work, for the eye-brows; and a few thickets, perhaps, for a beard. As to the unequal riſings of the hill, they ſhould be pared off, where uſeleſs; and where of uſe, they ſhould be left: only aſſiſted a little by art, where neceſſary. The face, when you were on the ſpot, would be a field; and the arms, the ſwellings of a hill: but it might, I think, be managed ſo, that at a proper diſtance the whole ſhould have the appearance of a man: and, if there was a village, on one ſide of the hill; and a caſcade of water, on the other; one might poſſibly contrive it ſo, as to make out the whole deſign which Dinocrates propoſed to Alexander.

I DO not think your idea altogether impractibable, replied Polymetis; but if you pleaſe, we will go on to conſider a figure, pretty nearly related to theſe mountain-deities; tho' of a more extraordinary make, than any of them. It is on this medal, ſtruck in honour of Pompey; on his being declared prefect of the ſea-coaſts of Italy, and of all the Roman fleets. You ſee here the upper part of the figure, is like a woman; but it goes off in two fiſh-tails; between which, are three dogs. This is the famous Scylla: who is, (moſt generally,) ſaid to have been turned into a rock; for her perfidiouſneſs, to her father Niſus. Several of the Roman poets (50) mention theſe dogs, as part of her form; but Pl. XXXV. Fig. 3.

(49) Vitruvius, Lib. 2. in Proœm.

(50) Quid loquar aut Scyllam Niſi? quam fama ſecuta eſt,
Candida ſuccinctam latrantibus inguina monſtris,
Dulichias vexaſſe rates; & gurgite in alto
Ah timidos nautas canibus laceraſſe marinis?
Aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus? &c.
Virgil. Ecl. 6. ℣. 78.

Quid mirum in patrios Scyllam ſæviſſe capillos;
Candidaque in ſævos inguina verſa canes?
Propert. Lib. 4. El. 4. ℣. 40.

——Scylla, patri cano furata capillos,
Pube premit rabidos inguinibuſque canes.
Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. 12. ℣. 22.

This is one of the very few ſtories, in which the poets of the Auguſtan age diſagree with themſelves: for Ovid, in his Metamorphoſis, lib. 8. ℣. 150; and Virgil, in his Georgics, lib. 1. ℣. 404; ſpeak of this very Scylla's being turned into a bird.

but we might have been much puzzled in gueſſing at the exact manner of it, had it not been for this medal. I know not whether it may not be Charybdis, who appears on (51) another medal, of the Valerian family; much in the ſame manner, as Scylla does on this: only ſhe has the two fiſh-tails, without any dogs between them. It is certain at leaſt, that even Silius, (who deals very rarely in allegories,) ſpeaks (52) of Charybdis, as well as Scylla, in a perſonal manner.

You may perhaps think, that Scylla and Charybdis ſhould have been taken notice of among the deities of the ſea, rather than thoſe of the land. Charybdis certainly belongs to the former; but as for Scylla, ſhe is of a nature ſo mixed, that ſhe may be claſſed indifferently under either. A rock in the ſea, tho' it be all ſurrounded with water, is certainly as much a part of the earth, as an iſland is. However, if you pleaſe, we will get upon good firm ground again; where we have yet a large ſet of imaginary beings to conſider. What I mean, are all ſuch deities as were ſuppoſed by the antients to preſide over the country; and they had different ones, for each part of it. To Flora, they aſſigned the care of their gardens; and to Pomona and Vertumnus, their plantations and fruit-trees. Their vineyards and corn-fields, were under the tuition of Ceres and Bacchus; as all their paſture-ground, and the protection of their ſheep, belonged to Pan. Diana preſided over the foreſts and the chace: Sylvanus, over the woods and groves. There was ſcarce a grotto perhaps without its family of nymphs in it: and all the woods, and mountains, were peopled with Dryades and Oreades. The Fauns and Satyrs, as a wanton ſort of deities, ranged both over the plains and hills; and were diſperſed all over the country: but ſwarmed chiefly about the vineyards, in autumn; and in the moſt uſual haunts of the wood or mountain-nymphs, all the reſt of the year.

Pl. XXXV. Fig. 4. That lady, juſt by you on the left hand, is Flora; copied from a ſtatue in the Great Duke's gallery. You ſee ſhe is almoſt naked; and is marked out by the looſe noſegay of flowers; which ſhe ſeems to have juſt gathered, and to hold up, as pleaſed with the beauties of them. She ſometimes is crowned with flowers too; and at others, holds a crown, or chaplet of them, in her hands. Here ſhe has only a little flying robe: but in her famous figure, at the Farneſe-palace, ſhe is fuller dreſſed. Her robe was of a (53) changeable ſilk; and of as many colours, as the flowers with which ſhe was uſually adorned; as we may learn from the poets, tho' we could not from the marble.

Ovid gives us a delightful deſcription of (54) the garden of Flora; with the Horæ gathering flowers in it, and the Graces compoſing garlands of them. I wiſh I had any antient picture, to anſwer this deſcription; and think it might afford a very pretty ſubject for

(51) See Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 28. 3.

(52) This is in a paſſage, where I imagine that Silius might have an eye toward his favourite, Virgil; tho' he is ſpeaking of a man, long before that great poet's time. It is a poet; whom he calls, Daphnis: and in ſpeaking of whom, he ſeems to have endeavoured to give his ſtyle a paſtoral turn.

——Daphnin amarunt
Sicelides Muſæ: dextram donavit avenâ
Phœbus Caſtaliâ; & juſſit, projectus in herbâ
Si quando caneret, lætos per prata, per arva
Ad Daphnin properare greges, rivoſque ſilere.
Ille ubi ſeptenâ modulatus arundine carmen
Mulcebat ſylvas; non unquam tempore eodem
Siren adſuetos effudit in æquore cantus:
Scyllæi tacuere canes; ſtetit atra Charybdis;
Et lætus ſcopulis ſedavit jubila Cyclops.
Lib. 14. ℣. 476.

(53) Cur tamen, ut dantur veſtes Cerealibus albæ,
Sic hæc eſt cultu verſicolore decens;
An quia maturis albeſcit meſſis ariſtis?
Et color & ſpecies floribus omnis ineſt?
Annuit: & motis flores cecidere capillis,
Accidere in menſas ut roſa miſſa ſolet.
Ovid. Faſt. 5. ℣. 360. (ſpeaking of Flora.)

(54) Eſt mihi fæcundus dotalibus hortus in agris:
Aura fovet; liquidæ fonte rigatur aquæ.
Hunc meus implevit generoſo flore maritus;
Atque ait, arbitrium tu Dea floris habe.
Sæpe ego digeſtos volui numerare colores,
Nec potui; numero copia major erat.
Roſcida cum primum foliis excuſſa pruina eſt,
Et variæ radiis intepuere comæ;
Conveniunt pictis incinctæ veſtibus Horæ,
Inque leves calathos munera noſtra legunt:
Protinus arripiunt Charites; nectuntque coronas;
Sertaque cœleſtes implicitura comas.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 220.

for any painter now. This garden of Flora, I take to have been the paradiſe (55) in the Roman mythology. Flora, according to the Roman poets was (56) a field-nymph; and was called Chloris, before ſhe was made the goddeſs of gardens. She did not much change her occupation: for the gardens of the old Romans, in the Auguſtan age, (if one might judge of them in general, from that ſingle one which (57) Virgil deſcribes in his Georgics,) were nothing more than the natural face of the country, aſſiſted a little by art where neceſſary, and ſprinkled here and there with flowers.

THE figure which anſwers Flora on the oppoſite ſide, with a pruning-hook in her right hand, and a branch in her left, is Pomona. We learn from Ovid (58), that this goddeſs was of that claſs, which they antiently called, Hamadryades: a name which, (if it were only on her account,) I ſhould think, did not abſolutely ſignify (59) what it has generally Pl. XXXV. Fig. 5.

(55) Theſe traditions and traces of paradiſe among the antients, muſt be expected to have grown fainter and fainter, in every tranſfuſion from one people to another. The Romans probably derived their notions of it from the Greeks; among whom this idea ſeems to have been ſhadowed out under the ſtories of the gardens of Alcinous. In Africa, they had the gardens of the Heſperides; and in the eaſt, thoſe of Adonis: or, the Horti Adonis, as Pliny calls them. The term of Horti Adonides, was uſed by the antients, to ſignify gardens of pleaſure; which anſwers ſtrangely to the very name of paradiſe, or the garden of Eden; as Horti Adonis, does to the garden of the Lord.——Antiquitas nihil prius mirata eſt, quàm Heſperidum hortos, ac regum Adonis & Alcinoi. Pliny, Lib. 19. cap. 4. p. 349. Ed. Elz.—The ſame author tells us, very exactly, in what part of Africa the gardens of the Heſperides were ſuppoſed to have been. In Mauritania Lixi oppidi æſtuario: ubi Heſperidum horti fuiſſe produntur: 200 paſſuum ab oceano; juxta delubrum Herculis, antiquius Gaditano ut ferunt. Ibid. p. 352.

(56) Chloris eram, nymphe campi felicis; ubi audis
Rem fortunatis ante fuiſſe viris.——
Vere fruor ſemper; vere eſt nitidiſſimus annus:
Arbor habet frondes, pabula ſemper humus.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 208.

(57) Namque ſub Œbaliæ memini me turribus altis,
Qua niger humectat flaventia culta Galeſus,
Corycium vidiſſe ſenem: cui pauca relicti
Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
Nec pecori opportuna ſeges; nec commoda Baccho.
Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus, albaque circum
Lilia verbenaſque premens veſcumque papaver,
Regum æquabat opes animis; ſeràque revertens
Nocte domum, dapibus menſas onerabat inemtis.
Primus vere roſam, atque autumno carpere poma:
Et cum triſtis hiems etiamnum frigore ſaxa
Rumperet, & glacie curſus frænaret aquarum;
Ille comam mollis jam tum tondebat acanthi,
Æſtatem increpitans ſeram Zephyroſque morantes.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 138.

The picture of this garden, (in the Vatican Virgil, N°. 6.) is juſt ſuch as is deſcribed above, in the text.

In the younger Pliny's time, they were got into formalities, and cut box; according to the account he gives of his gardens, in one or two of his epiſtles. It was about the ſame time too, that the fountain of Egeria was almoſt ſpoiled, by adorning it with marble; according to Juvenal, Sat. 3. ℣. 20.

(58) Rege ſub hoc Pomona fuit: quâ nulla Latinas
Inter Hamadryadas coluit ſolertiùs hortos,
Nec fuit arborei ſtudioſior altera fœtus;
Unde tenet nomen. Non ſylvas illa, nec amnes;
Rus amat, & ramos felicia poma ferentes:
Nec jaculo gravis eſt, ſed aduncâ dextera falce.
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 628.

(59) The vulgar notion of Hamadryads now, as I take it, is that of certain Genius's, or Nymphs, vitally annexed to trees.——The notion of the old ſcholiaſts, is that of a ſet of Nymphs coeval with certain oaks; or, at leaſt, fated to periſh with them.—Neither of theſe ſeem to me to agree with the notion of Hamadryads in the Mythology of the old Romans; which is the only Mythology that I have any thing to do with, at preſent.

The Roman poets uſe the word Hamadryades, rather as a character of the nymphs, in general; than as the name of any particular claſs of nymphs. They uſe it ſometimes in ſpeaking of the Dryads themſelves; and ſometimes of the other Nymphs, the companions of the Dryads: as the word naturally ſeems to ſignify.

Virgil, I think, never uſes the word Hamadryades but once: and that is where he ſeems to be ſpeaking of the rural Nymphs, in general.

Jam mihi per rupes videor lucoſque ſonantes
Ire; libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu
Spicula, tanquam hæc ſint noſtri medicina furoris,
Aut deus ille malis hominum miteſcere diſcat:
Jam neque Hamadryades rurſum, nec carmina nobis
Ipſa placent; ipſæ rurſum concedite ſylvæ:
Non illum noſtri poſſunt mutare labores.
Ecl. 10. ℣. 64.

In the two or three places where Ovid mentions them, he is ſpeaking either of wood-nymphs, (ſee the quotation from him in the preceding note;) or of the followers of Diana:

Inter Hamadryadas jaculatricemque Dianam
Calliſto ſacri pars fuit una chori.
Faſt. 2. ℣. 156.

Inter Hamadryadas celeberrima Nonacrinas
Naïas una fuit: nymphæ Syringa vocabant.
Non ſemel & Satyros eluſerat illa ſequentes;
Et quoſcunque Deos umbroſaque ſylva, feraxque
Rus habet; Ortygiam ſtudiis, ipſâque colebat
Virginitate Deam: ritu quoque cincta Dianæ.
Met. 1. ℣. 695.

It may be obſerved here, that this Hamadryad was a Naiad or water-nymph. Now the water-nymphs were ſuch frequent companions of the wood-nymphs, or Dryads, that Virgil calls them ſiſters: Georg. 4. ℣. 382, & 383: and when the other Roman poets ſpeak of nymphs, either as preſiding over ſingle trees, or as more intimately united with them; they mention

generally been imagined to do. Pliny introduces this goddeſs perſonally, even in his proſe (60); to make her ſpeak in praiſe of the ſeveral fruits ſhe preſided over. Her lover, Vertumnus, ſhared with her in that charge; and was therefore repreſented, with the ſame attribute of a pruning-hook. I mean the principal Vertumnus; for there ſeems, according to Horace, to have been (61) ſeveral inferior deities of the ſame name and character with him: in the ſame manner as there was a number of inferior Pans, and Faunus's; beſides the principal Faunus of the Romans, or the great god Pan of the Greeks.

Pl. XXXV. Fig. 6.

Pomona and Vertumnus, as well as Flora, had a ſhare in preſiding over gardens; and ſo had another deity, almoſt too mean to mention to you. You will eaſily gueſs that I mean Priapus. He held a pruning-hook (62) too in his hands; when he had hands: for he was ſometimes nothing more than a meer log of wood; as Martial, ſomewhere humouroufly calls him (63). Indeed the Roman poets in general ſeem to have looked on Priapus as a ridiculous god; and are all ready enough, either to deſpiſe, or abuſe him. What Horace ſays of him, contains as ſevere a ſtroke (64) on the worſhip of idols in general, as almoſt any I know of; even in thoſe who have wrote profeſſedly againſt idolatry. There is a paſſage in a very immodeſt book, (which has been attributed by ſome of the critics, to one of the modeſteſt poets that ever wrote,) which mentions a very (65) proper offering to this god; and indeed, there were ſome other pieces of devotion paid to him, which were full as obſcene as the deity himſelf. His buſineſs was (66) to drive away the birds, and guard the fruit from thieves; whence in ſome of his figures, he had a lap full of fruit before him. Trimalchio, in his ridiculous feaſt deſcribed by Petronius, had a figure of this god to hold up all his deſſert. It was made of paſte; and as Horace obſerves, on another occaſion, that he owed all his divinity to the carpenter; Petronius ſeems to hint that he was wholly obliged for it to the (67) paſtry-cook, on this.

Ceres

tion Naiads under theſe characters, juſt as freely as Dryads.

Naïada vulneribus ſuccidit in arbore factis:
Illa perit; fatum Naiados arbor erat.
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 232.

Quid te, quæ mediis ſervata penatibus arbor
Tecta per & poſtes liquidas emergis in auras,
Quo non ſub domino ſævas paſſura ſecures?
Et nunc ignaro forſan, vel lubrica Naïs,
Vel non abruptos tibi demet Hamadryas annos.
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 3. ℣. 63.

This common idea among the antients, (of Nymphs, or intellectual Beings, annexed to trees,) muſt have made the ſtory of Erifichthon in Ovid, and that of Polydorus in Virgil, appear much more natural and obvious to their readers then, than they do to us now. It will account too for their worſhipping of trees; as we find they ſometimes did, not only from their poets but their hiſtorians. Livy ſpeaks of an embaſſador's addreſſing himſelf to an old oak, as to an intelligent perſon, and a divinity. Tum ex legatis unus abiens; "Et hæc, inquit, ſacrata quercus, & quicquid deorum eſt, audiant fœdus a vobis ruptum." Lib. 3. §. 25.—Among the ſeveral modes of heathen worſhip, kept up ſo carefully by the Roman Catholics, they have not wholly neglected this: a very particular inſtance of which, in our own times and near our own country, is related by Monſieur de la Colonie, in his Memoirs; Vol. II. p. 56, to 62. Ed. Bruſſels, 1737.

(60) Non ceſſit his Pomona.—Plurimum inquit, homini voluptatis ex me eſt. Ego ſuccum vini, liquorem olei gigno. Ego palmas; & poma: totque varietates: &c. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 23. in Procem.

(61) —Vertumnis, quotquot ſunt, natus iniquis.
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 7. ℣. 14.

(62) Invitent croceis halantes floribus horti;
Et cuſtos furum atque avium, cum falce ſaligná,
Helleſpontiaci ſervet tutela Priapi.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 111.

(63) Non horti neque palmitis beati,
Sed rari nemoris, Priape, cuſtos!
Ex quo natus es, & potes renaſci:
Furaces, moneo, manus repellas;
Et ſylvam domini focis reſerves:
Si defecerit hoc, & ipſe lignum es.
Martial, Lib. 8. Ep. 41.

(64) Olim truncus eram ficulnus; inutile lignum:
Cum faber incertus ſcamnum faceretne Priapum,
Maluit eſſe Deum; Deus inde ego.———
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 8. ℣. 3.

(65) Infamous books of pictures, mentioned in the collection of inſcriptions under the figures of this god. Pria: Carm. 3. Some of the editors aſcribe this piece to Virgil, without any manner of foundation.

Theſe antient pictures, were of the ſame kind with thoſe modern ones, mentioned by Vaſari; in his Lives of the Painters. Part 3. p. 307. 4to.

(66) —— Deus inde ego; furum aviumque
Maxima formido. Nam fures dextra coercet;—
Aſt importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa, vetatque novis conſidere in hortis.
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 8. ℣. 7.

(67) Medium Priapus, a piſtore factus, tenebat: gremioque, ſatis amplo, omnis generis poma & uvas ſuſtinebat, more vulgato. Petronius Arb. p. 99. Ed. Lond.

CERES was the goddeſs that preſided in chief over corn-fields, as Flora did over gardens. I have no figure of Ceres here; becauſe ſhe has a place among the twelve Great Deities (68), in my celeſtial temple. There was another deity received among the Romans, for this diſtrict, of a very different character: and who muſt have made a very mean appearance, as I imagine; for I have never met with any figure of her, among the remains of the artiſts. The Romans, you know, in general had their bad gods, as well as their good ones: and ſo they had a deity to cauſe the ruſt in corn, as well as to preſerve it and make it flouriſh. The former was the goddeſs Robigo: a deity, mentioned, very gravely, by Ovid (69); and very much ridiculed, by ſome of the fathers of the church.

THE figures of Bacchus who preſided over vineyards (70), and of Diana who ranged the foreſts, are omitted here; for the ſame reaſon as that of Ceres. You have ſeen them already in making the rounds of my firſt temple. Sylvanus, as his name imports, preſided over woods; and the fruits, that grew in them. Agreeably to which, you ſee here, he has a lap full of fruit: his pruning-hook, in one hand; and a young cypreſs-tree, in the other. Virgil mentions the latter (71), as a diſtinguiſhing attribute of this god. The ſame poet, on another occaſion, deſcribes him as crowned (72) with wild flowers; and mentions his preſiding over (73) the corn-fields, as well as the woods. That might be occaſioned by the manner of cultivation uſed in Italy in his time (74): and indeed at this day they plant rows of olive-trees, mulberries, elms and vines, ſo generally and ſo near together, in their corn-fields; that the whole vale of Lombardy, (one of the moſt cultivated parts of Italy,) when viewed from the firſt riſings of the Apennine, near Bologna, looks all like one continued wood.

Pl. XXXV. Fig. 7.

THE Fauns were a ſort of woodland deities. They ranged all over the country: but ſeem more particularly to have delighted in the vineyards; and in theſe fields, interſperſed with vines. You ſee them in ſome of the works of the antient artiſts even eating the grapes in the hands of Bacchus; and they appear generally as attendants of that god, in the repreſentations of Bacchanal feaſts and proceſſions. I have here, you ſee, a Faun and a Fauneſs. The Faun is a copy of that famous one in the Great Duke's collection at Florence; and is dancing with ſome of the muſical inſtruments in his hands that were uſed in the feaſts of Bacchus: as the Fauneſs ſhews the playfulneſs, which makes one of the

Pl. XXXV. Fig. 8,&9.

(68) Pl. 14. Fig. 3. anteh.

(69) Hac mihi Nomento Romam cum * luce redirem,
Obſtitit in mediâ candida pompa viâ:
Flamen in antiquæ lucum Robiginis ibat;
Exta canis flammis, exta daturus ovis.
Protinus acceſſi; ritûs ne neſcius eſſem:
Edidit hæc flamen verba, Quirine, tuus.
"Aſpera Robigo, parcas Cerealibus herbis,
Et tremat in ſummâ læve cacumen humo!
Parce, precor; ſcabraſque manus a meſſibus aufer;
Neve noce cultis: poſſe nocere ſat eſt! &c."
(* Apr. 24.) Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 901 to 942.

The whole prayer of the prieſt is there: he calls her expreſly, Diva timenda, ℣. 920.

The Romans had a god Rubigus, as well as this goddeſs Robigo. Among the antiquities of Aquileia, there is a marble inſcribed, DEO RVBIGO. Can. Bartoli. Antich. d'Aquileia. This god is ſpoken of by Varro; de Ling. Lat. 5. 3.

The Rubigalia, were inſtituted by Numa: Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 29. p. 319. Ed. Elz. and are ridiculed by St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. 4. cap. 21.—Tertullian. de Spectac. cap. 5.——& Lactantius, Lib. 1. cap. 20.

(70) This Bacchus is in Pl. 20. Fig. 1, and the Diana, Pl. 13. Fig. 4. anteh.

(71) Et teneram ab radice ferens, Sylvane, cupreſſum.
Georg. 1. ℣. 20.

(72) Venit & agreſti capitis Sylvanus honore
Florentes ferulas & grandia lilia quaſſans.
Virgil. Ecl. 10. ℣. 25.

(73) He calls him, Arvorum Deus. Æn. 8. ℣. 601.

(74) Virgil often ſpeaks of their vines, and corn together; in the ſame mixed manner, as they were planted.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has ſegetes? En quo diſcordia cives
Perduxit miſeros! En queis conſevimus agros!
Inſere nunc, Melibœe, pyros; pone ordine vites!
Ecl. 1. ℣. 75.

Quin age & ipſa manu felices erue ſylvas;
Fer ſtabulis inimicum ignem atque interfice meſſes:
Ure ſata, & validam in vites molire bipennem:
Tanta meæ ſi te cœperunt tædia laudis.
Georg. 4. ℣. 332.

the chief parts in the character of this claſs of deities. The Fauns were partly of the ſatyr-kind. They had ſomething of the ferine nature; as you ſee by their tails, little horns, and pointed ears. They have all the agility and playfulneſs of the Satyrs: but they were not ſo ſavage and horrid, in their form; nor ſo abandoned, in their lewdneſs.

THE chief paſſion (75), both of the Fauns and Satyrs, ſeems to have been for the Nymphs; tho' there were female Satyrs, as well as Fauneſſes. I have often wondered how it comes about, that theſe Nymphs and Fauns ſhould be ſo common a ſubject with the antient artiſts, and ſo very uncommon in the poets. However it happened, the latter have very few paſſages that are deſcriptive either of the perſonage or attributes of theſe deities; and indeed not any thing, that I know of, worth mentioning.

ONE of the chief characters of the Satyrs, or Pans, (for the Romans called them all (76) by that name, as well as their chief,) is their laſciviouſneſs: which is but too ſtrongly expreſſed in the famous Satyr (77), inſtructing a youth to play on the ſhepherd's reed; Pl. XXXV. Fig. 10. in the Lodoviſian gardens: whoſe face only is repreſented, in this drawing; for a very obvious reaſon. The poets have an epithet for the (78) Satyrs, which includes both their characters in one word.

THE great god Pan himſelf is not wholly exempt from the worſt of theſe characters: and indeed it is he who is ſuppoſed by ſome, to be meant in this very figure in the Lodoviſian gardens. His figures are uſually naked, to expreſs his agility; and Silius Italicus ſpeaks of him, as flying, (or bounding,) from the top of one rock to another. That poet gives us (79) the moſt particular deſcription of Pan, that I know of in all the Roman poets. He ſpeaks of his head being crowned with pine-branches, and his forehead ſhaded with them. He gives him a doe's-ſkin, over his left ſhoulder; and a pedum, in his right hand. One might form ſeveral diſtinct pictures out of this deſcription: which is the more particular, becauſe Silius is not uſually very pictureſque. In one part of it, you ſee this god poiſed on one foot, as juſt ready to take one of his leaps: in another, he is regarding his flocks, that feed at a diſtance; and ſhading his face, from the ſun, with his hand. Here, he is in a wanton attitude, looking over his ſhoulder, and laughing at his own tail; and there you ſee him ſitting on an eminence, playing on his pipe, with his flocks liſtning all about him.

SILIUS introduces this account of Pan into his poem, on an occaſion where I ſhould not have expected to have heard of this god. Juſt after Hannibal had quitted Italy, as the Roman army was drawing toward Capua with a full deſign of deſtroying that city, the

(75) Faune, nympharum fugientum amator.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 18. ℣. 1.

The Satyrs were ſo fond of them, that they extended their paſſion even to the nymphs of a different element from their own; according to what Statius ſays, of ſome water-nymphs:

Ite Deæ virides, liquidoſque advertite vultus!
Veſte nihil tectæ; quales emergitis altis
Fluctibus, & viſu Satyros torquetis amantes.
Lib. 1. Sylv. 5. ℣. 18.

(76) ——Paneſque biformes.
Columella, ℣. 427.
——Pinu præcincti cornua Panes.
Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 638.

(77) Maffei's Statues, N°. 64.

(78) Laſcivi Satyri. Laſcivus, & Laſcivia, in Latin, ſignify either playfulneſs, or lewdneſs; as the words, wanton, and wantonneſs, do alſo in our language. Laſcivus is often uſed in the poets, of Cupid; only to ſignify his nimbleneſs: and ſo is it ſometimes uſed too, of the Satyrs.

(79) Pan Jove miſſus erat, ſervari tecta volente
Troïa. Pendenti ſimilis Pan ſemper; & imo
Vix ulla inſcribens terræ veſtigia cornu:
Dextera laſcivit cæſâ Tegeatide caprâ;
Verbera læta movens feſtâ per compita caudâ.
Cingit acuta comas & opacat tempora pinus;
Ac parva erumpunt rubicundâ cornua fronte.
Stant aures; imoque cadit barba hiſpida mento.
Paſtorale Deo baculum: pelliſque ſiniſtrum
Velat grata latus teneræ de corpore damæ.
Nulla in præruptum tam prona & inhoſpita caute;
In quâ non libratis corpus, ſimiliſque volanti,
Cornipedem tulerit præciſa per avia plantam.
Interdum inflexus medio naſcentia tergo
Reſpicit adridens hirtæ ludibria caudæ:
Obtendenſque manum, ſolem inferveſcere fronti
Arcet; & umbrato perluſtrat paſcua viſu.
Hic poſtquam mandata Dei perfecta, malamque
Sedavit rabiem & permulſit corda furentum;
Arcadiæ volucris ſaltus & amata reviſit
Mænala: ubi argūtis longè de vertice ſacro
Dulce ſonat calamis; ducit ſtabula omnia cantu.
Silius Ital. 13. ℣. 347.

the inhabitants came out in a body, and in the moſt ſuppliant manner, to deprecate their wrath. Jupiter, (ſays the poet,) was moved with the diſtreſs of the Capuans; and ſent Pan to ſoften their incenſed enemies. This god breathed a ſudden ſpirit of relenting into all the Roman army. They felt a ſtrange compaſſion (80) riſing in their breaſts; and were ſurpriſed to find all their wrath turned into pity. Silius on this occaſion calls Pan, the mild god, or the inſpirer of mildneſs. There is a terminal figure, in the Great Duke's gallery at Florence; which they call, a Pan: and whoſe face agrees very well with this character. He looks like a good honeſt ſhepherd: and has a goat on his ſhoulder; and a little milking veſſel (81), in his right hand. Pl. XXXV. Fig. 11.

As mild as this god looks here, he is better known at preſent I think under a more formidable character; as the inſpirer of ſudden frights, and terrors. The antients uſed to attribute to Pan a thouſand little idle tricks (82), (as frightning their cattle, and the like;) in the ſame manner as our common people did formerly, to Robin Goodfellow. Pan too, I ſuppoſe, was a giver of frightful dreams; as well as (83) the Fauns. All great frights, which happened in an army without any real foundation; and all ſuch as we ſtill call, Panic Fears; were attributed to the operations of this deity. Theſe horrors cauſed by Pan are, very particularly (84), deſcribed in the little romance wrote by Longus; who, I ſhould think, lived in an higher and better age, than is generally (85) allowed him. However that be, the Roman poets of the good ages, ſometimes deſcribe Pan as ſtriking greater terrors into an army (86), with cauſeleſs alarms; than any enemy could do, with real ones: and the artiſts, agreeably to what they ſay, ſometimes give him a face that is much more terrible than that of Mars himſelf. It was on this account, that the Athenians had ſtatues of this god (87), carrying a trophy on his ſhoulders; like the figures of Mars. He had often aſſiſted them, in their wars; and particularly, in gaining their moſt celebrated victory over the Perſians (88), at Marathon. His face, you ſee, in this drawing carries a great deal of horror with it. So much, that I have ſometimes been apt to ſuſpect that it was from ſome of theſe more terrible repreſentations of this god, that our later artiſts might firſt borrow their idea of a Devil. If you conſider, that the antients always Pl. XXXV. Fig. 12.

(80) Atque ea dum miles miratur inertia facta,
Exſpectatque ferox ſternendi mœnia ſignum:
Ecce repens tacito percurrit pectora ſenſu
Religio, & fævas componit numine mentes;
Ne flammam tædaſque velint, ne templa ſub uno
In cinerem tranſiſſe rogo. Subit intima corda
Perlabens ſenſim mitis Deus.——
Silius Ital. 13. ℣. 320.

(81) See Muſ. Flor. Vol. III. Pl. 61.——This may be the Pan, which Virgil invokes in the beginning of his Georgics.

Ipſe nemus linquens patrium ſaltuſque Lycæi,
Pan ovium cuſtos! Tua ſi tibi Mænala curæ
Adſis, O Tegeæe, favens.——
Georg. 1. ℣. 18.

(82) Ludus & ille Deo, pavidum præſepibus aufert
Cum pecus; & profugi ſternunt dumeta juvenci.
Val. Flaccus, 3. ℣. 56.

(83) Hæc medetur & Faunorum in quiete ludibriis. Plin. Lib. 25. Cap. 4.—Qui a nocturnis Diis, Fauniſque agitantur. Id. Lib. 30. Cap. 10.

(84) In the long account of Pan's terrifying the captain of the pirates, that had carried away Cloe. Lib. 2.

(85) Longus has been generally ſuppoſed to have wrote about the end of the fourth century. The only reaſon given for this is, that he has ſome paſſages which ſeem to have been copied from Heliodorus: but why might not Heliodorus as well have copied from Longus, as Longus from Heliodorus? The reaſon why I think Longus of the higher ages, is the natural eaſe and ſimplicity of his ſtyle; in which he ſeems to me not to be inferior to any one, except Theocritus.

(86) Pan nemorum, bellique potens; quem lucis ab horis
Antra tenent: patet ad medias per devia noctes
Setigerum latus, & torvæ coma ſibila frontis.
Vox omnes ſuper una tubas: quâ conus & enſis,
Quâ trepidis auriga rotis, nocturnaque muris
Plauſtra cadunt. Taleſque metus non Martia caſſis,
Eumenidumque comæ, non triſtis ab æthere Gorgon
Sparſerit; aut tantis aciem raptaverit umbris.
Valerius Flaccus, 3. ℣. 54.

(87) This appears from an inſcription; in the collection of Greek epigrams.

Πελρης εκ Παφιης με πολιν καλα Παλλαδος ακρην
Στησαν Αθηναιοι Πανα τροπαιοφορον.

(88) As this does, from another; in the ſame.

Τλοξατος, φιλοδενδρος, ορεοσαυλα ποσις Αχας,
Παυσκοπος, ευκερας μαλοφυλαξ αγελας,
Παν ο δασυκναμων, ο πολυσπορος· ος μελανας-ας
Εδραμον αιχματαν ες δαϊν Ασσυριων·
Μιλτιαδη ς-ησαντος ομασπιδα Περσοδιωκλην,
Ις-αμαι· ακλης ξεινια συμμαχιης.
Αλλοις Ακροπολιες· ο Μηδοφονος δε δεδας-αι
Ξυνος εμιν Μαραθων, και Μαραθωνομαχοις.

always gave Pan a tail, horns, and cloven-feet, it would make ſuch a conjecture yet the more probable. One might add, that in the old ſtories of the Sabat, the devil is moſt uſually ſaid to have appeared in the ſhape of a goat: now Ovid calls Pan, the Goatiſh god (89); as one of the fathers of the church (90) chuſes to diſtinguiſh him, by his cloven feet. This deep conjecture of mine might, perhaps, be carried much farther; but I ſhall quit that, and Pan together: which we may do with the more pleaſure, becauſe his is the laſt ſtatue I had to ſhew you. You have proved that you have a great deal of patience, in attending me ſo long; thro' my temple of the Celeſtial Beings; that of the Conſtellations; the Beings of the Air; thoſe of the Waters, and theſe of the Earth. We have now compleated our whole round; and I heartily wiſh you joy of it: for to ſay the truth, I begin to be a little tired of my office; as you may very well be, with hearing me.

(89) Semicaper Pan. Met. 14. ℣. 515.

(90) Minutius Felix; See Dial. VII. Note 81, anteh.

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Boitard sculp.

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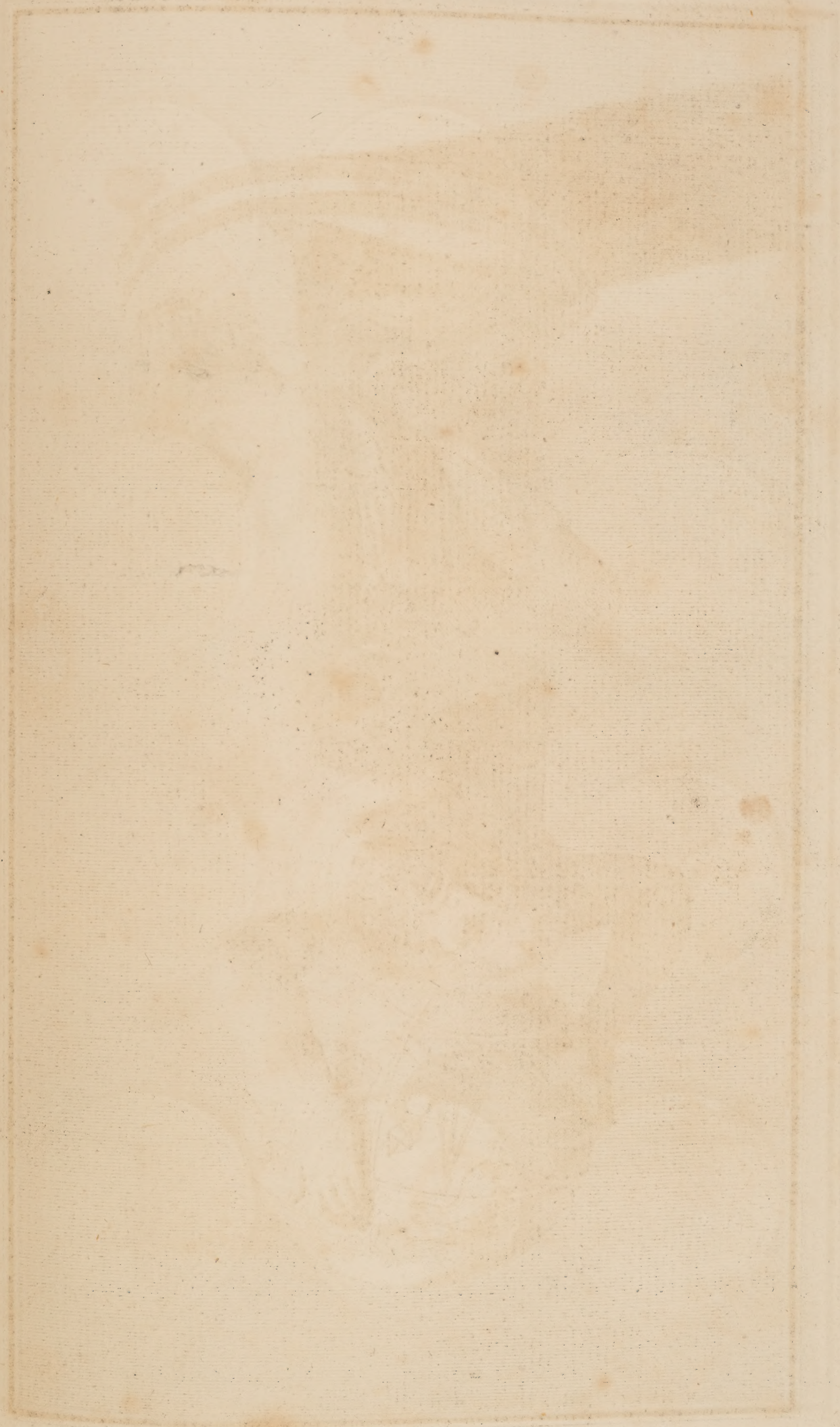

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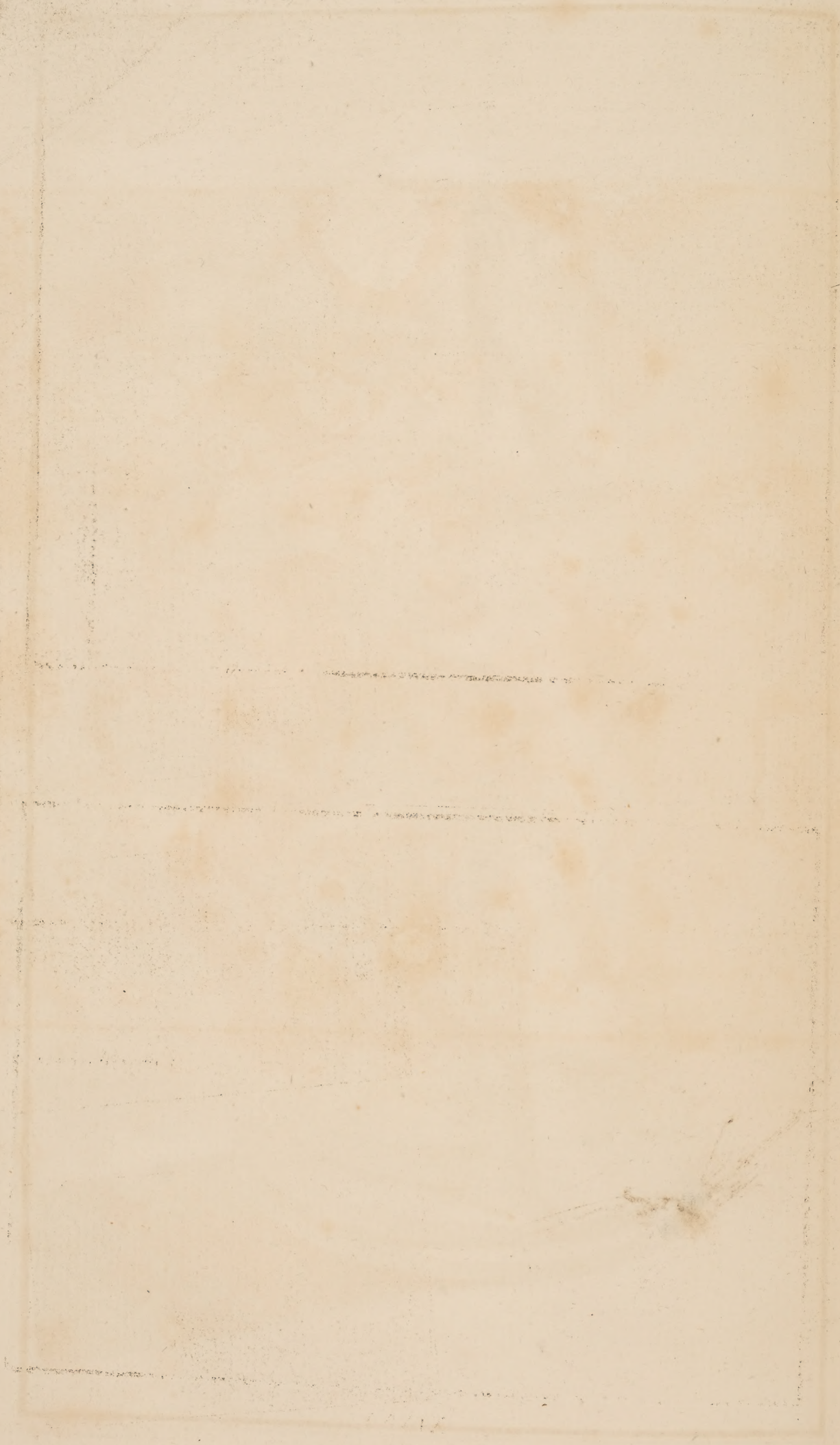

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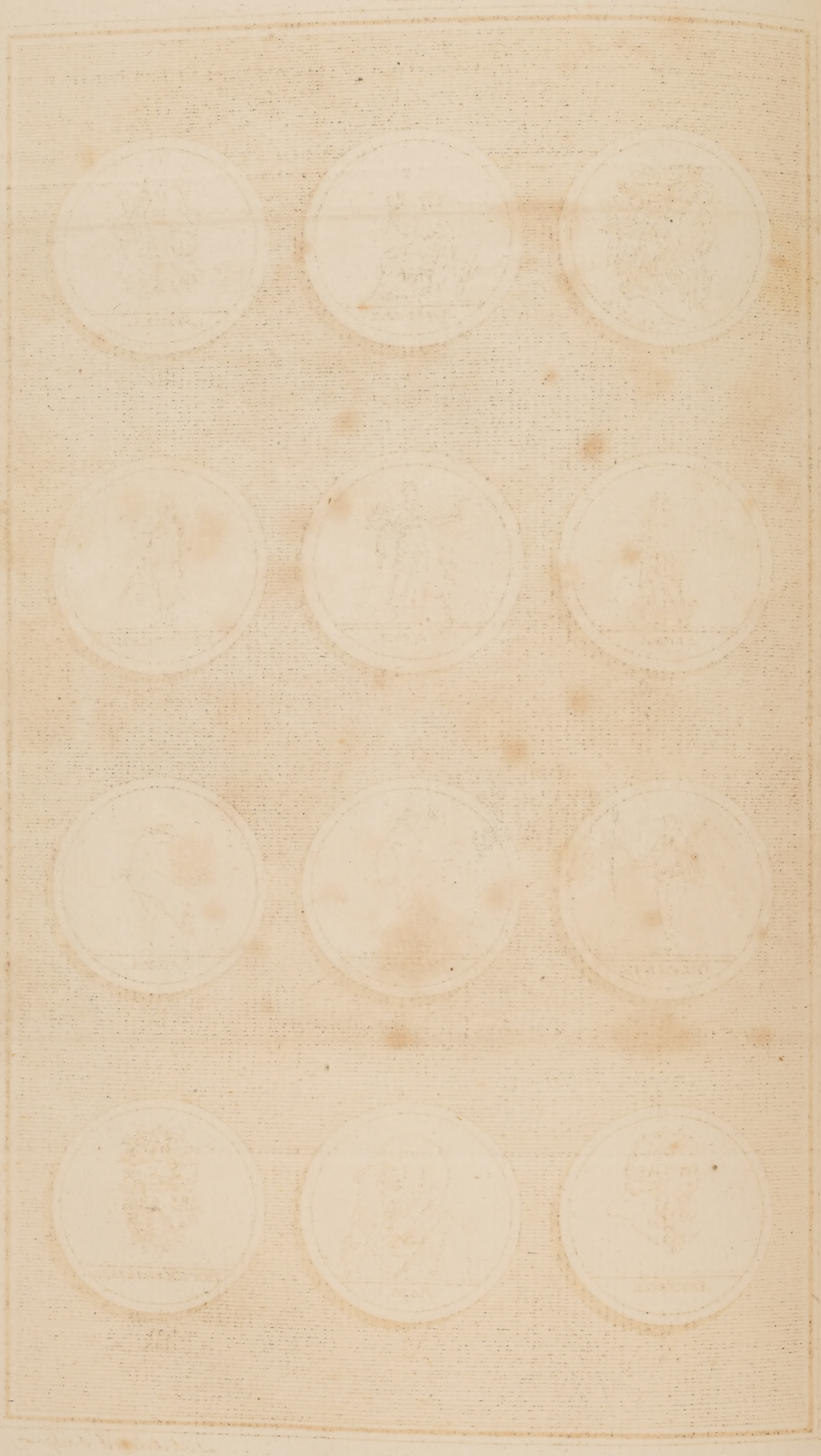

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L.P. Boitard Sculp.

BOOK the Ninth.

DIAL. XVI.

Of the Deities, and Inhabitants, of the LOWER WORLD.

POLYMETIS had now carried his two friends through all his collection, as far as it was diſpoſed of in his gardens; ſo the next day was to be a day of reſt to them: but as they had got into a train of diverting their time in this one kind of manner, they found this day hang more upon their hands than any of the former. Philander, in particular, wanted very much ſome of the ſame diverſion they had now been uſed to for ſome time; and could not help mentioning it to Polymetis, as they were ſitting in the library, after ſupper. I wiſh, ſays he, you had followed the taſte of the emperor Adrian (1), who is ſaid to have furniſhed one part of his gardens with nothing but infernal deities, and ſuch beings as were ſuppoſed to inhabit the lower world. We might then have had ſome of our old employment for to-morrow. Beſides, it would finiſh the whole ſeries of imaginary beings, that we have been converſing with theſe ſeven or eight days; and yet I do not know how it is, I am ſo far from being tired of their company, that I am at a loſs how to do without it. If you are ſo very deſirous of going on with them and compleating our enquiry, ſays Polymetis, you need only turn round, and hand me that drawer,——the loweſt of the ſix, juſt behind you;—in which are all the drawings I could get in relation to this laſt claſs of imaginary beings. As this was what Philander wanted, he did not loſe any time; but took out the drawer immediately, (which looked better ſtockt than they expected,) and ſet it before Polymetis: who, as all theſe drawings were ranged there to his hand in their proper order, began his lecture on them in the following manner.

IN talking of the poetical hell of the old Romans, I know not how one can do better, than to follow exactly the account which is given us by the beſt poet that the Romans ever had. I have therefore ranged theſe drawings of mine into diſtinct parcels, according to the different diviſions which Virgil has given us of the infernal regions. Virgil's general character is exactneſs; and he ſeems to have ſhown it particularly on this occaſion. His account of the ſubterraneous world is much the moſt regular and the moſt compleat we meet with in any of the Greek, as well as Latin poets, that remain to us. Hence it is, that Silius Italicus, (who ought perhaps to have more the authority of an hiſtorian, than that of a poet,) ſets Virgil's account of hell on a level with the principal ſubject of his Æneid: and ſeems to inſinuate, that he laid out all the parts of it in as (2) exact order, before he ſaw it; as he could have done, after he was an inhabitant of thoſe lower regions.

THE

(1) At his Villa, near Tivoli. See Spartian, T. II. p. 293.

(2) Atque hic Elyſio tendentem limite cernens
Effigiem * juvenis caſtam, cui vitta ligabat
Purpurea effuſos per colla nitentia crines;
Dic ait, hic quinam, Virgo? nam luce refulget
Præcipuâ frons ſacra viro; multæque ſequuntur
Mirantes animæ, & læto clamore frequentant.
Qui vultus! Quem, ſi Stygiâ non eſſet in umbrâ,
Dixiſſem facile eſſe Deum. Non falleris, inquit
Docta comes Triviæ: meruit Deus eſſe videri;
Et fuit in tanto non parvum pectore numen:
Carmine complexus terram, mare, ſidera, manes,
Et cantu Muſas & Phœbum æquavit honore.
Atque hæc cuncta prius quàm cerneret ordine terris
Prodidit; & veſtram tulit uſque ad ſidera Trojam.

* Scipio. Silius Ital. 13. ℣. 791.

The whole imaginary world (3) beneath the ſurface of the earth, which we call Hell, (tho' according to the antients it was the receptacle of all departed perſons, of the good as well as the bad,) is divided, by Virgil, into five parts. The firſt may be called the Previous Region. The ſecond is the Region of Waters; or the River, which they were all to paſs. The third is what we may call, the Gloomy Region; and what the antients called, Erebus (4). The fourth is Tartarus, or the Region of Torments: and the fifth, the Regions of Joy and Bliſs; or what we ſtill call Elyſium.

It may be worth while to enquire a little more particularly into the diſpoſition which Virgil has made of the nether world, into theſe five parts; and what ſort of perſonages, or inhabitants, he aſſigns to each of them.

The firſt part in it, (which I call the Previous Region, as being only the ſuburbs of the Realms of Death,) Virgil has ſtocked with two ſorts of beings. Firſt, with thoſe which make (5) the real miſery of mankind upon earth; ſuch as War, Diſcord; Labour, Grief, Cares, Diſtempers, and Old-age: and ſecondly, with (6) fancied terrors, and all the moſt frightful creatures of our own imagination; ſuch as Gorgons, Harpies, Chimæra's, and the like.

The next is the Water, which all the departed were ſuppoſed to paſs, to enter into the other world. This was called Styx; or, the Hateful paſſage. The imaginary perſonages of this diviſion are (7) the ſouls of the departed, who are either paſſing over, or ſuing for a paſſage; and the maſter of the veſſel, who carries them over, one freight after another, according to his will and pleaſure.

The third diviſion begins immediately with the bank on the other ſide the river; and was ſuppoſed to extend a great way in. It is ſubdivided again into ſeveral particular diſtricts. The firſt (8) ſeems to be the receptacle for infants, or the Limbus Infantum.—Then is the Limbo for all ſuch as have been (9) put to death without a cauſe.—Next, is the place for thoſe who have (10) put a period to their own lives: a melancholy region; and ſituated amidſt the marſhes, made by the overflowings of the Hateful River, or paſſage into the other world.——After this, are the (11) fields of Mourning; full of dark woods and groves, and inhabited by thoſe who died for love.——Laſt (12) of all, ſpreads an open champion country, allotted for the ſouls of departed warriors. The name of this whole diviſion is (13) Erebus.

The

(3) The ancients ſeem, moſt commonly, to have conſidered the earth, as a vaſt plain, ſpread out every way; and hell, as ſpread out, at an equal depth, all under the ſurface of it. Hence they had vents, or paſſages, that were ſuppoſed to lead directly to hell, in every country; and ſeveral in ſome: as the lakes of Avernus and Amſanctus, in particular, for Italy. "It is indifferent to me, where you bury me, (ſays Anaxagoras) for my journey to the other world will be juſt the ſame:" Undique enim ad Inferos tantundem viæ eſt. Cicero's Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1. p. 365. Ed. Blaeu.

(4) Erebus is moſt commonly uſed for this particular part of the ſubterraneous world, by Virgil and the reſt of the Roman poets; tho' they may poſſibly ſometimes uſe it for the ſubterraneous world, in general. The perſons placed by Virgil in this part, ſeem to me not to have been ſuppoſed to be in torments; but only to abide in a dark, and melancholy way. The derivation of the words Tartarus and Erebus, according to the critics in that ſort of knowledge, agrees very well with this diſtinction: for Erebus, ſay they, is derived from ערב, which ſignifies Night, or Obſcurity; and Tartarus, from ταραττω, to diſturb, or torment.

(5) Æn. 6. ℣. 274, to 281.

(6) Ibid. 286, to 289.

(7) Ibid. 295, to 316.

(8) Ibid. 427.

(9) Ibid. 430.

(10) Ibid. 434, to 439.

(11) Ibid. 441.

(12) Ibid. 477.

(13) Virgil ſhews plainly that this diviſion was called Erebus, in his account of the deſcent of Orpheus into hell. Compare G. 4. ℣. 471, and 478; ſee too ℣. 481, ibid.

It

THE ſeveral diſtricts of this diviſion ſeem to be diſpoſed all in a line, one after the other (14). But after this, the great line or road divides into two: of which, the right-hand road leads to Elyſium, or the place of the bleſt; and the left-hand road to Tartarus, or the place of the tormented.

THE fourth general diviſion of the ſubterraneous world is this Tartarus; or the place of torments. There was a city in it (15), and a prince to preſide over it. Within this city was a vaſt deep pit, in which the tortures were ſuppoſed to be performed. In this horrid part, Virgil places two ſorts of ſouls: firſt of ſuch, as have ſhewn their impiety and rebellion (16) toward the gods; and ſecondly of ſuch, as have been vile or miſchievous among men. Thoſe, (as he himſelf ſays of the latter, more particularly,) who hated their brethren; uſed their parents ill; or cheated their dependants: who made no uſe of their riches; who committed inceſt, or diſturbed the marriage-union of others: thoſe who were rebellious ſubjects; or knaviſh ſervants; who were deſpiſers of juſtice, and betrayers of their country; and who made and unmade laws, not for the good of the public, but only to get money to themſelves. All theſe, and the deſpiſers of the gods, Virgil places in this moſt horrid diviſion of his ſubterraneous world; and in the vaſt abyſs, which was the moſt terrible part even of that diviſion.

THE fifth diviſion is that of Elyſium, or the place of the bleſt. Here Virgil places (17) thoſe who died for their country; thoſe of pure lives; truly inſpired poets; the inventors of arts; and all who have done good to mankind. He does not ſpeak of any particular diſtricts for theſe; but ſuppoſes that they have the liberty of (18) going where they pleaſe in that delightful region, and converſing with whom they pleaſe. He only mentions one vale, toward the end of it, as appropriated to any particular uſe. This is (19) the vale of Lethe, or Forgetfulneſs; where many of the antient philoſophers, and the Platoniſts in particular, ſuppoſed the ſouls which had paſſed thro' ſome periods of their trial, were immerſed in the river which gives its name to it; in order to be put into new bodies, and to fill up the whole courſe of their probation in our upper world.

IN each of theſe three diviſions on the other ſide of the river Styx, (which perhaps were comprehended under the name of Ades, as all the five might be under the name of Orcus,) was a prince, or judge (20): Minos, for the regions of Erebus; Rhadamanthus, for Tartarus; and Æacus, for Elyſium. Pluto and Proſerpine (21) had their palace at the entrance of the road to the Elyſian fields; and preſided, as ſovereigns, over the whole ſubterraneous world.

MY

It is ſaid before, that the name of this diviſion is derived from a Hebrew word ſignifying Night, or Darkneſs; which agrees particularly with a line of Virgil, in another part of his works.

Pallentes umbras Erebi; noctemque profundam.
Æn. 4. ℣. 26.

(14) Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 540, to 543.

(15) Ibid. ℣. 549, and 566.

(16) The impious; ſee Virgil, Æn. 6. ℣. 580, to 607: and the unjuſt; ibid. ℣. 608, to 624.

Virgil plainly had this diſtinction in his thoughts, from his not mixing them at all with one another; and ſeems even to expreſs it, in that exclamation which he puts into the mouth of one of the tormented:

Diſcite juſtitiam moniti; & non temnere Divos!
Ibid. ℣. 620.

(17) Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 660, to 664.

(18) Nulli certa domus: lucis habitamus opacis;
Riparumque toros, & prata recentia rivis
Incolimus.——
Ibid. ℣. 675.

(19) Ibid. ℣. 679, 703, and 749.

(20) Nec vero hæ ſine ſorte datæ, ſine judice ſedes:
Quæſitor Minos urnam movet.——
Ibid. ℣. 432.

Gnoſſius hæc Rhadamanthus habet duriſſima regna;
Caſtigatque auditque dolos.——
Ibid. ℣. 567.

Quàm penè furvæ regna Proſerpinæ,
Et judicantem vidimus Æacum,
Sedeſque diſcretas piorum!——
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 13. ℣. 23.

(21) Hic locus eſt partes ubi ſe via findit in ambas;
Dextera quæ Ditis magni ſub mœnia tendit:
Hac iter Elyſium nobis.——
Virgil Æn. 6. ℣. 542.

My drawings here are ranged exactly according to the map, which Virgil has given us of this imaginary country. The first of them represents his Previous region. You know there are two manuscripts of Virgil's poems, in the Vatican library; each with antient pictures in them, relating to the most remarkable passages. This is taken from the better of those two manuscripts: which is said to have been wrote about the time of Constantine the Great; as the pictures in it are supposed (22) to have been copied from some of a higher date: at least as high, as the reign of Septimius Severus.

Pl. XXXVI. Fig. 1. You see here the two sorts of inhabitants, assigned by Virgil to this first division of the nether world. That line of naked ladies above are the real Evils and distresses of human life; as (23) Want, Diseases, Grief, Old-age, and the like: and the rest of the picture is almost wholly furnished with meer terrors of the imagination; such as Harpies, Centaurs, monstrous Giants, Hydra's, and Chimæra's.

The former are the more remarkable, because their figures are scarce any where to be met with but here. As for the Virtues, and beings which make the happiness of life, one had a large resource in the medals of the Roman emperors; who were all complimented in their turns, with being the hope, the joy, the safety, and security, of the kingdoms under their command. This was obviously expressed by having the emperor's head, on one side of a medal; and the figure of the goddess Spes, Lætitia, Salus or Securitas, on the other. But tho' they had so many bad, and even so many monstrous emperors, I believe no artist ever ventured so far as to place a vitious or hurtful being on the reverse of any of their coins: and this is one great reason why the figures of these bad beings are so much more difficult to be met with, than their opposite virtues. Indeed I have never seen any groupe of the Vices and hurtful Beings, but in this Vatican picture: and in this, they are not sufficiently distinguished from one another; being drawn without any attributes, and almost all alike. There are eight of them; of whom I can say nothing in particular, except that the two who are sitting and looking downwards, pretty much in the same attitude, may possibly be the Curæ Virgil speaks of; for he gives them seats: which, you see here, are no better than the bare rocks; and even on them, they seem to be placed in an uneasy posture. Some of the other poets, as well as Virgil, speak of the Curæ personally (24); but there is very little that is any way descriptive of their persons, in any of them.

Virgil places Death (25), and his relation Sleep, among the evil beings of this region. They make not their appearance in the Vatican picture; but may be supplied from other remains of the antient artists.

The figures of Mors, or Death, are very uncommon; as indeed those of the (26) evil and hurtful beings are in general. They were banished from all medals, for the reason I have just mentioned to you: on seals and rings they were probably considered as bad omens;

(22) See Dial. VIII. Note 121.

(23) ——Primis in faucibus Orci
Luctus, & ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ:
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus;
Et Metus, & malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas:
Terribiles visu formæ.——
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 277.

It must be owned, that Virgil here is more distinct and picturesque, than the painting in the Vatican manuscript. The epithets of Pallentes Morbi, tristis Senectus, & turpis Egestas, might have furnished the artist with hints how to distinguish these beings from one another, much more than he has done.

(24) ——Curas, laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 16. ℣. 12.

——Curæque sequaces.
Lucretius, 2. ℣. 47.

Post equitem sedet atra Cura.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 1. ℣. 40.

Scandit æratas vitiosa naves
Cura, nec turmas equitum relinquit;
Ocyor cervis, & agente nimbos
Ocyor Euro.
Id. Lib. 2. Od. 16. ℣. 24.

(25) ——Lethumque, Laboque;
Et consanguineus Lethi Sopor.——
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 278.

(26) These are almost as uncommon in the descriptions of the poets, as they are in the works of the antient artists. The most remarkable that I remember of this kind, are the description of Party-Rage in Virgil; Æn. 1. ℣. 292. and those of Discord;

Æn.

omens; and were perhaps never uſed: as for pictures, they might be introduced there on many occaſions; but we have ſo few remaining to us of the antient paintings, that we can expect but little aſſiſtance from that quarter. Among the very few figures of Mors I have ever met with, that in the Florentine gallery is I think the moſt remarkable. It is a little figure in braſs, (in the apartment which they call the Madama,) of a ſkeleton; as ſitting on the ground (27), and reſting one of its hands on a long urn.

I FANCY Mors was common enough in the paintings of old; becauſe ſhe is ſo frequently mentioned in a deſcriptive manner, by the Roman poets: who, by the way, ſometimes make a diſtinction (28) between Lethum and Mors, which the poverty of our language will not allow us to expreſs; and which it is even difficult enough to conceive. Perhaps, they meant by Lethum, that general principle or ſource of mortality, which they ſuppoſed to have its proper reſidence in hell; and by Mors, or Mortes, (for they had (29) ſeveral of them,) the immediate cauſe of each particular inſtance of mortality, on our earth.

THE face of Mors, when they gave her any face, (and the painters probably repreſented her ſometimes with a very meagre body, as well as like an abſolute ſkeleton,) ſeems to have been (30) of a pale, wan, dead colour. The poets deſcribe her as ravenous, treacherous, and furious. They ſpeak of her (31) roving about open-mouthed (32), and

Æn. 6. ℣. 278, and 8. ℣. 702.—The Envy, and Famine, in Ovid; Met. Lib. 2. ℣. 775; and 8. ℣. 799.—and the groupes of Evil Beings mentioned by the ſame, in his Met. Lib. 1. ℣. 130: by Statius, Theb. 4. ℣. 661; Valerius Flaccus, Argon. 2. ℣. 205: Petronius Arbiter, ℣. 254, to 263; and the author of Œdipus, Act 3. ℣. 590, to 594.

There is a proſe-writer among the Romans, that I think ſpeaks more deſcriptively of theſe evil beings than moſt of their poets have done. The perſon I mean is Valerius Maximus. According to him, (if he ſpeaks regularly enough to be depended upon,) Sloth was ſometimes painted of old, in a retired cave; from his Memorab. Lib. 2. Cap. 6. §. 3: and Perfidy, in a dark corner: Lib. 9. Cap. 6. Procem. Luxury, and Luſt, each with a looſe, flowing robe; with a wanton look; and eyes fixed on ſome new object, that hits their appetites. Lib. 9. Cap. 2. Procem. To the two latter, he oppoſes the appearance of Cruelty; in the following words. Crudelitatis verò horridus habitus; truculenta facies; violenti ſpiritus, vox terribilis; ora, minis & cruentis imperiis referta. (Ibid.)

It is very remarkable, that where Lucian deſcribes the cleareſt picture I remember ever to have read of, as to theſe bad beings; he ſpeaks, as if their characters were not well aſcertained nor readily known, even in his time.——The imaginary beings repreſented in this picture, were Calumny; Ignorance, Suſpicion; Envy, Treachery, Falſhood; Repentance, and Truth.——It was a work, of Apelles, the Epheſian; in the time of Ptolemy Philopater: in whoſe court that painter had been, for ſome time very well received: but was afterwards like to loſe his head; on a falſe accuſation for treaſon, from a brother-artiſt who envied his reputation. The king at laſt was convinced of his innocence; and ſent him home with a great reward. When he was got ſafe there, he drew the picture I am ſpeaking of; which Lucian deſcribes in the following words. Εν δεξια τις ανηρ καθηται τα ωλα παμμεγεθη εχων, μικρα δειν τοις τε Μιδα προσεοικολα· την χειρα προλεινων πορρωθεν ελι προσιοντι τη Διαβολη. Περι δε αυλον εσ-ασι δυο γυναικες· Αγνοια μοι δοκει, και Υπολημψις. Ετερωθεν δε, προσερχελαι η Διαβολη, γυναιον ες υπερβολην παλκαλον, υποθερμον δε και παρακεκινημενον· οιον δη την λυτταν και την οργην δεικνυυσα· τη μεν αρις-ερα, δαδα καιομενην εχυσα· τη ετερα δε, νεανιαν τινα των τριχων συρυσα, τας χειρας ορεγοντα εις τον ουρανον και μαρτυρομενον τους θεους. Ηγειται δε αυτη ωχρος και αμορφος, οξυ δεδορκως, και εοικως τοις εκ νοσε μακρας κατασκληκοσι· τουτον γαρ ειναι τον Φθονον αν τις εικασειε. Και μην δε αλλαι τινες δυο παρομαρτυσι, προτρεπυσαι, και περις-ελλυσαι, και κατακοσμυσαι την Διαβολην· ως δε μοι και ταυτας εμηνυσεν ο περιηγητης της εικονος, η μεν Επιβολη τις ην, η δε Απατη. Κατοπιν δε ηκολυθει, πανυ πευθικως, τις εσκευασμενη, μελανειμων, και κατεσπαραγμενη· Μελανοια δε και αυτη ελεγετο. Επες-ρεφετο γαρ εσ τυπισω, δακρυυσα· και μεθ' αιδυς πανυ, την Αληθειαν προσιυσαν υπεβλεπεν. Tom. 2. p. 404. Ed. Blaeu.

(27) See Pl. 41. Fig. 1.

(28) Et Bellona minax, facibuſque armata Megæra:
Lethumque; Inſidiæque; & lurida Mortis imago.
Petronius Arb. ℣. 263.

(29) Securæ procul hinc abite Mortes!
Statius, Lib. 2. Sylv. 7. ℣. 131.
Stant Furiæ circum, variæque ex ordine Mortes.
Id. Theb. 8. ℣. 24.

(30) The Epithets of Pallida, and Lurida, (pale and wan,) are frequently applied to Mors, by the Latin poets; and occur in quotations on this article. This dead colour of her cheeks, &c. I take to be meant by Lucretius; where he ſays,

Omnia denique ſancta Deûm delubra replerat
Corporibus, Mors exanimis.——
Lib. 6. ℣. 1271.

(31) ——Cur anni tempora morbos
Adportant? Quare Mors immatura vagatur?
Lucretius, 5. ℣. 222.

(32) Et cum Mors avidis pallida dentibus.
Herc. Fur. Act. 2. Chor.
Mors alta avidos oris hiatus
Pandit, & omnes explicat alas.
Oedipus, Act. 1. Chor.

Mors

and as ready to ſwallow up all that comes in her way. They ſeem to give her (33) black robes; and (34) dark wings: and repreſent her often, as of an (35) enormous ſize. Statius gives her arms too; and in particular (36), a ſword; like a deſtroying angel: for it is where he is deſcribing a peſtilence. I do not know how far this is to be depended upon; for we have only the ſingle authority of Statius for it; and his authority is not great with me.

As the antients had more horrid and gloomy notions of death, than we have at preſent; moſt of their deſcriptions of Mors, are of a more frightful and diſmal turn. They ſometimes deſcribe her as coming to the (37) doors of mortals, and thundering at them to demand the debt which they owe her: ſometimes as approaching (38) to their bedſides, and leaning over them: and ſometimes, as (39) purſuing her prey; or as hovering in the air (40), and ready to make a ſtoop upon it. There is another idea, not uncommon in the Roman poets, and which they ſeem to have borrowed from that ſort of their gladiators who were called Retiaries, from the nets in which they uſed to entangle their adverſaries: for Mors is repreſented by them (41) as purſuing men with a net; as catching them: and as dragging them to their tombs. This, poſſibly, may be what Catullus means by his expreſſion of (42), "the Whirl of Death;" or at leaſt, I know not how to account for that expreſſion ſo well, any other way.

THERE is yet another idea of Death in the Roman poets, which they ſeem to have borrowed from the antient manner of hunting. They uſed of old to ſurround (43) a conſiderable tract of ground, with a circle of nets; and afterwards contracted the circle by degrees, till they had forced all the beaſts of that quarter together into a narrow compaſs:

Mors fruitur cœlo, bellatoremque volando
Campum operit; nigroque viros invitat hiatu.
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 378.

This particular idea of Death's gaping and ſwallowing every thing, comes naturally enough from the old notion of the place of the dead.

——Domus omnibus una;
In medio vaſtum late ſe tendit inane:
Huc, quicquid terræ, quicquid freta, & igneus æther
Nutrivit, primo mundi genitalis ab ævo,
Mors communis agit: deſcendunt cuncta; capitque
Campus iners, quantum interiit reſtatque futurum.
Silius Italicus, 13. ℣. 530.
——Illatrat jejunis faucibus Orcus.
Id. Ib. ℣. 845.

(33) Omnia ſub leges Mors vocat atra ſuas.
Ovid. Conſol. ad Liv. ℣. 360.
In ſpeculis Mors atra ſedet; dominiſque ſilentes
Adnumerat populos.——
Statius, Theb. 4. ℣. 529.

(34) Mors atris circumvolat alis.
Horat. Lib. 2. Sat. 1. ℣. 58.

(35) See Notes 36, and 40, poſth.

(36) ——Mors fila Sororum
Enſe metit; captamque tenens fert Manibus urbem.
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 633.

(37) Cum Mors vicina flagitabit debitum.
Phædrus, Lib. 4. Epil.
Pallida Mors æquo pulſat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 4. ℣. 14.

Ovid uſes the ſame expreſſion, of Proſerpine:

Et mihi conjugii tempus crudelis ad ipſum,
Perſephone noſtras pulſat acerba fores.
Her. Ep. 21. ℣. 46. Cydippe, Acont.

And Statius, of another fatal Deity:

Jam trepidas Bellona fores, armataque pulſat
Limina.——
Theb. 8. ℣. 349.

(38) ——Mors ad caput aſtitit——
Lucretius, 3. ℣. 492.

(39) Mors & fugacem perſequitur virum;
Nec parcit imbellis juventæ
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 2. ℣. 16.

(40) Ecce Necem intentam cœlo, terræque, fretoque!
Ovid. Conſol. ad Liv. ℣. 361.
Mors fruitur cœlo, bellatoremque volando
Campum operit.——
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 378.

(41) Hic, illic, ubi Mors deprenderat, exhalantes.
Ovid. Met. 7. ℣. 581.
Non Mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 24. ℣. 9.
Mors tamen a templis ad cava buſta trahet.
Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. 9. ℣. 38.

(42) Certè ego te in medio verſantem turbine lethi
Eripui.——
Catullus, Nupt. Pel. ℣. 150.

(43) This way of hunting is very diſtinctly deſcribed by one of the Roman poets.

——Sic curva feras indago latentes
Claudit; & admotis paulatim caſſibus arctat:
Illæ ignem ſonitumque pavent; diffuſaque linquunt
Avia; miranturque ſuum decreſcere montem;
Donec in anguſtam ceciderunt undique vallem.
Inque vicem ſtupuere greges, ſocioque timore
Manſueſcunt: ſimul hirtus aper, ſimul urſa lupuſque
Cogitur; & captos contemnit cerva leones.
Statius, Achil. 1. ℣. 466.

The compaſs of ground at firſt taken in, was ſometimes very conſiderable. Plutarch ſpeaks of toils, for this kind of hunting, that were above 12 miles long. In Vitâ Alex. p. 22.

paſs: and then it was that the ſlaughter, or the heighth of the ſport, (as they called it then, and as we ſtill to our ſhame call the murthering poor innocent creatures for our diverſion,) began. This manner of hunting was uſed in Italy of old; as well as all over the more eaſtern parts of the world: and it was from this cuſtom, I ſuppoſe, that the poets ſometimes repreſent Death as (44) ſurrounding perſons, with her nets; and as encompaſſing them, on every ſide.

I HAVE obſerved to you already, that the poets do not confine themſelves to one imaginary being, to repreſent Death; but that they ſpeak of (45) ſeveral of them. Statius, (who gives us a greater variety of deſcriptions relating to this ſubject, than perhaps all the other Roman poets taken together,) ſpeaks of a Mors (46), like Quies. In another place, he deſcribes a Mors, (perhaps the chief over all the reſt,) as ſitting on an eminence (47); and giving in her tale of ghoſts, to the rulers of the lower world. In another, he ſpeaks of her as like to be ſhut up (48), and confined from doing miſchief, in a dark priſon there. But of all his pictures of this deity, the moſt particular I think is where (49) he repreſents her as ſtanding by the bedſide of a youth, juſt in the flower of his age; accompanied by Envy, and (50) Vengeance. Theſe horrid deities ſhow a good deal of friendſhip to one another, in the execution of their cruel office; and Vengeance, in particular, after having embraced the goddeſs of Death, ſeems according to his account to take the fatal net out of her hand, and to perform her office for her.

LETHUM is deſcribed by the poets, in general, much in the ſame manner as they deſcribe Mors. They give him a robe; but mention his arms (51) being exerted out of it, as reaching at his prey. They hint at his (52) catching people in a net; and his hunting men, (as they did beaſts,) within his toils. As they ſpeak of a Mors like Reſt, ſo they ſay that Lethum is nearly (53) related to Sleep; and Valerius Flaccus, in particular, acquaints us that they were (54) brothers.

SLEEP, as ſo nearly related to Death, may very well have a place in the ſame region of the nether world: Virgil places him there (55), and ſeems to hint at this very reaſon for doing ſo. His general character, it muſt be owned, is of a ſofter nature; and deſerves a better ſituation for him. According to which, Statius and Ovid place the chief reſidence or great palace of Somnus, on our earth. However, as it is ſufficient to conſider him in either of the places aſſigned for him; and as there were no terreſtrial deities he was ſo

(44) ——Furvæ miſeram circum undique Lethi
Vallavere plagæ.——
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. ℣. 156.

This cuſtom came from the Eaſt; and is ſtill continued there: and the idea of it is applied to Death by the ſacred writers, juſt in the ſame manner as it is by the Roman poets. "The ſnares of death compaſſed me round about." Pſ. cxvi. ℣. 3.

(45) See Note 29, anteh.

(46) ——Te torpor iners, & Mors imitata quietem
Explicuit; falſoque tulit ſub Tartara ſomno.
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. ℣. 261.

That poem is on the loſs of his father, who died of a lethargic diſorder.

(47) See Note 33, anteh.

(48) —Cæco gemeret Mors clauſa barathro.
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. ℣. 168.

(49) Attendit torvo triſtis Rhamnuſia vultu:
Ac primum implevitque toros, oculiſque nitorem
Addidit; & ſolito ſublimiùs ora levavit;
Heu miſero letale favens! ſeſeque videndo
Torſit; & Invidiam Mortemque amplexa, jacenti
Injecit nexus: carpſitque immitis aduncâ
Ora verenda manu.——
Statius, Lib 2. Sylv. 6. ℣. 79.

(50) The goddeſs that I call Vengeance here, is called by Statius, Rhamnuſia: who, in the heathen ſcheme, ſeems to have been much the ſame with Nemeſis; or the Divine Vengeance.

(51) Et Dolus, & Rabies; & Lethi major imago
Viſa, truces exſerta manus.——
Val. Flaccus, 2. ℣. 207.

(52) See Note 42, 43, 44, anteh.

(53) ——Conſanguinei mixtus caligine Lethi,
Rore madens Stygio, morituram amplectitur urbem
Somnus.——
Statius, Theb. 5. ℣. 199.

(54) Nunc age major ades, fratrique ſimillime Letho!
Val. Flac. 8. ℣. 74.

(55) Terribiles viſu formæ! Lethumque, Laboſque;
Et, conſanguineus Lethi, Sopor.——
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 278.

ſo nearly allied to; I have choſe to rank his figure with theſe ſubterraneous ones: and only mention this, that you may not conſider him abſolutely as an infernal deity; or forget his milder and better character; from ſeeing him in ſo bad company.

Pl. XXXVI. Fig. 2. SOMNUS is moſt commonly repreſented by the artiſts, as you ſee him in this drawing: a ſoft youth, ſtretched at his eaſe on a couch: reſting his head on a lion's ſkin; and ſometimes on a lion, as in the figure before you; with one arm either a little over, or under his head, and the other dropping negligently by the ſide of the couch; and either holding poppies, or a horn with the juice of poppies, in it. He is often winged; and extremely like a little Cupid. So like, that he has been frequently miſtaken for one: in ſpight of that lizard, by his feet; which has no relation to Cupid, tho' (as it is one of thoſe creatures which ſleeps half the year,) it is a very proper attribute of Somnus. I do not know that the poets ever mention the lizard as an attribute of Somnus; and therefore imagine it might be uſed by the artiſts merely to diſtinguiſh the figures of this god from thoſe of Cupid: tho' the poppy, one would think, ſhould be ſufficient for that purpoſe; except in ſome few pieces, where we meet with the diſtinguiſhing attributes of Somnus, and thoſe of Cupid, blended together: and of ſuch perhaps we may ſay, that as Venus is ſometimes repreſented under the character of the goddeſs Deſidia, theſe may be Cupids under the character of Somnus.

THERE is ſcarce any one of the deities that is more fully and particularly deſcribed by the poets, than this deity of Sleep. They ſometimes ſpeak of him, as large; and probably he was repreſented ſo in ſome of his figures, to denote his (56) great power: which is ſignified too, by his reſting on a lion, which ſhews that the ſtrongeſt and moſt furious of all animals is ſubdued by him. But the moſt common way of repreſenting Somnus, is juſt as you ſee him here; young (57), ſoft, placid, and (58) reſting on his couch. The poets ſpeak often of his (59) wings; and mention their being black: that colour (60) is the moſt proper for this god, as his empire is chiefly by night: and it is for the ſame reaſon I ſuppoſe, that the ſtatuaries ſo often choſe to make his figures of ebony, baſalt, or any dark-coloured marble. Such is the fine ſtatue of this god in the Great Duke's gallery; which, as you may remember, holds a horn in one of his hands, in ſuch a languid and remiſs manner, that the poppy-juice is running out of it. The poets hint even at (61) this little circumſtance too. They ſpeak frequently (62) of his horn in general; and

(56) Somne Pater! Somne omnipotens! Te Colchis ab omni
Orbe voco, inque unum jubeo nunc ire draconem!
Quæ freta ſæpe tuo, domui quæ nubila cornu;
Fulminaque, & toto quicquid micat æthere.——
Medea's invocation of Somnus, in Valerius Flaccus's Arg. Lib. 8. ℣. 73.

(57) ——Juvenis placidiſſimus——
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 4. ℣. 1.
Cum tener ad partes tu quoque, Somne, venis.
Ovid. Art. Am. 2. ℣. 546.
——Placidiſſime Somne Deorum!
Id. Met. 11. ℣. 623.

(58) ——Soporifero ſtipatus flore, tapetis
Incubat.——
Statius, Theb. 10. ℣. 108.
——Rurſus molli languore ſolutum
Depoſuitque caput; ſtratoque recondidit alto.
Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 649.

(59) Virgil calls Somnus winged, or Volucris; Æn. 6. ℣. 701: and Ales; Æn. 5. ℣. 861: and Tibullus, ſpeaking of the attendants of the chariot of the Night, ſays:

Poſtque venit tacitus, fulvis circundatus alis,
Somnus; & incerto Somnia nigra pede.
Tibul. Lib. 2. El. 1. ℣. ult.

(60) At medio torus eſt ebeno ſublimis in atrâ,
Plumeus, atricolor, pullo velamine tectus;
Quo cubat ipſe Deus, membris languore ſolutis.
Ovid. Met. 12. ℣. 612.

(61) ——Manus hæc, fuſos a tempore lævo
Suſtentat crines; hæc, cornu oblita remiſit.
Statius, Theb. 10. ℣. 118.

(62) Et Nox, & cornu fugiebat Somnus inani.
Statius, Theb. 6. ℣. 27.
——Illos, poſt vulnera feſſos
Exceptamque hiemem, cornu perfuderat omni
Somnus.——
Id. Ib. 2. ℣. 145.
——Implacido fundit gravia otia cornu.
Id. Ib. 5. ℣. 199.

As this is ſo uſual an idea in Statius's Thebaid, I think it may help us to alter a line in the ſame poem; which is ſcarce Latin, as it ſtands at preſent. It is in the 12th Book, ℣. 307.

Hunc quoque, qui curru madidas tibi pronus habenas
Ducit, in Aonios Vigiles demitte Soporem.

If one was to read cornu, inſtead of curru, here; one might perhaps relieve the paſſage from one of thoſe amendments, that tranſcribers and editors are too often fond of making.

and ſometimes (63), of his Virga: but as I have never yet obſerved a wand, in any of his figures I have ſeen; I am apt to imagine, that the poets by that word may mean no more than the poppy (64) on the ſtalk; which he frequently holds in his hand. The poets ſuppoſed that this deity communicated ſleep to mortals (65) by pouring out of his horn on them; by touching them with his Virga; or by only paſſing gently by their bed-ſide. When he intended to give troubled ſleep, and tumultuous dreams, they ſeem to ſay that he made uſe of water from (66) ſome of the infernal rivers, mixed with his juice of poppies.

THO' this deity is generally repreſented by the artiſts in a profound ſleep, yet the poets now and then give us deſcriptions of him as engaged in ſome ſort of action; but his very actions ſhould be performed with a great deal of indolence; and ſhould ſhew his diſinclination to action.

STATIUS is more frequent in his deſcriptions of Somnus, as well as Mors, than any other of the Roman poets. In one place, he repreſents him, as taking his ſtand on the very higheſt point in all the courſe of the moon; and (67) hovering down from thence, with his wings ſpread over the earth, juſt at midnight. In another, he ſpeaks of ſeveral relievo's relating to this god; in each of which he was joined with ſome companion or other (68), with much propriety. In the firſt he was with Voluptas, conſidered as the goddeſs of feaſts and entertainments; in the ſecond, with Hard Labour, repreſented as tired and inclining to reſt; in the third, with Bacchus; and in the fourth, with the God of Love. This would be a pretty ſubject for a painter now; and puts one in mind of the antient paintings on cielings, in which there often are four little ſubjects of this kind, in ſo many different compartiments; to anſwer the four angles of the room. They have nothing to do with a fifth ſubject mentioned by the ſame poet, of Somnus with a milder kind of Death; for that, as he expreſly ſays, was (69) in a different apartment.

ALL

(63) —Extremo me tange cacumine virgæ,
(Sufficit) aut leviter ſuſpenſo poplite tranſi.
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 4. ℣. ult.

—Oculis—quietem
Irrorat, tangens Lethæâ tempora virgâ.
Silius Ital. 10. ℣. 357.

(64) What Silius here calls Virga, Virgil calls Ramus:

—Ramum, Lethæo rore madentem.
Æn. 5. ℣. 855.

And he calls Poppy, Lethæa papavera; (Georg. 4. ℣. 545.) And, Lethæo perfuſa papavera ſomno. (Ib. 1. ℣. 78.)

(65) See Note 62, anteh.

(66) Rore madens Stygio morituram amplectitur urbem
Somnus, & implacido fundit gravia otia cornu.
Statius, Theb. 5. ℣. 199.

Imperium celer exequitur: curvoque volucris
Per tenebras portat medicata papavera cornu.
Aſt ubi per tacitum allapſus tentoria prima
Barcæi petiit juvenis, quatit inde ſoporas
Devexo capiti pennas; oculiſque quietem
Irrorat tangens Lethæâ tempora virgâ:
Exercent rapidam truculenta inſomnia mentem.
Silius Ital. 10. ℣. 358.

It ſeems to have been an overſight in Silius (in the paſſage laſt quoted) to call Somnus, celer. The other poets generally repreſent him as inactive, even when he is forced to do any thing: and tho' they often call him Volucris, that may ſignify winged rather than ſwift. Ovid expreſſes the inactivity of this god, very ſtrongly in his deſcription of him.

—Veſtis fulgore reluxit
Sacra domus; tardâque Deus gravitate jacentes
Vix oculos tollens, iterumque iterumque relabens,
Summaque percutiens nutanti pectora mento,
Excuſſit tandem ſibi ſe.———
Morphea, qui peragat Thaumantidos edita, Somnus
Eligit; & rurſus molli languore ſolutum
Depoſuitque caput, ſtratoque recondidit alto.
Met. 11. ℣. 649.

This, excepting the nutanti mento, which may be rather too low; and the excuſſit ſibi ſe, which is as bad as well can be; (and one muſt not expect to quote any long paſſage from the Metamorphoſis without ſome ſuch blots in it;) is a very beautiful deſcription: and extremely agreeable to the general character of this god.

(67) Scandebat roſeo medii faſtigia cœli
Luna jugo: totis ubi Somnus inertior alis
Deſluit in terras; mutumque amplectitur orbem.
Statius, Achil. 1. ℣. 621.

(68) —Hic hæret lateri redimita Voluptas;
Hic comes, in requiem vergens Labor: eſt ubi Baccho,
Eſt ubi Martigenæ ſocium pulvinar Amori
Obtinet.———
Id. Theb. 10. ℣. 104.

(69) —Interius tectum, in penetralibus altis,
Et cum Morte, jacet: nullique ea triſtis imago.
Id. Ib. ℣. 105.

This Mors, ſhould be of as gentle an appearance, as Somnus himſelf; like that Statius ſpeaks of, in another part of his poems:

—Torpor iners, & Mors imitata Quietem.
Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. ℣. 260.

This

All theſe fine images are in Statius's deſcription (70) of the palace of Sleep; which is a very full one: and ſeems to be borrowed from one, which is yet fuller, in Ovid. Statius places it in the (71) unknown parts of Ethiopia: and Ovid in Italy, near the lake Avernus: poſſibly in the very place which is now ſhewn there, for the Deſcent into Hell. We learn, from Statius, that the attendants and guards before the gates of this palace, were (72) Reſt, Eaſe, Indolence, Silence, and Oblivion; as the miniſters or attendants within, are a vaſt multitude of dreams; in different ſhapes, and attitudes. Ovid teaches us who were the ſuppoſed governors over theſe; and what their particular diſtricts or offices were. The three (73) chiefs of all, are Morpheus, Phobætor, and Phantaſos: theſe inſpire dreams into princes and great perſons only: Morpheus, ſuch as relate to men: Phobætor, ſuch as relate to other animals; and Phantaſos, ſuch as relate to inanimate things. They have each their particular legions under them to inſpire the ſort of dreams, which belong to their province, into the common people and the vulgar of mankind. You ſee here a well-regulated allegory, on a very odd and diffuſed ſubject. The artiſts do not ſeem to go ſo deep into it, as the poets; and I do not know that I have ever met with a ſingle figure in their works relating to theſe beings. The poets certainly ſpeak, not only of the three Great Chiefs, but even of all the inferior populace of Dreams, in a perſonal manner. Tibullus reckons them among the (74) attendants of the chariot of Nox; and ſays they are black: and Statius deſcribes them as ſticking (75) againſt the columns, and walls, in the palace of Somnus; not unlike the bats, to which Homer (76) compares the ſpirits in Ades.

I Have not yet ſaid any thing of the ſecond ſort of inhabitants in this previous region; and indeed have very little to ſay of them. They conſiſt of the Terrors of the Fancy; and what the poets themſelves always conſidered as mere creatures of the imagination. Even Death, and Sleep, and Dreams, they ſuppoſed to be realized; and worſhipped them in the vulgar religion: but theſe they ſpeak of as meer (77) fancies; exiſting no where

This ſort of death is far from being diſmal in reality, as well as in the repreſentation of it; it being more like the continuation of ſleep, than the finiſhing of life. Such was the death of Statius's father:—and ſuch the death of the great father of poetry, in our days! Which, tho' eaſy and imperceptible to him, muſt ſtill lay heavy on the hearts of all, who had the happineſs of knowing him.

(70) See Statius's Theb. 10. ℣. 84, to 117; and Ovid's Met. 11. ℣. 592, to 645.

(71) Stat ſuper occiduæ nebuloſa cubilia Noctis,
Æthiopaſque alios, nulli penetrabilis aſtro
Lucus iners; ſubterque cavis grave rupibus antrum
It vacuum in montem: quà deſidis atria ſomni
Securumque larem ſegnis natura locavit.
Statius, Theb. 10. ℣. 88.

Eſt prope Cimmerios longo ſpelunca receſſu,
Mons cavus; ignari domus & penetralia Somni:
Quo nunquam radiis oriens mediuſve cadenſve
Phœbus adire poteſt; nebulæ caligine miſtæ
Exhalantur humo: dubiæque crepuſcula lucis.
Ovid. Met. 11. ℣. 596.

Virgil's deſcription of the Deſcent to hell near Avernus; (and in the very part, inhabited by the Cimmerians;) agrees in ſeveral particulars with this from Ovid.

Speſunca alta fuit, vaſtoque immanis hiatu,
Scrupea: tuta lacu nigro; nemorumque tenebris.—
Ibant obſcuri, ſolâ ſub nocte, per umbram.—
Quale per incertam lunam ſub luce malignâ
Eſt iter in ſylvis.——
Æn. 6. ℣. 271.

(72) Limen opaca Quies, & pigra Oblivia ſervant;
Et nunquam vigili torpens Ignavia vultu:
Otia veſtibulo, preſſiſque Silentia pennis
Muta ſedent.——
Statius, Theb. 10. ℣. 92.

(73) Ovid's Met. 11. ℣. 633, to 645.

(74) ——Nox jungit equos; currumque ſequuntur
Martis laſcivo ſidera fulva choro:
Poſtque venit tacitus, fulvis circundatus alis,
Somnus; & incerto Somnia nigra pede.
Tibullus, Lib. 2. El. 1. ℣. ult.

(75) Aſſunt innumero circum vaga Somnia vultu;
Noctis opaca cohors: trabibuſque, aut poſtibus hærent,
Aut tellure jacent.——
Statius, Theb. 10. ℣. 815.

The epithet of Vaga here, may help to explain that of Incerto, in Tibullus: they are deſcribed as whivering and wavering in their motion; as all the beings relating to Time are, with the ſame propriety, ſaid by the poets, to glide on in an even and ſilent motion.

(76) See Homer's Odyſſey; B. 24. ℣. 9, &c.

(77) Ovid reckons them in the Catalogue of things that he could never believe.

Sphyngaque, & Harpyïas, ſerpentipedeſque Gigantas,
Centimanumque Gygen, ſemibovemque virum;
Hæc ego cuncta prius quàm te, cariſſime, credam
Mutatum curam depoſuiſſe mei.
Triſt. Lib. 4. El. 7. ℣. 20.

It is to this ſort of fancies too, that what Balbus the Stoic ſays in Cicero's Treatiſe de Naturâ Deorum, ſeems to relate. Quis Hippocentaurum fuiſſe, aut Chimæram putat? Quæve anus tam excors inveniri poteſt, quæ illa quæ quondam credebantur apud Inferos portenta extimeſcat? Lib. 2. ſub Init.

where out of the minds of men. I ſhall juſt point out to you ſome of theſe Portenta, (as Cicero calls them,) in the drawing before us; that we may have done with them, as faſt as we can. You ſee here the Chimæra, with her mixt form (78), and breathing fire; as the poets deſcribe her: two Centaurs, a male and a (79) female: the monſter of Lerna, with its (80) ſnaky heads; and Geryon, with his (81) three human ones: Briareus, to whom the poets give a hundred arms; tho' the artiſt was obliged to retrench a great many from that number: Scylla, half fiſh, and half human; and one of the Harpies, half human, and half bird. Theſe anſwer all that Virgil mentions (82) in his catalogue of monſters inhabiting this part of the infernal world; except the Gorgon: which may be very well ſupplied from (83) this little drawing.

WE may now go on to the ſecond diviſion of the ſubterraneous world; the hateful paſſage into the kingdom of Ades; or, as they called it, the river Styx. One of the pictures in the old Vatican Virgil repreſents it as a torrent, pouring down a precipice: and then as rolling on, to take its courſe along the boundaries of Ades. Here you ſee the Ghoſts waiting, on the hither ſide, in a croud (84); juſt as Virgil deſcribes them: and there, a part of that region beyond the farther bank: the figures in which are the leſs to be minded, becauſe this painting relates to the ſtory of Orpheus's deſcent into hell; when his muſic cauſed ſuch ſtrange effects there, and put things (85) out of their common order. Pl. XXXVII. FIG. 1.

THE ſole governor of this part, and director of the paſſage, Charon, does not make his appearance in this picture. His dominion lays down lower; where the river has recovered itſelf from the turbulence occaſioned by its fall, and begins to grow navigable. In other remains of antiquity we ſee him, and his boat; both receiving paſſengers in, and landing them on the farther ſhore. Virgil deſcribes him (86) as ſtrong, and in all the vigour and firmneſs of old age; meanly clad: and with a large, rude beard, and matted grey hair; and his eyes, fixed and fiery. That poet's deſcription of the roughneſs and ſurlineſs of this deity, agrees very well with the figures that we ſee of him. Charon's character was probably ſuppoſed to be rough, for the ſame reaſon that the paſſage he preſided over was called, the Hateful Paſſage. Pl. XXXVII. FIG. 2, & 3.

WITH

(78) Triformis Chimæra.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 27. ℣. ult.

Prima, Leo; poſtrema, Draco; media, ipſa Chimæra.
Lucretius, 5. ℣. 903.

Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta Chimæram
Suſtinet, Ætneos efflantem faucibus ignes.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 786.

(79) Female Centaurs are not uncommon in the works of the antient artiſts. Lucian deſcribes a very fine picture of a whole family of Centaurs, done by the famous Zeuxis: in which the male was repreſented as returning home from the chace, with a lion's whelp; and the female, preſſing one of her little ones to her breaſt, as frightened at it. Tom. I. p. 579. Ed. Blaeu.

(80) There are but ſix in the Vatican picture. Perhaps one of them is twiſted behind ſo as not to appear: or the trunk they riſe out of, might have been originally a female head; tho' ſo much defaced at preſent, that one cannot well determine how it was originally. See Dial. IX. Note 24.

(81) ——Forma tricorporis umbræ.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 289.

Geryon, in the relievo's relating to Hercules's labours, has generally three bodies, as well as three heads. Hence Virgil calls him, Tergeminus, Æn. 8. ℣. 202; and Horace, Ter amplus, Lib. 2. Od. 14. ℣. 8. In the Vatican picture he is not well repreſented; tho' it appears there, that he has more bodies than one.

(82) Multaque præterea variarum monſtra ferarum;
Centauri in foribus ſtabulant, Scyllæque biformes,
Et centumgeminus Briareus, ac Bellua Lernæ
Horrendum ſtridens, flammiſque armata Chimæra,
Gorgones, Harpyïæque, & forma tricorporis umbræ.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 289.

(83) See Pl. 41. Fig. 2.

(84) Huc omnis turba ad ripas effuſa ruebat:
Matres atque viri, &c.——
Æn. 6. ℣. 306.

(85) The figure of Ixion in particular, in that picture, is not at all in the place that belongs to him: and muſt be brought thither, either by the magick of Orpheus's lyre, or the miſtake of the artiſt.

(86) Portitor has horrendus aquas & flumina ſervat
Terribili ſqualore Charon: cui plurima mento
Canities inculta jacet; ſtant lumina flammâ;
Sordidus ex humeris nodo dependet amictus.
Ipſe ratem conto ſubigit, veliſque miniſtrat;
Et ferrugineâ ſubvectat corpora cymbâ:
Jam ſenior; ſed cruda Deo viridiſque ſenectus.
Æn. 6. ℣. 304.

WITH the farther bank of this river begins the third diviſion, or Erebus; which is ſubdivided into ſeveral diſtricts: the Limbo for infants; that for innocent ſufferers; and the reſt in the ſame order, that I mentioned to you before. In this drawing, from another picture in the Vatican Virgil, we have only the beginning of this third diviſion. Here is Cerberus, as guarding the entrance to it; to prevent any one's coming in, that ought not to be admitted. Immediately behind him, are ſome of the infants; and juſt over him, is Minos: who directs each perſon that arrives, to the particular part of Ades in which he is to reſide.

Pl. xxxviii. Fig. 1.

MINOS, you ſee, is ſitting: which was one of the methods uſed by the ſtatuaries and painters of old (87) to characterize a judge. By him, ſtands the (88) urn; uſed antiently (89) in giving judgment. There is a line of ſpirits you ſee before him, who wait his ſentence; to have their proper place allotted to them: and beyond him, is one who ſeems to have had his caſe determined; and to be going on to the place aſſigned him. He is met, on his way, by another ſpirit; perhaps formerly acquainted with him: for he takes him by the hand, and ſeems to be giving him a friendly welcome, on his arrival to that unknown world.

STATIUS ſpeaks of Minos and Æacus ſitting in judgment, as aſſeſſors to Pluto, in his palace; ſituated (as I have obſerved already,) near that point, where all the three regions of Ades meet together. I do not take that palace to be the proper reſidence of Minos; but that he is meant to have been there only occaſionally, and to aſſiſt in council. We find by what Statius ſays there (90), that the character of Minos was a good-natured character: much the ſame with that which Plato gives him in his Gorgias (91); where he makes him preſide over what one may call, The Court of Equity of the other world.

JUST under Minos here, you ſee Cerberus: not only with three heads, but with three diſtinct necks too; as he is alſo deſcribed (92) by the Roman poets. Horace, as well

(87) Thus Paris is always repreſented ſitting, when he is to determine the diſpute between the three contending goddeſſes.

——Fatalis ſedet
Inter potentes arbiter paſtor Deas.
Agamemnon, Act 3. Chor. ℣. 731.

Nec ſi Dardaniâ paſtor temerarius Idâ
Sediſſes.——
Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 44.

Where (by the way) ſitting, is uſed for ſitting in judgment: as we may know in ſome ſingle ſtatues of Paris, what the artiſt meant it for; only by his being in this poſture.

(88) It is ſtanding, or rather hung upright, which may be what Statius means, by

——Stat Gnoſſia judicis urna.
Theb. 11. ℣. 571.

(89) Nec verò hæ ſine ſorte datæ, ſine judice ſedes;
Quæſitor Minos urnam movet.——
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 432.

——Stat, ductis ſortibus, urna.
Id. Ib. ℣. 22.

——Senatorum (eum) urna copioſè abſolvit. Cic. pro Q. Fratr: 2. 6.

Minos's urn had the knack of always turning out the right mark; or always telling the truth.

——Scit judicis urna
Dictæi; verumque poteſt deprendere Minos.
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 103.

(90) Forte ſedens mediâ regni infelicis in arce
* Dux Erebi, populos poſcebat crimina vitæ;
Nil hominum miſerans, iratuſque omnibus Umbris.
Stant Furiæ circum, variæque ex ordine Mortes;
Sævaque multiſonas exercet Pæna catenas:
Fata ferunt animas, & eodem pollice damnant;
Vincit opus. Juxta Minos, cum † fratre verendo,
Jura bonus meliora monet; regemque cruentum
Temperat.——
* Pluto. † Æacus. Id. Ibid. ℣. 28.

(91) Εγω μεν ην ταυτα εγνωκως πρoτερον η υμεις, (ſays Jupiter, to Pluto and the other governors of Elyſium,) εποιησαμην Δικασ-ας ηεις εμαυτ᾽· δυο μεν εκ της Ασιας Μινω τε και Ραδαμανθυν, ενα δε εκ της Ευρωπης Αιακον. Ουτοι ην, επειδαν τελευτησωσι δικασουσιν εν τω λειμωνι, εν τη τριοδω, εξ ης φερετον τω οδω· η μεν εις μακαρων νησους, η δε εις Ταρταρον. Και τους μεν εκ της Ασιας, Ραδαμανθυς κρινει· τους δε εκ της Ευρωπης, Αιακος. Μινω δε πρεσβεια δωσω· επιδιακρινειν, εαν η απορρητον τι τω ετερω· ινα ως δικαιοτατη η κρισις η, περι της πορειας, τοις ανθρωποις. Plato. Vol. I. p. 523. Ed. Serr.

(92) Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Perſonat; adverſo recubans immanis in antro.
Cui vatis, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle ſoporatam & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit: ille fame rabidâ tria guttura pandens
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga reſolvit
Fuſus humi; totoque ingens extenditur antro.
Virgil Æn. 6. ℣. 422.

——Nec uti villoſa colubris
Terna Meduſæi vincirem guttura monſtri.
Ovid. Met. 10. ℣. 22. (of Orpheus.)

well as Virgil and Ovid, ſpeaks (93) of his being encompaſſed with ſerpents, as he appears both in this drawing, and in the laſt that I ſhewed you; and it may be from theſe ſerpents that Ovid calls Cerberus, the Meduſean, or ſnaky (94) beaſt. Horace gives him yet more terrors than we ſee here; and ſpeaks of him once in particular, as having (95) a hundred heads: which is perhaps (96) double the number, that ever was aſſigned to him before his time.

THE antient poets ſeem to have delighted particularly in ſetting off the power of their own art, (which originally conſiſted in poetry and muſic united together,) by ſhewing that it was capable of taming even this hideous monſter. In this drawing of Orpheus playing and ſinging to obtain his entrance into the kingdoms of Ades, Cerberus ſhews a ſnarling ſort of ſatisfaction; and ſeems very angry, at finding himſelf ſo much pleaſed. Mercury won his (97) great paſſage, by the ſame means: as Hercules, (and perhaps Bacchus,) did by meer force. I have long wanted to meet with ſome good piece of antient painting of Hercules dragging Cerberus to the light. The Roman poets, (as I have obſerved to you (98) on a former occaſion,) deſcribe this in a (99) very pictureſque manner; and I doubt not there were ſome very fine paintings of it at Rome, in the Auguſtan age. This drawing of it is from a gem; where, (tho' his eyes are finely expreſſed,) they muſt loſe a great deal of that dread and horror; which might have been added to them by colours. Pl. XXXVIII. Fig. 2. Pl. XXXVIII. Fig. 3.

I WISH too that there were more pictures, relating to this region of Ades in general, in the Vatican Manuſcript. Numbers are loſt out of it; and probably, ſeveral that belonged to this part. There are five diſtinct diſtricts in Virgil's account of this region; and we have a picture to anſwer only one of them. Had they been better preſerved, I doubt not but that we ſhould have ſeen Dido, in the diſtrict of lovers, with that angry, averſe air with which Virgil deſcribes her; and ſeveral of the Grecian and Trojan warriours, in the laſt. But as theſe are wanting, we muſt leave this region: only I would willingly take notice of one thing firſt; which is this: That, I think, we ought not to regard the perſons in this region, as criminals. The whole receptacle for departed ſouls is laid out by Virgil into three great or general diviſions. Of theſe, Elyſium is for the very good; and Tartarus, for the very bad. What then can Erebus be for, but the indifferent? Such as were not bad enough, to be flung into Tartarus; nor good enough to be admitted into Elyſium. Accordingly the perſons whom Virgil places in Erebus, are infants; innocent ſufferers; ſuch (100) ſuicides, as the Romans thought were excuſable for what they did; unfortunate lovers; and common warriours; a profeſſion which was one of the moſt virtuous, according to the chief idea of virtue among the Romans. That

(93) Ceſſit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulæ
Cerberus: quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus; atque
Spiritus teter, ſanieſque manet,
Ore trilingui.
Horat. Lib. 3 Od. 11. ỳ. 20. (Of Mercury's great deſcent into Hell.)

(94) See Note 92, anteh.

(95) —Illis carminibus ſtupens
Demittit atras bellua centiceps
Aures; &, intorti capillis
Eumenidum, recreantur angues.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 13. ỳ. 36. (of Sappho's poetry.)

(96) Heſiod had given him fifty. Θεογ. 312.

(97) Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 11. ỳ. 1, to 24.

(98) Dial. IX. p. 120.

(99) Tartareum ille manu cuſtodem in vincla petivit
Ipſius a ſolio regis; traxitque trementem.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ỳ. 395.
Eſt via declivis, per quam Tirynthius heros,
Reſtantem contraque diem radioſque micantes
Obliquantem oculos, nexis adamante catenis
Cerberon abſtraxit.——
Ovid. Met. 7. ỳ. 413.

(100) Tho' the crime of ſuicide, is always horrid, and what nature ought to ſtart at: it is far from being equally horrid; and admits of a great many degrees of aggravation, or alleviation. There is a vaſt difference between a Cato's killing himſelf, when he thinks he can ſerve his country no longer; and a Nero's killing himſelf, only to avoid being made a public example for enſlaving his country: in a Lucretia's putting an end to her life, becauſe ſhe has loſt her honour; or in ſuch a one as Meſſalina's haſtening her end, by taking drugs only to inflame her the more, for a favourite vice.

That claſs of all theſe which to us would ſeem the moſt guilty, Virgil abſolutely declares to be (101) innocent.

SUPPOSING them to be ſo according to his ideas, ſays Myſagetes, pray how comes he to place them in hell? That, anſwered Polymetis, is very eaſily accounted for. On the heathen ſcheme, he muſt place them there; and I think ſeems to have placed them in a very proper part of it. Ades, which we interpret, (not quite ſo exactly as we ſhould do,) by our word hell, antiently ſignified the grave; or place of the dead in general. All therefore that die, muſt go to Ades. The very good, are in one part of it; as well as the very bad, in another: and the indifferent muſt be in ſome part or other, as well as the good and the bad. It is the common receptacle for all that are born in our world; and even the great heroes, who were ſuppoſed to go to heaven or to preſide over ſtars, had their airy repreſentation in Ades. As all mankind may be divided into three general claſſes, the good, the bad, and the indifferent; Ades is laid out by Virgil into three general diviſions; Erebus, Tartarus, and Elyſium. The indifferent he places neither in the clear light of Elyſium, nor in the ſolid darkneſs of Tartarus; but in a twilight ſort of world: of a melancholy air indeed, (for the general notion of death among the antients was ſad and gloomy;) but not incapable of (102) ſome pleaſure and conſolation. In Erebus, (or this diviſion for the indifferent,) Virgil places the infants, as not deſerving death, firſt and neareſt to the land of the living. Next to the infants, he places ſuch as had been condemned to death without a cauſe. Then ſuch ſuicides as he looked upon as leaſt guilty; ſuch as had the moſt reaſon for quitting the ſtation, which the great leader had aſſigned them in the upper world. Then are thoſe, whoſe lives were ſhortened either by love, or in war. Theſe might very well not be criminals; they have not in general the appearance of being ſo: and as there are many warriours, as well as lovers, that fling away their lives without any great merit too, there will be enough of each to ſtock their particular diſtricts in this region of the indifferents; where Virgil plunges them deeper and nearer the borders of Tartarus, than the little innocents and unjuſtly condemned perſons we have been ſpeaking of.

I SHALL only juſt add here, that Menippus's account of hell in Lucian, agrees very much with Virgil's; as to theſe three regions on the other ſide of Styx. He ſays, that as ſoon as he and his guide had paſſed that river; they went on, thro' a gloomy mead of Aſphodil, to the tribunal of Minos:——that they went thence to the region of the tormented:——and thence, to the Elyſian fields; from whence they mounted up to our world again. All his remarks indeed of what they ſaw in each of theſe regions are adapted by the author to his favourite turn for ridicule: but he agrees in the general diſpoſition of the place, exactly with Virgil's account; and points out the ſame three regions, and in the ſame order (103); the firſt, for judgment; the ſecond, for puniſhment; and the third, for rewards. The ſame author, in another part of his works (104), makes the ſame diſtinction of good, bad, and indifferent; for the inhabitants of theſe three

(101) ———Qui ſibi lethum
Inſontes peperere manu.———
Æn. 6. ℣. 435.

(102) Illa ſolo fixos oculos averſa tenebat:——
Tandem corripuit ſeſe, atque inimica refugit
In nemus umbriferum; conjux ubi priſtinus illi
Reſpondet curis, æquatque Sichæus Amorem.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 474. (of Dido; in Erebus.)

(103) Ομως - ην ο βελτιστος Χαρων ως ειδε την λεοντην, φησας με τον Ηρακλεα ειναι, εσεδεξατο με και διεπορθμευσε τε ασμενος· και αποβασι διεσημαινε την ατραπον. Επει δε ημεν εν τω σκοτω, προηει μεν ο Μιθροβαρζανης, ειπομην δ' εγω κατοπιν εχομενος αυτου· εως προς λειμωνα μεγιστον αφικνεμεθα, τω ασφοδελω καταφυτον.—Καθ' ολιγον δε προϊοντες, παρεγενομεθα προς το τε Μινω δικαστηριον.——Αποσταντες τε δικαστηριου, προς το κολαστηριον αφικνεμεθα.——Διελθοντες δε και τυτους, (Tantalus, Siſyphus, & Ixion,) εις το πεδιον εσεβαλλομεν το Αχερουσιον· ευρισκομεν τε αυτοθι τους ημιθεους τε, και τας ηρωινας. Lucian's Νεκυομαντια. Tom. I. p. 332, &c. Ed. Blaeu.

(104) Τους μεν αγαθους των ανδρων, και δικαιους, και κατ' αρετην βεβιωκοτας, πεμπουσιν εις το Ηλυσιον πεδιον·——αυ δε τινας των πονηρων λαβωσι, ταις Ερινυσι παραδουτες εις τον των ασεβων χωρον εκπεμπουσι.———Οι δε τα μεσα εισι, πολλοι οντες ετοι, εν το λειμωνι πλανωνται· ανευ των σωματων σκιαι γενομενοι, και υπο τη αφη καθαπερ καπνος αφανιζομενοι· τρεφονται δε αρα ταις παρ' ημιν χοαις, και τοις καθαγιζομενοις επι των ταφων. Id. Tom. II. p. 301, & 302.

three regions: and places the good, in Elyſium; the bad, in Tartarus; and the indifferent, (which he ſays are very numerous,) in the wide plains of Erebus.

BUT it is time now to go on to the fourth general diviſion; or Tartarus. I have ſaid before, that the different diſtricts of Erebus ſeem to lay one after another, in a ſtrait line: at the end of it, the road, which leads thro' all theſe diſtricts, branches into two: one, to the right hand; and the other, to the left. The former goes to Elyſium; and the latter to Tartarus, or the region of torments. I do not know whether it may be worth while to obſerve to you, that this manner of diſpoſing the way thro' the three ſeveral diviſions of Ades, may poſſibly have ſome reference to that famous Pythagoric emblem, which marked out the whole courſe of a man's life by the figure of a ſingle letter (105) in the Greek alphabet. If this was not originally the deſign of it, it will at leaſt anſwer pretty exactly: but I mention this only by the way. Virgil does not make his hero enter into this horrid region, on the left hand: it was too terrible, and too bad, for a good man (106) even to ſet his foot in it. He only ſees the entrance to it, at ſome diſtance (107). According to Virgil, it begins with a city, encompaſſed with a river of fire; and guarded by one of the chiefs of the Furies. This is all that Æneas ſees of it; and all that appears in the drawing I have in my hand. The Sibyl gives him an account of the reſt: that Rhadamanthus had his reſidence in this city; and that there were much more terrible (108) monſters in it, than thoſe he had ſeen in the Previous Region; that it ended in a vaſt gulph or abyſs (109), twice as far below the earth, as the heavens are above it; and that there, the wicked were tormented. PL. XXXIX. FIG. 1.

THE miſerable inhabitants of this horrid region, are chiefly of two ſorts. The ſouls of ſuch as are tormented: and thoſe infernal deities, the Furies; who attend there either to inflict, or aggravate, their torments.

THE deſcriptions of Furies are much more commonly to be met with in the works of the Roman poets, than their figures are in the remains of the antient artiſts: and any painter now, that ſhould be inclined to employ himſelf on ſo terrible a ſubject, might get more helps from the former than the latter. The poets ſpeak of (110) great numbers of Furies; and indeed in their ſcheme a great number of them was neceſſary: not only for this region, where there were ſo many criminals to be tormented by them; but for other parts (111) of Orcus, as well as this: beſide which they ſuppoſed many of them wandering over the earth to tempt, or puniſh the wicked here; and ſpeak of them ſometimes (112) even as attending on Jupiter in heaven itſelf. Theſe goddeſſes—— Goddeſſes, do you call them? ſays Myſagetes——Yes, anſwered Polymetis: the Romans

(105) The antient Upſilon.

(106) Nulli fas caſto ſceleratum inſiſtere limen.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 563.

(107) Reſpicit Æneas ſubitò, & ſub rupe ſiniſtrâ
Mœnia lata videt triplici circumdata muro;
Quæ rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus, amnis
Tartareus, Phlegethon; torquetque ſonantia ſaxa.
Porta adverſa ingens, ſolidoque adamante columnæ:—
Tiſiphoneque ſedens, pallâ ſuccincta cruentâ,
Veſtibulum ex ſomnis ſervat noctesque dieſque.
Hinc exaudiri gemitus, & ſæva ſonare
Verbera; &c.——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 558.

(108) In the previous region they had ſeen, among the other monſters, the Hydra of Lerna with its ſeven heads: but here;
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
Sævior intus habet ſedem.——
Id. Ib. ℣. 577.

(109) ——Tum Tartarus ipſe
Bis patet in præceps tantum tenditque ſub umbras,
Quantus ad ætherium cœli ſuſpectus Olympum.
Hic genus antiquum Terræ, &c.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 580.

(110) ——Agmina ſæva ſororum.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 571.

(111) Virgil ſpeaks of apartments for Furies, in the Previous Region:
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami.——
Ibid. ℣. 280.
And Statius ſpeaks of them as ſtanding round Pluto's throne; in Elyſium. See Note 116, poſth.

(112) ——Triſteſque ex æthere Diræ.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 701.
Hæ Jovis ad ſolium, ſævique in limine Regis,
Apparent: acuuntque metum mortalibus ægris;
Si quando lethum horrificum morboſque Deum Rex
Molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes.
Id. Ib. 12. ℣. 852.

Romans (113) looked upon them as ſuch; and I do not pretend to enquire into the propriety of their theology, but only to give it you juſt as I find it. Theſe goddeſſes therefore, (if you will yet allow me to call them by the titles which were given them of old,) were looked upon by the Romans, as the diſpenſers of (114) the divine vengeance; the puniſhers of wicked actions, both here (115), and hereafter (116): and the inflicters (117) of terrors, wars, and peſtilence.

Tho' Furies are very uncommon in the works of the antient artiſts, yet there is one ſubject in which they are generally introduced by them. What I mean is the death of Meleager; in the relievo's of which they are often repreſented, as encouraging, or urging Althæa, to burn the fatal brand; on which the life of her only ſon depended. Even a woman's reſentment you ſee could not go ſo far, without a little help of the devil. In a copy of one of theſe relievo's, publiſhed in the Admiranda, there are two women ſtanding by the altar with Althæa; who are probably meant for Furies in the original; (for who but Furies would aſſiſt at ſuch a ſacrifice?) tho' the copy ſcarce repreſents them horrid enough for that character: but what is moſt to be obſerved in that piece is a round, or medallion, about the midſt of it, with the evident head (118) of a Fury upon it. This might be what Althæa addreſſed her prayers to, whenever ſhe wiſhed ill to her neighbours; or whenever ſhe was going to do any very evil action. Ovid introduces her as invoking the Furies on this occaſion, in particular (119); and makes her give more than one reaſon, for her doing ſo.

As the poets, in their diſpoſing and peopling the ſubterraneous world, ſeem to have been particularly fond of flinging things, in general, into (120) Triads; ſo they have not failed to make three chiefs, over all the other Furies. Theſe are Tiſiphone, Alecto, and Megæra. They were ſuppoſed to exceed all the reſt in cruelty, and malice, and the power of doing miſchief: and are called, by way of eminence, The Furies; and ſometimes, the (121) Diræ; a name peculiar to theſe three. They were all three ſiſters; and born at one birth, of the goddeſs of Night.

The

(113) Protinus hinc fuſcis triſtis Dea tollitur alis.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 409. (of Alecto.)

Cotta, in Cicero's Dialogues of the Nature of the Gods, ſpeaks of a temple dedicated to the Furies at Athens; and looks on the Lucus Furinæ among the Romans as ſacred to the ſame. Lib. 3. p. 69. Ed. Ald.

Furiæ Deæ ſunt; ſpeculatrices credo, & vindices, facinorum & ſceleris. Id. Ibid.

There is the beginning of a prayer to one of theſe goddeſſes, preſerved among the fragments of Lucilius:

Tiſiphone, te pulmonibus adirem! Unguentum excoctum attuli Eumenidibus! Sanctiſſima Erinnys!—Lucilius, Sat. Lib. 4.

They were worſhipped at Athens under the name of the Σεμναι Θεαι. Lucian. Tom. II. p. 215. Ed. Blaeu.

(114) See Note 112, anteh.

(115) As in the known ſtories of Pentheus, Œdipus, and Oreſtes, &c. Hence it may be too, that Prometheus, (when chained down againſt mount Caucaſus and tortured there,) calls that place of his puniſhment, "the Encampment of the Furies."

——Caſtrum hoc Furiarum incolo.
Actius, in Prom.

(116) Statius calls them, "The Miniſters of Pluto's cruelty."

Ipſum * pallentem ſolio, circumque miniſtras
Funeſtorum operum Eumenides; Stygiæque ſeveros
Junonis thalamos & mœſta cubilia cerno.
* Pluto. Theb. 4. ℣. 527.

(117) See Note 112, anteh.

(118) See Pl. 41. Fig. 3.

(119) Utque manu dirâ lignum fatale tenebat;
Ante Sepulchrales infelix adſtitit aras:
Pœnarumque Deæ triplices, furialibus (inquit)
Eumenides ſacris vultus advertite veſtros!
Ulciſcor, facioque nefas.——
Ovid. Met. Lib. 8. ℣. 483.

(120) The kingdom of Ades itſelf is divided into three regions, Erebus, Tartarus, and Elyſium; and governed under three judges, Minos, Rhadamanthus and Æacus: not to ſpeak of the three rivers, Acheron, Cocytus, and Phlegethon; and other leſs particulars of the ſame kind.

(121) Dicuntur geminæ peſtes cognomine, Diræ;
Quas & Tartaream Nox intempeſta Megæram
Uno eodemque tulit partu: paribuſque revinxit
Serpentum ſpiris, ventoſaſque addidit alas.
Virgil. Æn. 12. ℣. 848.

THE Furies are deſcribed by the poets, as of a vaſt (122) ſize; and very (123) terrible to behold. Their look was very much like that, which might make any unfortunate woman paſs for a witch; in any of our country-villages, at preſent. They are old (124), ſqualid (125), and meagre (126): their cheeks pale (127); and ſometimes with a ſort of feveriſh (128) fluſh on them. The poets give them a dark robe (129), (ſuch as was worn uſually at funerals,) bound round them (130) with a ſerpent; and vipers (131) about their heads. They ſometimes too hold vipers in their hands (132); and ſometimes common whips, or torches: all, as inſtruments of puniſhment. The poets generally ſpeak of them as tormenting the wicked for their crimes, or precipitating them into miſchief: and, (on ſome particular occaſions,) as attending (133) on the throne of Jupiter; as ſtanding round the ſeat of Pluto (134), in his great council-hall: and as waiting (135) at the gates of Tartarus; as you ſee Tiſiphone is repreſented, in the drawing before us.

THE vipers about the head of Tiſiphone are repreſented two different ways, by the poets: ſometimes as looſe (136) ſerpents, intermixed with her hair; and ſometimes as ſerpents growing (137) from her head inſtead of hair, in the ſame manner that you ſee them in this drawing. As ſhe is one of the chief of all the infernal executioners, the poets deſcribe her robe either dropping (138) with freſh blood, or (139) ſtiff with human gore. This is faſtened round her with a ſerpent (140) inſtead of a girdle; as ſhe has ſometimes vipers (141) twiſted round her arms, inſtead of bracelets. They give her ſometimes

a

(122) ——Ingens urbem cingebat Erinnys,
Excutiens pronam flagranti vertice pinum
Strideteſque comas.——
Lucan. 1. ℣. 574.

(123) ——Taleſque metus non Martia caſſis,
Eumenidumque comæ, non triſtis ab æthere Gorgon,
Sparſerit.——
Valerius Flaccus, 3. ℣. 54.
——Qualem juſſu Junonis iniquæ
Horruit Alcides, viſo jam Dite, Megæram.
Lucan, 1. ℣. 577.

(124) Tiſiphone canos ut erat turbata capillos
Movit, & obſtantes rejecit ab ore colubras.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 474.

(125) Crinem ſolutis ſqualidæ ſerpentibus.
Medea, Act. 1. Sc. 1. ℣. 14.
Inſtant ſorores ſqualidæ.——
Agamemnon, Act. 3. Chor. ℣ 759.

(126) ——Veſtis atri funeris exeſa cingit ilia.
Ibid. ℣. 764.

(127) Sævit & in lucem, Stygiis emiſſa tenebris,
Pallida Tiſiphone.——
Virgil. Georg. 3. ℣. 553.

(128) ——Ardentque pallentes genæ.
Agamemnon, Act. 3. Chor. ℣. 762.

(129) See Note 126, anteh.

(130) See Note 121, anteh, and 140, poſth.

(131) ——Cæruleos implexæ crinibus angues
Eumenides.——
Virgil. G. 4. ℣. 483.
——Intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues.
Horat. Lib. 2. Od. 13. ℣. 36.

(132) Stipite te Stygio, tumidiſque afflavit echidnis,
E tribus una ſoror.——
Ovid. Met. 10. ℣. 314.
When Oreſtes ſees his mother as an avenging Fury, he ſees her holding torches and ſerpents:
Armatam facibus matrem, & ſerpentibus atris.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 482.
——Sanguinea jactant verbera:
Fert læva ſemiuſtas faces.——
Agamemnon, Act. 3. Chor. ℣. 761.

(133) See Note 112, anteh.

(134) See Note 116, anteh.

(135) Quaſque ferunt torto vittatis angue capillis
Carceris obſcuras ante ſedere fores.
Ovid. Ibis, ℣. 78.
——Cernis, cuſtodia qualis
Veſtibulo ſedeat; facies quæ limina ſervet.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 575. (of Tiſiphone, ſitting before the gates of Tartarus.)

(136) ——Inamænum forte ſedebat
Cocyton juxta: reſolutaque vertice crines
Lambere ſulphureas permiſerat anguibus undas.
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 91. (of Tiſiphone.)

(137) Cæſariem excuſſit. Motæ ſonuere colubræ:
Parſque jacens humeris, pars circum tempora lapſæ,
Sibila dant; ſaniemque vomunt, linguaſque coruſcant!
Inde duos mediis abrumpit crinibus angues,
Peſtiferâque manu raptos immiſit.——
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 495. (of the ſame.)

(138) ——Tiſiphone madefactam ſanguine ſumit
Importuna facem; fluidoque cruore rubentem
Induitur pallam, tortoque incingitur angue;
Egrediturque domo.——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 483.

(139) ——Riget horrida tergo
Palla.——
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 111.

(140) ——Cærulei redeunt in pectora nodi.
Id. Ibid.
——Ad inania magni
Regna redit Ditis; ſumtumque recingitur anguem.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 510.

(141) Obſtitit infelix, aditumque obſedit Erinnys;
Nexaque vipereis diſtendens brachia nodis, &c.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 490.

a torch in her hand (142) freſh from the torture, and ſtill wet with blood; ſometimes, a torch in one hand (143) and a ſerpent in the other; and ſometimes, ſerpents (144) in both. Here you ſee her ſhaking her horrid head of hair (145), to rouſe up all the vipers about it; and there, running on impetuouſly (146), with the air of a Bacchanal, to incite men to deeds of blood and fury. Here (147), urging on the torments of the condemned; and there, whirling her torch (148), and exulting in the miſchiefs ſhe has done. Here, ſhe is repreſented as a growing figure; and there, as ſetting out, in ſtate (149), with all her horrid attendants in her train.

I Do not yet rightly conceive what it is you mean by a growing figure, ſays Philander. They are very uncommon, and not very eaſy to be conceived, replied Polymetis. There are but three of them, that I can recollect at preſent: thoſe are all deſcribed by Virgil; and are, perhaps, ſome of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of that poet's imagination, of any thing in all his works. One of them is in his deſcription of Fame; and the other two, relate both to Furies. In his deſcription of Fame, he ſpeaks of that goddeſs as appearing ſmall to you at firſt; but as growing upon you continually, till her head reaches the clouds. He repreſents Tiſiphone (150) much in the ſame manner: terrible indeed, when ſhe firſt appears on the earth; but growing every day larger, and more and more terrible. This is where he introduces this Fury as bringing a peſtilence upon the earth: which gives it a great deal of propriety, from the allegory and the reality's anſwering ſo well to each other. The third inſtance is in his account of Alecto's appearance to Turnus; where he ſays, that her face grew ſtill larger and larger, as he looked upon it; as I have had occaſion to obſerve to you, once or twice before.

I Shall mention but one deſcription more in relation to Tiſiphone: and that is almoſt the only one that I was ever glad to read of her; becauſe ſhe is the ſufferer in it. It is in a ſtory, perhaps half Greek and half Egyptian, which is preſerved to us by Valerius Flaccus. Iö, (as that poet ſays,) after the death of Argus, was reſtored to her human ſhape by Jupiter. In the height of her joy for the recovery of all her former beauties, as ſhe went along exulting and triumphing in her mind, ſhe was met on a ſudden by Tiſiphone; who was ſent by Juno to renew her ſufferings. Iö was ſo aſtoniſhed at the ſight of this Fury, that ſhe turned into a Cow again; but a much leſs handſome one, it ſeems, than ſhe had been before. In this her ſecond ſtate of brutality, ſhe wandered for ſome time: unhappy, and unknown to her friends; even on the banks of Inachus. She therefore left thoſe parts, which only increaſed her affliction; and betook herſelf toward the ſea-coaſt. Where, as ſhe was moving along one day, full of melancholy thoughts and not minding where ſhe trod, ſhe made a falſe ſtep and fell into the ſea. The ſea received her ſafe; and carried her for Egypt. Tiſiphone, (who was conſtantly watching all her motions,) on ſeeing her make toward Egypt, flew over the ſea; and got before her to Memphis: where ſhe ſtood on the ſhore to prevent her landing. On Iö's arrival toward the ſhore, the deity of the Nile ſaw and pitied her diſtreſs; and haſtened

(142) See Note 138, anteh.

(143) Tum geminas quatit illa manus: hæc igne rogali
Fulgurat; hæc vivo manus aëra verberat hydro.
Statius, Theb. 1. ℣. 113.

(144) It geminum excutiens anguem.——
Id. Ib. 7. ℣. 466.

(145) See Note 137, anteh.

(146) ——Bacchatur utriſque
Tiſiphone caſtris.——
Statius, Theb. 7. ℣. 467.

(147) ——Sontes ultrix armata flagello
Tiſiphone quatit inſultans; torvoſque ſiniſtrâ
Intentans angues, vocat agmina ſæva ſororum.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 571.

(148) Tum face jactatâ per eundem ſæpius orbem,
Conſequitur motos velociter ignibus ignes:
Sic victrix, juſſique potens, ad inania magni
Regna redit Ditis.——
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 510.

(149) ——Luctus comitantur euntem
Et Pavor, & Terror, trepidoque Inſania vultu.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 484.

(150) Sævit & in lucem, Stygiis emiſſa tenebris,
Pallida Tiſiphone: morbos agit ante, metumque;
Inque dies avidum ſurgens caput altiùs effert.
Virgil. Geor. 3. ℣. 554.

The other two inſtances are in his Æn. Lib. 4. ℣. 175; and Lib. 7. ℣. 448.

haſtened to her aſſiſtance. He engaged the Fury; and drove her back to hell. Iö, thus delivered from her tormentor, landed at laſt on the Egyptian coaſt; where, by the will of Jove, ſhe was made one of the principal divinities of that country. This engagement between Nilus and Tiſiphone I ſhould be mighty glad to meet with in any old painting, or relievo: the ſubject being as great a one for either, as the ſtory is uncommon. Flaccus ſays, that (151) the Fury's torches lay ſcattered in one place, and her avenging ſcourge in another; that ſeveral of her vipers were torn from her head; and that ſhe herſelf was preſſed down into the ſand-bank, on the ſea-ſhore: whence ſhe ſunk to hell, defeated and wounded; and calling in vain on the infernal deities for aſſiſtance. This you will ſay is a very ridiculous legend? Heaven knows, what myſterious traditions may be wrapped up under it: but it was certainly a very remarkable ſtory, in the earlier ages of the world; for (as Flaccus aſſures us,) it was from this very affair, that thoſe ſeas got one of their moſt celebrated names of old; and which it is ſtill known by (152), to this very day.

THUS much for Tiſiphone. Her ſiſter Alecto, (who ſeems to have been (153) yet more terrible than herſelf,) is deſcribed, in much the ſame manner in general. She has vipers about her (154) head; and about (155) her very wings; and is armed (156) with vipers, ſcourges, and torches: as we learn from that fine deſcription of this Fury in Virgil, where he makes her begin the war between the followers of Æneas, and the old inhabitants of Latium.

AS this is one of the nobleſt parts in all Virgil's works, and perhaps the fineſt deſcription of a Fury that ever was wrote, I ſhall beg leave to conſider every part of it in order. Juno, (willing to deſtroy the good underſtanding that was like to be eſtabliſhed between the Trojans and Latians,) raiſes Alecto from (157) Tartarus: who, as ſoon as ſhe had received her orders, flies immediately to the queen of Latium, and darts one of her ſerpents, into her boſom; the terrible effects of which are admirably deſcribed by Virgil. It firſt (158) occaſions melancholy, and complaints, in her; then rage; and at laſt open acts of violence. From the queen, Alecto flies to Turnus; at Ardea. It was then about midnight: and the Fury appears to him in his ſleep, under the form of the prieſteſs that preſided over the temple of Juno, in that city. She makes a ſpeech to him, as ſuch, to ſtir him up to raiſe troops againſt Æneas and his allies; and ſays ſhe was commanded by the goddeſs whom ſhe ſerved, to admoniſh him of his duty. Turnus at firſt treats her as an impertinent woman, and a falſe propheteſs. On which ſhe is inſtantly enraged; quits the ſhape ſhe had put on; and reaſſumes her own, with all its terrors about it (159). Her

(151) Contra Nilus adeſt; & toto gurgite torrens
Tiſiphonen agit, atque imis illidit arenis,
Ditis opem ac ſævi clamantem numina regni:
Apparent ſparſæque faces; diſjectaque longè
Verbera: & abruptis excuſſi crinibus hydri.
Valerius Flaccus, 4. ℣. 413.

(152) The Thracian Boſpherus, or Boſporus.

(153) Odit & ipſe pater Pluton; odere ſorores
Tartareæ monſtrum: tot ſeſe vertit in ora,
Tam ſævæ facies, tot pullulat atra colubris!
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 329.

(154) ——Geminos erexit crinibus hydros.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 450.

(155) Illa autem attollit ſtridentes anguibus alas
Id. Ibid. ℣. 561.

(156) Huic Dea cæruleis unum de crinibus anguem
Conjicit.——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 347.
Verberaque inſonuit.——
Id. Ib. ℣. 451.
Facem juveni conjecit.——
Ib. ℣. 456.

(157) Luctificam Alecto Dirarum ab ſede ſororum,
Infernique ciet tenebris.——
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 325.

(158) Ac dum prima lues udo ſublapſa veneno
Pertentat ſenſus atque oſſibus implicat ignem,
Necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam;
Molliùs & ſolito matrum de more locuta eſt,
Multa ſuper natâ lacrymans.——
Id. Ibid. ℣. 358.
Tum verò infelix, ingentibus excita monſtris,
Immenſam ſine more furit lymphata per urbem.
Ibid. ℣. 377.
Quin etiam in ſylvas ſimulato numine Bacchi,
Majus adorta nefas majoremque orſa furorem,
Evolat; & natam frondoſis montibus abdit;
Quo thalamum eripiat Teucris, tædaſque moretur.
Ibid. ℣. 388.

(159) Talibus Alecto dictis exarſit in iras:
At juveni oranti ſubitus tremor occupat artus,
Diriguere

Her face grew larger, and larger, every inſtant; her eye-balls, from the languid look they had before, became like flames of fire; and her ſnakes roſe about her head, in all their fury. She then ſpeaks to him, in her own character, and in very few words, "to bid him obſerve who ſhe is; the cauſer of wars and deſtruction:" and concludes with darting her burning torch againſt his breaſt. He ſtarts, with the fright, out of his ſleep; calls aloud for his arms; excites his people; and breathes nothing but ſlaughter and revenge. Alecto flies from him towards a party of Æneas's ſoldiers; occaſions a quarrel between them, and ſome of the natives of Latium; and when ſhe ſees them ſufficiently provoked on each ſide, ſhe herſelf ſounds the onſet, for their fighting. On this occaſion ſhe ſeems to have ſnatched up one of the horns, which the countrymen uſe to direct their cattle; for I do not know of any other paſſage in all the Roman poets that ever ſpeaks of a horn as one of her attributes. But whoever the inſtrument belonged to, the voice and ſound was her own: it was a true infernal blaſt (160); that made the woods tremble, and was heard with horror, for a vaſt compaſs round about. As ſhe ſees the war is begun, ſhe flies from thence to heaven; tells Juno, that her commands are obeyed; and wants (161) to do more miſchief. Juno ſays, it is enough; and bids her return to Tartarus. On which ſhe immediately flies down toward the earth again: and plunges herſelf into a horrid ſulphureous lake (162), in the eaſtern parts of Italy; which was formerly

Diriguere oculi; tot Erinnys ſibilat hydris!
Tantaque ſe facies aperit! Tum flammea torquens
Lumina, cunctantem & quærentem dicere plura
Reppulit; & geminos erexit crinibus angues,
Verberaque inſonuit: rabidoque hæc addidit ore.
Ibid. ỳ. 451.

(160) At ſæva e ſpeculis tempus Dea nacta nocendi,
Ardua tecta petit ſtabuli et de culmine ſummo
Paſtorale canit ſignum; cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem: quâ protinus omne
Contremuit nemus; & ſylvæ intonuere profundæ.
Audiit & Triviæ longe lacus; audiit amnis
Sulfureâ Nar albus aquâ, fonteſque Velini;
Et trepidæ matres preſſere ad pectora natos.
Ibid. ỳ. 518.

(161) Hoc etiam his addam, tua ſi mihi certa voluntas;
Finitimas in bella feram rumoribus urbes,
Accendamque animos inſani Martis amore:
Undique ut auxilio veniant, ſpargam arma per agros.
Ibid. ỳ. 551.

(162) Eſt locus Italiæ medio, ſub montibus altis,
Nobilis & famâ multis memoratus in oris;
Amſancti valles. Denſis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrimque latus nemoris; medioque fragoſus
Dat ſonitum ſaxis & torto * vertice torrens.
Hic ſpecus horrendum, ſævi ſpiracula Ditis,
Monſtratur: ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Peſtiferas aperit fauces. Queis condita Erinnys,
Inviſum numen, terras cœlumque levabat.
* So the famous Flor. MSS. Ibid. ỳ. 571.

Virgil ſays expreſly that this Deſcent of Alecto to Hell, was in the vale of Amſanctus. Amſanctus is placed, both by the antients and moderns, in the kingdom of Naples; between Trevicum and Acherontia. There was antiently a temple built to Mephites here; as the deity who preſided over noiſome and peſtilential ſmells. Hence the place is to this day called, Neſanto, and Muffito.

Virgil ſays, it was under the mountains in the midſt of Italy:——that it was incloſed with woods, on each ſide:——that there were hollows and ſeveral ſpiracula about it:——and that the waters burſt up into the air; and then fall down again, in a broken manner; for ſo I think one ought to underſtand his torto vertice torrens, and——rupto Acheronte vorago.

Both the ſpiracula, and this broken ſpout of water falling in upon itſelf, are deſcribed by another poet, of the greateſt credit for the times he lived in; which was about 400 years after Virgil.

Tunc & peſtiferi pacatum flumen Averni
Innocuæ, tranſiſtis, aves! Flatumque repreſſit
Amſanctus; tacuit, fixo torrente, vorago.
Claudian, de Rapt. Proſ. 2. ỳ. 350.

Virgil alludes to the peſtilential ſtench there, in the word peſtiferas. The words Amſanctus, and Mephites, were uſed for a ſtench by the Roman writers; and the ſmells in this place were looked upon antiently, as mortal.——Taceo, quòd alarum ſpecubus hircoſis atque aceſcentibus latera captiva vallatus, nares circumſedentium ventilatâ duplicis Amſancti peſte funeſtat. Sidonius Apollinaris, Lib. 3. Ep. 13. ——Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim. Virgil, Æn. 7. ỳ. 84.——Spiracula vocant; item in Hirpinis, Amſancti ad Mephitis ædem locum; quem qui intrant, moriuntur. Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 93.

The place which is now called Neſanto, (as ſuppoſed by corruption from Amſanctus; ſee Leon. Alberti f. 101.) is in a dark vale, near Trevico; incloſed on each ſide by hills, and gloomy woods. In the midſt are two or three filthy holes; in one of which the water burſts up to the height of three or four feet, (ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs,) and then falls in again upon itſelf. It ſmells horribly: the earth being all impregnated with ſulphur. There are ſeveral vents of wind in the ſides of the hills near this odious baſon: which you find to come out with a good deal of force, if you hold your hand to the vent; and they make more noiſe than a ſmith's bellows. A particular friend of mine, who has been there, ſays he found out the place by the noiſe. The water, in the holes above mentioned, is generally of a black look; and is ſtill ſo much regarded as infectious, that the country-people do not much care to go with you to it. I know not whether it may be worth mentioning, that they have ſtill ſtories and pictures in thoſe parts, of a ſaint driving the devil, (who had been very troubleſome, it ſeems, in the country,) back again to hell; thorough one of theſe holes.

No

merly always looked on, (by the common people at leaſt,) as a vent of the river Acheron: the very river, which was ſuppoſed to ſurround the city of Rhadamanthus, in the region of Tartarus; and ſo muſt lead Alecto, directly, to her uſual place of abode.

THE laſt of theſe three horrid ſiſters, called by the particular name of Diræ as executioners of the divine vengeance, is Megæra. She has ſerpents on her head (163), and two diſtinguiſhed ones over her forehead, as her ſiſters have; and is repreſented, like them (164), with torches. The Roman poets ſpeak much leſs of her than of the others: and I know of but one deſcription of her that would make a good picture, in all their works. That is in Virgil too, where he is ſpeaking of the puniſhment of the Lapithæ: who were ſaid to be always placed round a table very richly and plentifully ſet out: with a looſe piece of rock hanging over their heads, as juſt ready to fall; and (165) this Fury attending cloſe by, to watch and menace them, the moment they endeavour to taſte any one of the tempting things ſet before them.

SUCH are the chiefs of the many executioners ſuppoſed to be employed in the great abyſs of Tartarus. As to the perſons tormented there, Virgil ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed them into two general claſſes: the firſt, of ſuch as have been ungrateful or impious (166) toward the gods; and the ſecond, of ſuch as have been miſchievous and hurtful (167) among men.

THE moſt impious of the former claſs of criminals, were the rebel giants. The poets frequently ſpeak of their attempt to ſcale heaven, and of their battle with the great Celeſtial

No one piece of ground now can I think anſwer to an antient deſcription more punctually and exactly than this does to Virgil's account of Amſanctus. I know but of one objection that can be made to it, which is from Virgil's ſaying that it is ſituated—Italiæ medio. Neſanto, you may ſay, is very far from being in the midſt of Italy: Naples lies above half way in that country; and Neſanto is yet a hundred miles farther. Tho' the other circumſtances of the place all tally ſo well; yet its failing in one point, and that ſo material and unchangeable an one, muſt deſtroy the whole. This objection would be very ſtrong, if no place could be ſaid to be in the midſt of Italy, except what was ſo, taking it in length: but may not a place be ſaid to be in the middle of Italy, taking the country in breadth, as well as in length? I do not know whether that expreſſion would be ſo proper now; but antiently they ſaid the Apennines lay in the middle of Italy, which muſt be underſtood of the breadth:

Umbroſis mediam quà collibus Apenninus
Erigit Italiam.——
Lucan. Lib. 2. ℣. 397.

And Dionyſius in his geography, ſays that this mountain lays as exactly in the midſt of Italy, as if it had been directed by a line:

Μεσση δ' αμφοτερων παραπεπλαται Αυσονις αια
Πωλυτευης· την μευ δε μεσην ορος ανδιχα τεμνει
Ορθον, αι' εκ ς-αθμης ιθυμμενον· ωκε δ' αν εκεινο
Ιθρις μωμησαιτο σοφης υποεργος Αθηνης·
Ου ρα τε κικλησκουσιν Απεννιου.——
Περιηγ. ℣. 338.

Now Neſanto, (or the vale of Amſanctus,) does not only lay among the Apennines; but is ſituated too, at near an equal diſtance from the Mare Superum, and the Mare Inferum; and ſo may the more ſtrictly be ſaid, to be in the midſt of Italy: Italiæ medio, ſub montibus altis.

If there is any thing in this long note, which may give any new or ſtronger lights to this noted paſſage in the Æneid; I am obliged for it to a very particular friend of mine; a gentleman, of our own country: who has travelled often into Italy, and who (I believe,) is much better acquainted with it as claſſic ground, than any man now living. He had the curioſity, in one of his voyages, to go to Neſanto: and it is from him that I have given the above account of the appearance, which that place makes at preſent.

(163) Quænam iſta, torquens angue vipereo comam,
Temporibus atras ſqualidis pinnas quatit?
Quid me flagranti dira perſequeris face,
Megæra!——
Herc. Oët. Act. 3. Sc. 2.

(164) Et geminas faces Megæra quatiens.
Thyeſtes, Act. 2. Sc. 1.

(165) Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Perithoumque?
Quos ſuper atra ſilex, jam jam lapſura, cadentique
Imminet aſſimilis. Lucent genialibus altis
Aurea fulcra toris; epulæque ante ora, paratæ
Regifico luxu. Furiarum maxima juxta
Accubat, & manibus prohibet contingere menſas:
Exurgitque, facem attollens; atque intonat ore.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 607.

It appears from Statius, that this Fury, (whom Virgil does not name,) was Megæra.

——Ultrix tibi torva Megæra
Jejunum Phlegyam, ſubter cava ſaxa jacentem,
Æterno premit accubitu; dapibuſque profanis
Inſtimulat: ſed miſta famem faſtidia vincunt.
Theb. 1. ℣. 715.

Virgil on this occaſion calls her, Furiarum maxima; which may ſignify either a chief, or the chief, of the Furies: but conſidering her ſiſter's characters, (who are, at leaſt, her equals,) I think it ſhould be taken in the former ſenſe here.

(166) See Æn. 6. ℣. 580, to 607.

(167) See Ibid. ℣. 608, to 614.

Celeſtial Deities. The gods did not conquer them ſo eaſily as might be expected; or ſome poets, at leaſt, (as is (168) inſinuated by Ovid,) have deſcribed that affair as attended with more difficulty than they ought to have done: however, at laſt, they got a total victory; and caſt the rebels down to Tartarus: where they were to receive the full puniſhment of their enormous crime. The poets, in ſpeaking of theſe monſters, ſay that they had (169) ſnakes inſtead of legs. How that could be is not ſo eaſily conceived without the aſſiſtance of the works of the antient artiſts; in which they are often repreſented going off at the thighs into two vaſt ſerpents; as you ſee one of them does (170), in this drawing.

Typhoeus ſeems to be diſtinguiſhed by the poets, as one of the chief leaders in this attempt for the ſovereignty of heaven. Horace mentions him firſt (171) in his account of the battle: and gives us the names of four more of them; Mimas, Porphyrion, Rhæcus, and Enceladus. Virgil adds (172) Cæus and Iäpetus, to this claſs of daring monſters; and (173) Ægeon; and the (174) two ſons of Aloeus. We learn from Ovid, that Gyges was a principal (175) in this affair; and that Typhon (176) was concerned in it. I have never met with any one of the above named Giants, repreſented in their ſtate of puniſhment: but there is a fine relievo of Tityos, at the Villa Borgheſe; in which you ſee him laying on a rock; and the vultur, plunging (177) his beak into his ſide: in the ſame manner as he is deſcribed by Virgil, in his account of this region of torments.

Virgil

(168) Juſt before the terrible account, given by one of the Pierides in Ovid, of the gods being drove by Typhœus into Egypt; and forced to change themſelves there into the ſhapes of ſuch and ſuch animals, to eſcape his fury; that poet obſerves, "That ſhe raiſes the atchievements of the giants, and extenuates the actions of the gods."

——Falſo in honore Gigantas
Ponit; & extenuat magnorum facta Deorum.
Met. 5. ℣. 320.

(169) ——Centum quiſque parabant
Injicere anguipedum captivo brachia cœlo.
Ovid. Met. 1. ℣. 184.

Terra ferax, partus (immania monſtra!) Gigantas
Edidit; auſuros in Jovis ire domum:
Mille manus illis dedit; & pro cruribus angues.
Id. Faſt. 5. ℣. 37.

——Phlegræo ſtantes ſerpente gigantes.
Lucan. 9. ℣. 656.

Theſe ſtrange monſters in the antient mythology, ſeem to have been pretty exact emblems of the diſbelievers ſo much in faſhion in our times.—Gigantes quid aliud fuiſſe credendum eſt, quàm hominum quandam impiam gentem, Deos negantem; & ideo exiſtimatam Deos pellere de cœleſti ſede voluiſſe? Horum pedes in draconum volumina deſinebant: quod ſignificat, nihil eos rectum, nihil ſuperum cogitaſſe; totius vitæ eorum greſſu, atque progreſſu, in inferna mergente. Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 1. cap. 20.

(170) See Pl. 41. Fig. 4.

(171) Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus horrida brachiis;
Fratreſque tendentes opaco
Pelion impoſuiſſe Olympo.
Sed quid Typhœus, & validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion ſtatu;
Quid Rhæcus, evulſiſque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra ſonantem Palladis ægida
Poſſent ruentes? Hinc avidus ſtetit
Vulcanus; hinc Matrona Juno: &
(Nunquam humeris poſiturus arcum)
Qui rore puro Caſtaliæ lavit
Crines ſolutos.——
Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 4. ℣. 62.

Ovid mentions Typhœus, as the chief terror of the gods.

Huc quoque terrigenam veniſſe Typhœea narrat;
Et ſe mentitis Superos celaſſe figuris.
Met. 5. ℣. 326.

(172) ——Partu Terra nefando
Cæumque Iäpetumque creat, ſævumque Typhœa;
Et conjuratos cœlum reſcindere fratres.
Ter ſunt conati imponere Pelio Oſſam
Scilicet, atque Oſſæ frondoſum involvere Olympum;
Ter pater exſtructos disjecit fulmine montes.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 283.

(173) Ægeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt
Centenaſque manus; quinquaginta oribus ignem
Pectoribuſque arſiſſe: Jovis cum fulmina contra
Tot paribus ſtreperet clypeis, tot ſtringeret enſes.
Id. Æn. 10. ℣. 568.

Homer makes Ægeon the ſame with Briareus; or the Centum-geminus Briareus, as Virgil calls him, Æn. 6. ℣. 287.

(174) Hic & Aloïdas geminos, immania vidi
Corpora! Qui manibus magnum reſcindere cœlum
Aggreſſi, ſuperiſque Jovem detrudere regnis.
Id. Ib. 6. ℣. 584.

(175) Quid gravius victore Gyge captiva tuliſſet,
Quàm nunc, (te cœli ſceptra tenente!) tulit?
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 592. (An exclamation of Ceres, againſt Jupiter; on the rape of her daughter.)

(176) Terribilem quondam fugiens Typhona Dione,
Tunc cum pro cœlo Jupiter arma tulit; &c.
Id. Ib. 2. ℣. 462.

(177) Nec non & Tityon, terræ omniparentis alumnum
Cernere erat: per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur; roſtroque immanis vultur adunco,
Immortale jecur tondens fœcundaque pœnis
Viſcera, rimaturque epulis habitatque ſub alto
Pectore; nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 600.

VIRGIL ſpeaks of the variety of tortures in this horrid place (178) as vaſtly numerous; but he gives us an account of but very few of them. I believe if one was to make a liſt of all the particular puniſhments in Tartarus mentioned by him and all the other Latin poets, they would ſcarce be half a ſcore of them. Whatever was the reaſon of this; one may ſafely ſay, that Dante in his hell, has much more variety of puniſhments, than all the antient poets put together. They are ſo uncommon in the remains of the antient artiſts too, that this drawing (179) of Tityos, and this other repreſenting the tortures of Siſyphus, Ixion and Tantalus, are all that I have got to ſhew you, on this ſubject. PL. XXXIX. FIG. 2.

TANTALUS is repreſented here as hanging over the waters, which are always flowing thro' his hand, and gliding from him. You may ſee deſire, and diſappointment, on his face; and a ſort of ſtupidity, contracted by being baulked ſo perpetually. I ſcarce doubt that Horace had ſome repreſentation of this kind, in his thoughts; where he compares (180) the tortures of a miſer in this world, to thoſe of Tantalus in the other. I ſaid, ſome repreſentation of this kind; becauſe Tantalus was probably repreſented ſometimes in a different manner: as ſtanding under a tree, and ſome of the branches, loaded with the fineſt ripe fruits, hanging down juſt before his mouth (181); which, the moment he endeavoured to taſte, always waved away out of his reach. This I have never ſeen in any of the works of the artiſts; any more than a third ſort of puniſhment for Tantalus (182), of quite a different nature: which is only mentioned by ſome of the elder Roman writers, before the Auguſtan age; and which I therefore ſuppoſe might be wholly rejected in the better ages.

OVID in one paſſage ſeems to deſcribe Siſyphus, in the ſame manner that you ſee him repreſented here, as bending under (183) the weight of a vaſt ſtone. The more common way of ſpeaking of his puniſhment agrees with the fine deſcription of him in Homer; where we ſee him labouring to heave the ſtone, that lies on his ſhoulders here, up againſt the ſide of a ſteep mountain; and which always (184) rolls precipitately down again, before he can get it to fix on the top. Lucretius makes him only an (185) emblem of the Ambitious: as Horace too ſeems to make Tantalus, only an (186) emblem of the Covetous.

IXION

(178) Non mihi ſi linguæ centum ſint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes ſcelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina poſſim.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 627.

(179) See Pl. 41. Fig. 5.

(180) Tantalus a labris ſitiens fugientia captat
Flumina——Quid rides? Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur. Congeſtis undique ſaxis
Indormis inhians.————
Horat. Lib. 1. Sat. 1. ℣. 71.

So Lucretius too:

Et ſitis æqua tenet, vitaï ſemper hiantes.
Lib. 3. ℣. 1097.

(181) ——Qui fallentibus undis
Imminet, aut refugæ ſterilem rapit aëra ſylvæ.
Statius, Theb. 6. ℣. 281.

Nec bibit inter aquas, nec poma natantia carpit
Tantalus.————
Petronius Arb. p. 23.

Quis me furor nunc ſede ab infauſtâ extrahit
Avido fugaces ore captantem cibos?
————Pejus inventum eſt ſiti
Arente in undis aliquid, & pejus fame
Hiante ſemper?————
In quod malum tranſcribor?
Thyeſtes, Act. 1. Sc. 1. ℣. 13.

————Tibi, Tantale, nullæ
Deprenduntur aquæ; quæque imminet, effugit arbos.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 458.

(182) Nec miſer impendens magnum timet aëre ſaxum
Tantalus, (ut fama eſt,) caſſâ formidine torpens.
Lucretius, 3. ℣. 994.

Cicero ſpeaking of one, who is in ſtrong apprehenſions of a great evil, juſt coming upon him; ſays his caſe is like that of Tantalus. Quam vim mali ſignificantes poetæ, impendere apud Inferos ſaxum Tantalo faciunt. Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 4. p. 460. Ed. Blaeu.

(183) ——Æoliden ſaxum grave Siſyphon urget.
Ovid. Met. 13. ℣. 26.

(184) Aut petis, aut urges ruiturum, Siſyphe, ſaxum.
Id. Ib. lib. 4. ℣. 459.

(185) Siſyphus in vitâ quoque nobis ante oculos eſt,
Qui petere à populo faſceis fævaſque ſecureis
Imbibit; & ſemper victus triſtiſque recedit:
Nam petere imperium quod inane eſt nec datur unquam,
Atque in eo ſemper durum ſufferre laborem;
Hoc eſt adverſo nixantem trudere monte
Saxum, quod tamen à ſummo jam vertice rurſum
Volvitur; & plani raptim petit æquora campi.
Lucretius, 3. ℣. 1015.

(186) This, I think, appears from the words, Quid rides, in the paſſage quoted from Horace. (Note 180, anteh.) He begins formally, to tell the ſtory of Tantalus's puniſhment.——He then breaks off ſhort, and ſays; "Why are you laughing at me? As much a fiction as this is, it is really verified in the lives of the covetous. They are always hanging over their treaſure, and never enjoying any of it."

Ixion, (who was condemned to his torture for impiety and ingratitude,) appears here as fixed in his wheel; which was ſaid to hurry him round (187), in one perpetual whirl. This would be no bad emblem of thoſe in our days who are ſo fond of being diſtinguiſhed by the name of Men of Pleaſure; and ſeem to value themſelves for loſing every moment of their lives, in a round of inſignificant diverſions: but as this was a vice perhaps not known among the antients, we muſt not expect any ſuch application in their writings.

I Do not know any of the antients that ſpeak of any other puniſhment for Ixion, but his wheel; and the rapid eddies he is always whirled in, by it. Virgil, in particular mentions this, as his puniſhment, in his fourth (188) Georgic; and I ſuppoſe had done ſo (189) in his third, till ſome over-wiſe tranſcriber was pleaſed to correct what he had originally written.

I Am apt to imagine that the antient painters ſometimes inſerted ſome deity of the winds in their repreſentations of Ixion's puniſhment; as directing a ſtrong blaſt againſt his wheel, to drive it round the more rapidly. This would account to the eye, for an effect which would otherwiſe ſeem unaccounted for: and Virgil may hint at ſome ſuch repreſentation, (in the word (190) Vento,) where he is ſpeaking of the ſtrange effects of Orpheus's muſic, even on Ixion, and others of the inhabitants of the deepeſt abyſs of Tartarus: but I only mention this as a mere conjecture; and as unſupported by any authority from the remains of the artiſts I have ſeen.

It is high time for us now to quit this horrid region, and all the ſhocking ideas belonging to it; and to change them for the milder air of Elyſium. Elyſium, or the ſubterraneous heaven of the antients, is repreſented in the drawing I am going to ſhew you. You muſt not expect any thing very fine in it; for if you do, you will be greatly diſappointed. The antients never failed more in any thing than in making a heaven; and if one was to conſider all the modern deſcriptions of the ſame, we ſhould find moſt of

(187) Volvitur Ixion, & ſe ſequiturque fugitque.
Ovid. Met. 4. ℣. 461.

——Cur avidis Ixiona frango
Vorticibus?——————
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 51. (Spoke, by Pluto.)

(188) ——Ixionii vento rota conſtitit orbis.
Georg. 4. ℣. 484.

(189) Invidia infelix Furias amnemque ſeverum
Cocyti metuet; tortoſque Ixionis orbes,
Immanemque rotam; & non exſuperabile ſaxum.
Georg. 3. ℣. 39.

All the editions of Virgil at preſent, (and indeed ſeveral of the manuſcripts, and even ſome of the oldeſt,) read angues here inſtead of orbes.

The reaſon why I ſuppoſe that ſome critics of late who have thought it was originally orbes, are in the right; is becauſe the latter agrees with Ixion's puniſhment, and the former does not.

The puniſhment of Ixion conſiſted in being attached to a wheel, and twirled round impetuouſly by it; both which are expreſſed in the Tortos orbes, Immanemque rotam, of Virgil.——Orbis is the very word which Virgil uſes, in the only place beſide this where he ſpeaks of Ixion's puniſhment in his allowed works: and, if the Ætna be his, it is alſo uſed there, of the ſame.

I do not remember that Virgil, or any other of the Roman poets, ever ſpeak of Ixion's being tormented with ſnakes; or indeed of ſnakes being made uſe of in the torments of Tartarus, at all. The ſnakes of the Furies, or infernal tormentors of the old poets, repreſented the ſtings of conſcience; the tortures and ſufferings of the mind, not thoſe of the body: but as the modern painters have made ſo much uſe of ſerpents, in their repreſentations of perſons tormented in the other world; that has made a connection between the tormented and ſnakes now, which was not of old: and may have been a chief reaſon, that the reading of Angues has prevailed ſo generally among us.

I muſt juſt obſerve one thing more; which is the propriety of Virgil in the above paſſage, in another reſpect. The perſons he is ſpeaking of are the enemies of the Julian family; or the faction, (as he calls it,) againſt the Cæſars. Theſe, he ſays, ſhould be repreſented on the temple he would build to Auguſtus, as in the tortures of Tartarus; and, more particularly, as puniſhed in the ſame manner as Ixion and Siſyphus. Ixion was puniſhed there, for his ingratitude and impiety; Siſyphus, as a villain and a robber. So that this is calling all the party againſt Auguſtus raſcals, and ingrates; and infers the higheſt compliment to that prince, at the ſame time that it is the moſt cruel of invectives againſt his enemies.

(190) There is another paſſage, in the ſame book of Virgil; which may perhaps require the ſame way of thinking, to explain it ſtrongly.

——Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suſpenſæ ad Ventos.——
Æn. 6. ℣. 741.

of them perhaps little better than the antient ones. They had ſcarce any thing in the old philoſophy, that held firmly againſt the fears of death; and therefore the notions which the Romans had even of a place of bliſs, had ſomething gloomy intermixed with it. Tho' the ideas of Virgil, on this ſubject, are (191) much preferable to thoſe of Homer; they are ſtill low, and mean enough o' conſcience. The perſons in Virgil's Elyſium, (as you may ſee, by the drawing of it before us,) are ſome dancing; others, engaged in the exerciſes they moſt delighted in, whilſt in the upper world: and Orpheus, in particular, is playing on his lyre. That is the only thing I can ſee, to make any thing very pleaſing in it. Virgil ſpeaks alſo of delightful groves; and of a caſcade of water, which does not appear in this picture. But taking in all that he ſays of Elyſium, his deſcription of it and of the pleaſures the departed enjoy there, is ſo very low; that it ſeems almoſt to have been borrowed from the manner in which the common people at Rome, in his time, uſed to paſs their holydays, on the banks of the Tiber. Ovid has deſcribed the latter; as Virgil has the former: and I do not ſee any great difference (192) in their deſcriptions, only that Virgil chuſes to inſiſt more on the exerciſes uſed ſo much by the Romans in the ſame place; (for the Campus Martius, was on the banks of the Tiber;) and that Ovid, like a boon companion as he was, inſiſts chiefly on their (193) eating and drinking there.

Pl. XL. Fig. 1.

THE inhabitants of this region of bliſs, (ſuch as it was,) were the ſouls of the good; their proper judge, Æacus: and the two chief rulers of all the ſubterraneous world, Pluto and Proſerpine.

THERE is not any of the happy ſpirits, repreſented in this picture, that we know by name; except Orpheus. He appears in a long dreſs, falling down to his feet (194); that robe of dignity, which was given to muſicians in the firſt ages of the world, in honour of their high character: which in thoſe times comprehended not only the ſcience of muſic, but that of poetry, moral philoſophy, and legiſlature. The giving rules for life to particulars, or laws to any nation, is too apt to carry a ſevere air with it; and to deter people, from what you would have them follow: the wiſe men therefore of thoſe days united the two arts of muſic and poetry, to that of inſtructing mankind: and, by that means, ſoftened the ſeverity of their inſtructions; and inſinuated them into the hearts, as well as the minds, of their rough hearers. You have ſeen Orpheus before, in ſome other

(191) Homer makes Achilles ſay; "That he would chuſe rather to ſerve on earth; than even to reign over all the regions of the dead." Od. A. ℣. 490. Virgil does not advance any thing that might caſt ſo great a reflection on his Elyſium; but only ſays, "That it is better to bear any degree of poverty or hardſhips on our earth, than to be in Erebus;" Æn. 6. ℣. 436, to 439.

(192) The holyday feaſt deſcribed by Ovid was kept in honour of Anna Perenna: then a ſaint; but formerly, (as ſome authors ſay,) an old woman that ſold cakes at Rome: Faſt. 3. ℣. 667, to 674. His account of it is as follows.

Idibus eſt Annæ feſtum geniale Perennæ;
Haud procul a ripis, advena Tybri, tuis.
Plebs venit; ac virides paſſim diſjecta per herbas
Potat: & accumbit cum pare quiſque ſuâ.
Sub Jove pars durat; pauci tentoria ponunt;
Sunt quibus e ramo frondea facta caſa eſt:
Pars ibi pro rigidis calamos poſuere columnis;
Deſuper extentas impoſuere togas.
Sole tamen, vinoque calent: annoſque precantur
Quot ſumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
Invenies illic, qui Neſtoris ebibat annos;
Quæ ſit per calices facta Sibylla ſuos.
Illic & cantant quicquid didicere theatris;
Et jactant faciles ad ſua verba manus:
Et ducunt poſito duras cratere choreas;
Cultaque diffuſis ſaltat amica comis.
Cum redeunt, titubant; & ſunt ſpectacula vulgo:
Et Fortunatos obvia turba vocant.
Faſt. 3. ℣. 540.

Virgil's account of the joys of Elyſium.

Devenere locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum.———
Largior hic campos æther & lumine veſtit
Purpureo; ſolemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt.
Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris;
Contendunt ludo, & fulvâ luctantur arenâ:
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas; & carmina dicunt.—
Stant terrâ defixæ haſtæ, paſſimque ſoluti
Per campum paſcuntur equi: quæ gratia curruum,
Armorumque fuit vivis; quæ cura nitentes
Paſcere equos; eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos.
Conſpicit ecce alios, dextrâ lævâque, per herbam
Veſcentes; lætumque choro Pæana canentes.
Æn. 6. ℣. 657.

(193) Protinus erratis læti veſcuntur in agris;
Et celebrant largo ſeque diemque mero.
Ovid. Faſt. 3. ℣. 656.

(194) Nec non Threïcius longâ cum veſte ſacerdos
Obloquitur numeris ſeptem diſcrimina vocum;
Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulſat eburno.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 647.

other of my drawings (195), taming the monſters of the infernal world, with his voice and lyre; as he did the rough Thracians, in our world, by the united arts of pleaſing and inſtructing, that he was ſo great a maſter of.

I NEVER met with any figure of Æacus among the remains of the antient artiſts; or any thing deſcriptive of him in the poets: but Pluto and Proſerpine are common ſubjects in both. Their palace, or chief place of reſidence, ſeems to have been near the point (196), where the three great roads of Ades meet; and, conſequently, to be about the center of their proper dominions.

THE figures of Pluto and Proſerpine, as I was juſt ſaying, are common enough. What I have choſen to place here among my drawings, was copied from one of the pieces of painting which were diſcovered, toward the end of the laſt century, in the old burial-place for the Naſonian family. Pluto and Proſerpine, you ſee, are repreſented in it, as ſitting on their thrones in Elyſium. Mercury, the chief conductor of departed ſpirits to this region, is introducing one lately arrived, to their preſence. It is a very young woman; not full grown: and ſeems intimidated at appearing before ſo awful and ſtern a prince, as Pluto is generally repreſented to be. Juſt behind her, is the ſpirit of a more elderly woman; perhaps, her mother: and poſſibly waiting to attend her back to ſome of the groves or grottos of Elyſium, where ſhe herſelf had been uſed to paſs moſt of her time. Pluto does not look ſo ſeverely on her, as one might expect from his general character; which is that of being gloomy and paſſionate, even tho' his reſidence is in the region of the bleſt.

Pl. XL. Fig. 2.

THERE is a great reſemblance in the faces of the three brothers, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto: as one may find at any time by comparing them together in the different works of the antient artiſts; and which is extremely well preſerved by Raphael, where he has placed them all together in his feaſt of the gods, on the marriage of Cupid and Pſyche. They are in the works of the antients, as well as there, all alike: only the look of Jupiter is the moſt ſerene and majeſtic, of the three; and that of Pluto, the moſt ſullen and ſevere. The poets (197) make the ſame diſtinction, in ſpeaking of the three brothers. The face of Pluto here too, is like that of Jupiter; only more rigid and tyrannical. It is hence, perhaps, that Statius calls him (198), The Black Jupiter: for he is moſt like the figures of the Jupiter Terribilis; which were moſt commonly made of black marble. You ſee, he holds his (199) ſcepter in his hand; and has a veil all over his head: which a poet (200) of the lower ages calls, Nubes; as the lighter veil of the air and water-nymphs was called, Nimbus. His complexion, (as well as his veil,) ſhould be dark (201) and terrible. He is ſometimes called by the name of Dis (202), as Proſerpine is by that of Perſephone.

I

(195) Pl. 38. Fig. 2.

(196) Hic locus eſt partes ubi ſe via findit in ambas:
Dextera, quæ Ditis regni ſub mœnia tendit:
Hac iter Elyſium nobis.———
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 542.

(197) Frons torva, fratrum quæ tamen ſpecimen gerat.
Herc. Fur. Act. 3. Sc. 2. ℣. 723.
——Tuque O fæviſſime fratrum,
Cui ſervire dati Manes!———
Statius, Theb. 4. ℣. 475.

(198) Hoc, ut fama, loco pallentes devius umbras
Trames agit; nigrique Jovis vacua atria ditat
Mortibus.———
Statius, Theb. 2. ℣. 50.

(199) Terribiles hortatus equos, in gurgitis ima
Contortum valido ſceptrum regale lacerto
Condidit.———
Ovid. Met. 5. ℣. 420.

(200) The general rule laid down in the beginning of this work, will not ſuffer me to quote Claudian as an authority, in relation to the perſonage or appearance of any of the deities: otherwiſe one might have had more perhaps from him relating to Pluto, than from all the reſt of the Roman poets. He, in particular, deſcribes him as ſitting on his throne in the following lines; where the word nubes is, I think, uſed for his veil.

Ipſe rudi ſolio ſultus, nigrâque verendus
Majeſtate ſedet. Squallent immania fœdo
Sceptra ſitu; ſublime caput mœſtiſſima nubes
Aſperat.———
Claudian. de rapt. Pros.

(201) Qualis, ab Ætneis accenſâ lampade ſaxis,
Orba Ceres magnæ variabat imagine flammæ
Auſonium Siculumque latus; veſtigia nigri
Raptoris, vaſtoſque legens in pulvere ſulcos.
Statius, Theb. 12. ℣. 273.
——Qualem juſſu Junonis iniquæ
Horruit Alcides, viſo jam Dite, Megæram.
Lucan. 1. ℣. 577.

(202) Panditur interea Diti via.———
Ovid. Faſt. 4. ℣. 449. (of his carrying Proſerpine to Ades.)
Perſephones zonam ſummis oſtendit in undis.
Id. Met. 5. ℣. 470. (on the ſame ſubject.)

I Do not remember that the poets ſay much of Proſerpine's perſonage. We can only infer from them, perhaps, that ſhe was naturally (203) of a brown complexion: which might grow ſtill (204) darker, by her living in the ſubterraneous world. Tho' the monarch of all thoſe wide domains made her the partner of his empire, it was a great while before ſhe could forgive him the violence he had offered to her; or forget the delightful vales of Enna, where ſhe had uſed to be ſo happy (205) with all her nymphs about her. There was a gloom (206) that hung over her face, for a long time; and which perhaps was never quite worn away: at leaſt, ſhe has ſtill a melancholy air on her face, in the picture before us. Statius has found out a melancholy employment for her too; which is to keep a ſort of regiſter of the dead, and to mark down (207) all that ſhould be added to that number. The ſame poet mentions another of her offices, of a more agreeable nature. He ſays, that when any woman dies who has been a remarkable good wife in this world, Proſerpine prepares the ſpirits of the beſt women in the other, to make a proceſſion (208) to welcome her into Elyſium with joy; and to ſtrew all the way with flowers, where ſhe is to paſs. You ſee Mercury too in this drawing; as indeed he appears often in the works of the artiſts relating to the other world. He has the Caduceus in his hand, which was more particularly (209) the enſign of his power over all the regions of it. He muſt have made (210) very frequent viſits to them; but Horace mentions

(203) Her mother, I think, was ſo. See Dial. VIII. p. 103.

(204) Horace calls her, Furva. Lib. 2. Od. 13. ℣. 21.

(205) There is a very pretty, and very picturesque deſcription of this, in Ovid's Faſti, 4. ℣. 425, &c.

(206) Illa quidem triſtis; nec adhuc interrita vultu:
Sed Regina tamen; ſed opaci maxima mundi;
Sed tamen Inferni pollens Matrona tyranni.
Ovid. Met. 5. ℣. 508.

Some of the Greek poets ſeem to have made a finer Elyſium for her; and to have had ſome ſtory, of her being totally reconciled to the place; as appears from this paſſage in Virgil.

Quamvis Elyſios miretur Græcia campos;
Nec repetita ſequi curet Proſerpina matrem.
Georg. 1. ℣. 39.

The Greek poets that remain to us, are either remarkably ſhort, or reſerved, in their accounts of Elyſium. Homer does not ſay a word of it, in Ulyſſes's deſcent to Ades; and in the only place of all his works where he does mention it, he deſcribes it chiefly by negatives:

Ου νιφετος, ουδ' αρ χειμων πολυς, ουδε ποτ' ομβρος.
Od. Δ. ℣. 567.

The fulleſt paſſage that I know of, is in Pindar; and even in that, he expreſly ſays, that he has concealed a great deal. "The good, (ſays that great poet in ſpeaking of the ſtate of departed ſouls,) lead a life exempt from all care and labours; and enjoy the light of the ſun, without any night. They neither till the earth; nor are obliged to paſs the ſeas. Such as have kept ſtrict to their obligations, enjoy an age without tears; among thoſe that are honoured by the gods: and ſuch as have not done ſo, labour in inconceivable torments. All who have been able to abſtain from unjuſt actions, thorough three trials, in three different ſtations, have paſſed the way deſtined by Jupiter to the city of Saturn: where the freſh breezes from the ſea breathe over the iſland of the bleſt; and the golden flowers ſhine; ſome from the ſplendid trees on the land, and others from thoſe in the margin of the waters. Of theſe, the happy ſpirits weave bracelets for their arms; and garlands for their heads.——I could add many other things to what I have ſaid on this ſubject: as piercing as arrows to the wiſe, and thoſe who hear them as they ought; but dark, and unintelligible, to the vulgar of mankind." Olymp. Od. 2.

(207) Necdum illum aut truncâ luſtraverat obvia taxo
Eumenis, aut furvis Proſerpina poſte notârat
Cœtibus abſumtum functis.——
Statius, Theb. 8. ℣. 11.

(208) ——Si quando pio laudata marito
Umbra venit; jubet ire faces Proſerpina lætas,
Egreſſaſque ſacris veteres Heroïdas antris
Lumine purpureo triſtes laxare tenebras;
Sertaque & Elyſios animæ proſternere flores.
Id. Lib. 5. Sylv. 1. ℣. 257.

They are perſons of the ſame ſort of life, who are to attend the departed on their triumphal entries into Elyſium. Statius, on the death of his father, (who was a poet as well as himſelf,) calls on the poets to meet him.

Ite pii manes, Graiumque examina vatum,
Illuſtremque animam Lethæis ſpargite ſertis!
Et monſtrate nemus, qua nulla irrupit Erinnys,
In quo falſa dies cœloque ſimillimus aër.
Id. Ibid. Sylv. 3. ℣. 287.

(209) Tum virgam capit. Hâc animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes; alias, ſub triſtia Tartara mittit.
Virgil. Æn. 4. ℣. 248.

(210) Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgâque levem coërces
Aureâ turbam.——
Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 10. ℣. 19.

Non vanæ redeat ſanguis imagini,
Quam virgâ ſemel horridâ
Non lenis precibus fata recludere
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.
Id. Ibid. Od. 24. ℣. 18.

mentions a particular deſcent of his to Ades, with his lyre; which ſeems to be of a more extraordinary nature (211): and which may poſſibly have been derived from ſome old prophetical tradition; tho' it is ſo much diſguiſed by the fictions of the poets, that one can only gueſs at the traces of it, under the veil they have flung over it.

As Polymetis ſeemed to have quite finiſhed here; Philander did not fail to thank him for all the trouble he had given himſelf, in ſhewing them his collection: and more particularly, for this latter part of it; which had been entered on entirely at his requeſt. Myſagetes, in his turn, thought this a proper occaſion for deſiring what he had had in his thoughts for ſome time. "As you have added this diſſertation on the inhabitants of the lower world, on Philander's requeſt; I muſt beg you (ſays he) to add one more on mine. I have been gueſſing, two or three times, at the uſes to which this ſort of enquiries might be applied. I ſeem to diſcover ſome, beſide what you have mentioned; but as you have uſed yourſelf ſo much to this way of thinking, you muſt certainly ſee them in a fuller light than I can; and I ſhould be much obliged to you, if you would give us your thoughts on that head." With all my heart, ſays Polymetis: but as our chat, on the preſent ſubject, has run out to ſuch an unreaſonable length; I am ſure you will be willing to excuſe me till to-morrow evening: when I ſhall be ready to give you all the ſatisfaction on that head, that I can.

(211) Ceſſit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulæ
Cerberus; quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus, atque
Spiritus teter ſanieſque manet
Ore trilingui:
Quin & Ixion, Tityoſque vultu
Riſit invito; ſtetit urna paulum
Sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
Carmine mulces.

Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 11. ℣. 24.

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Bertaud. sculp.

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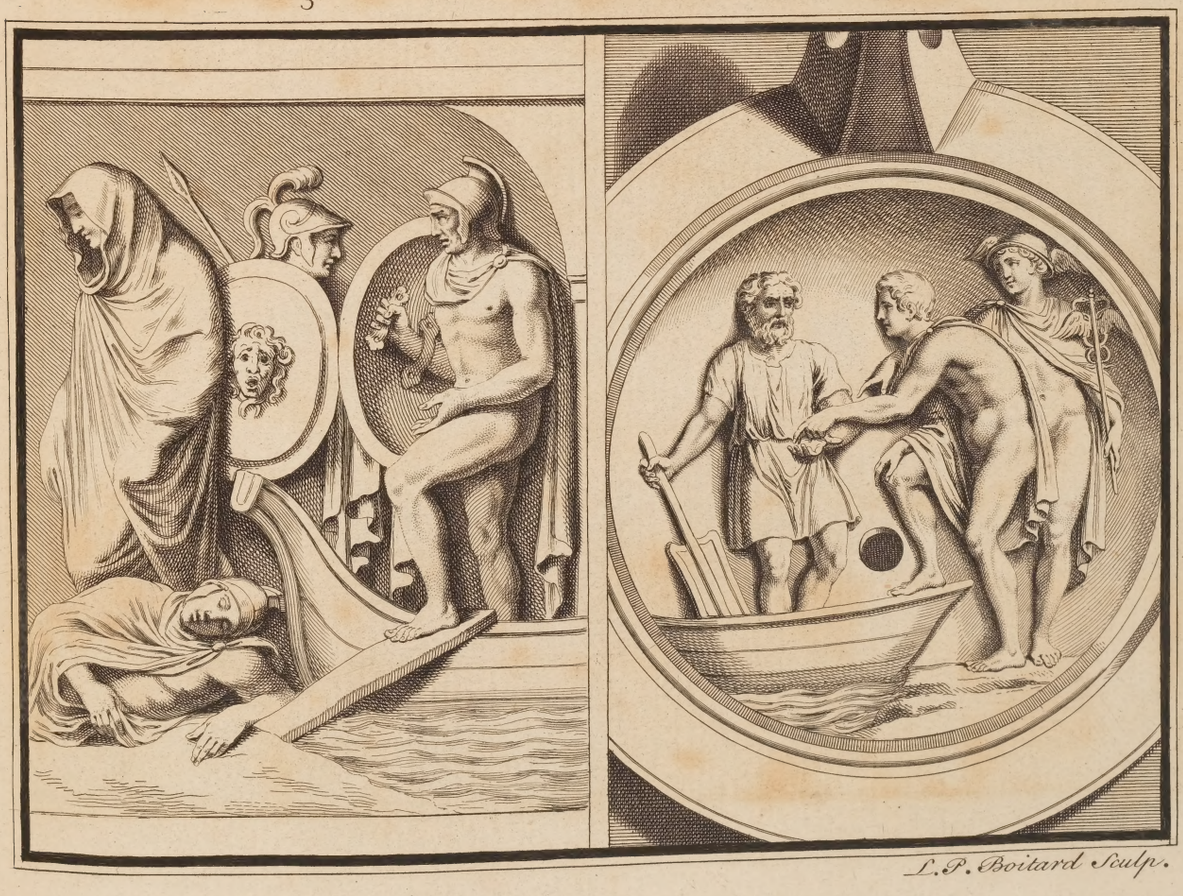

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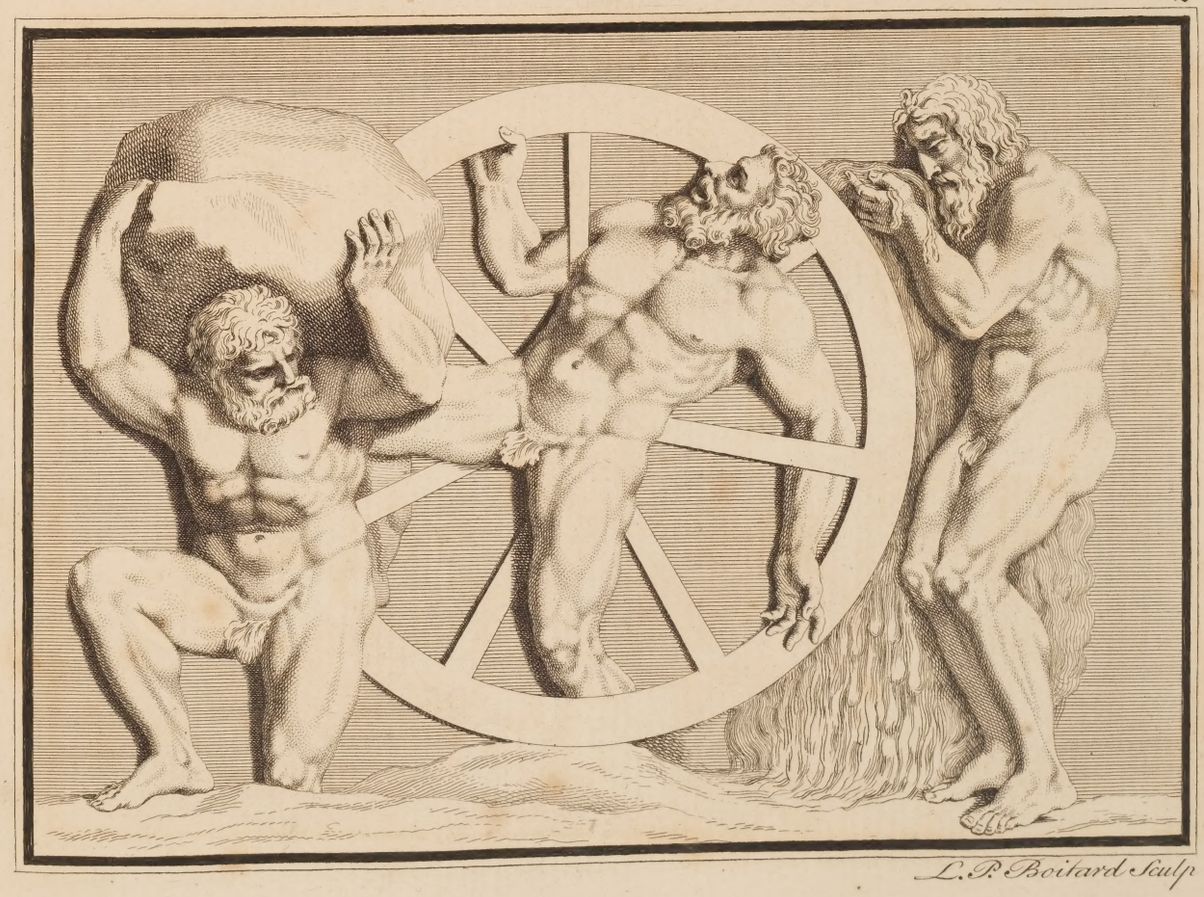

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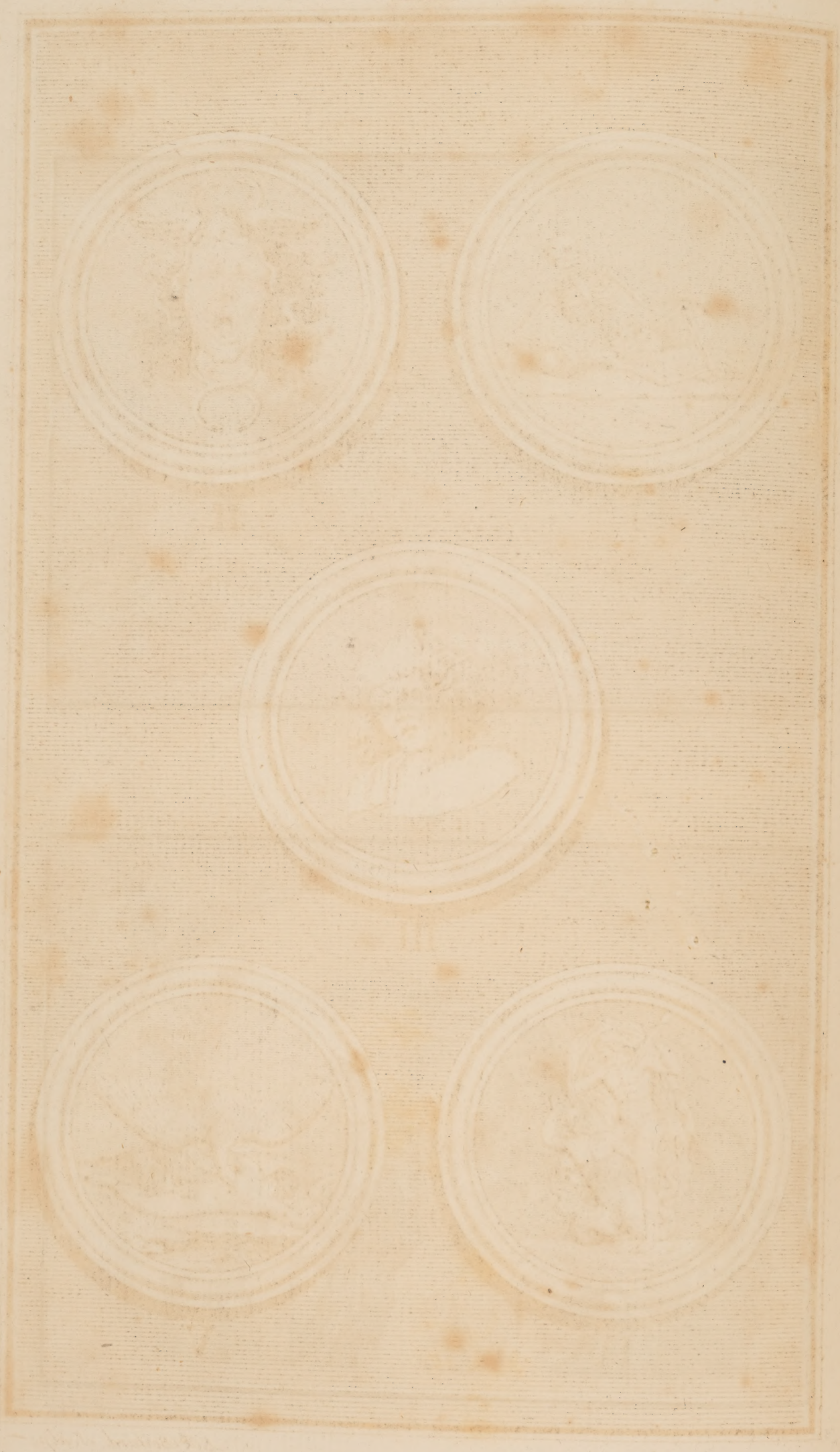

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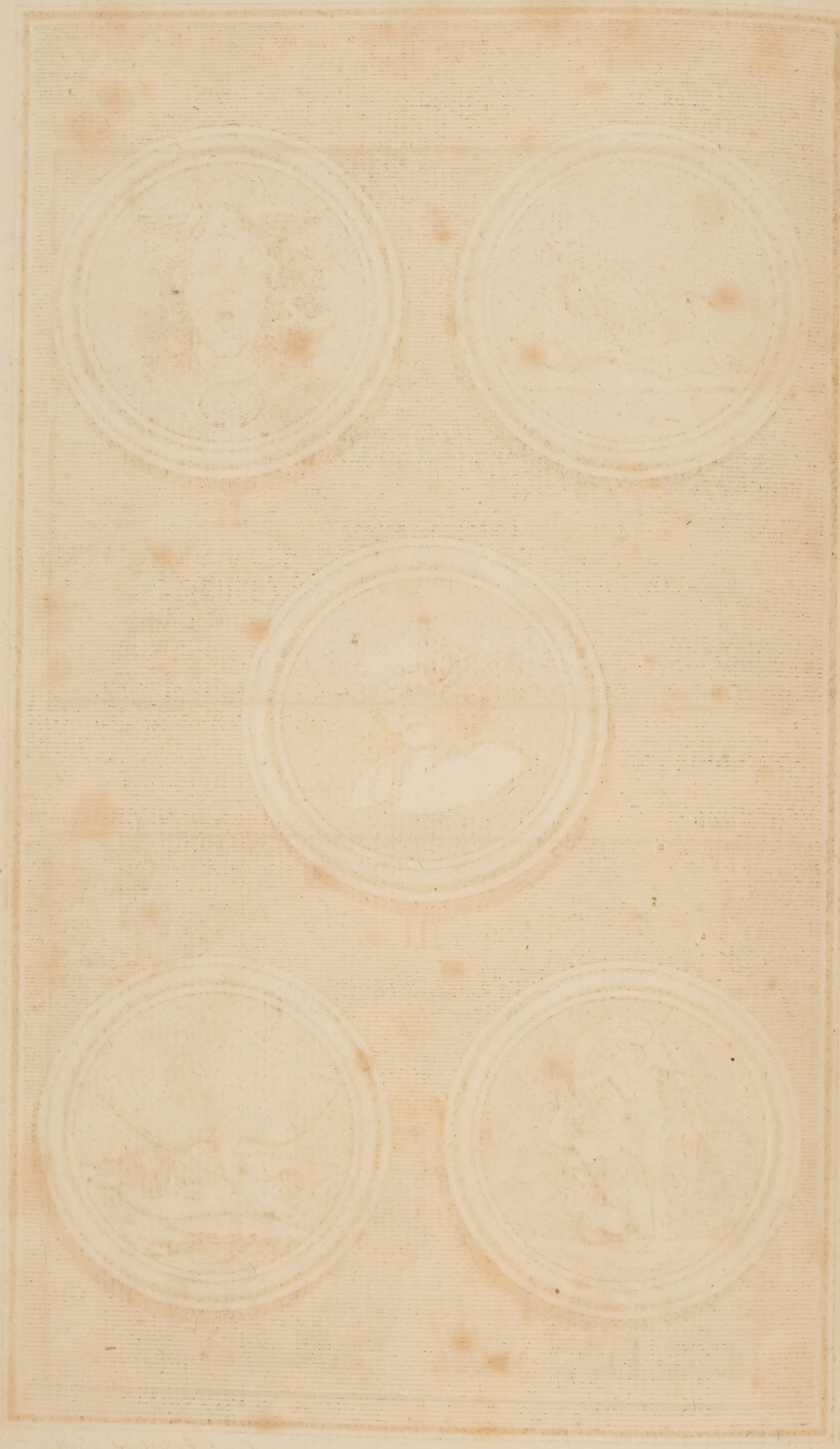
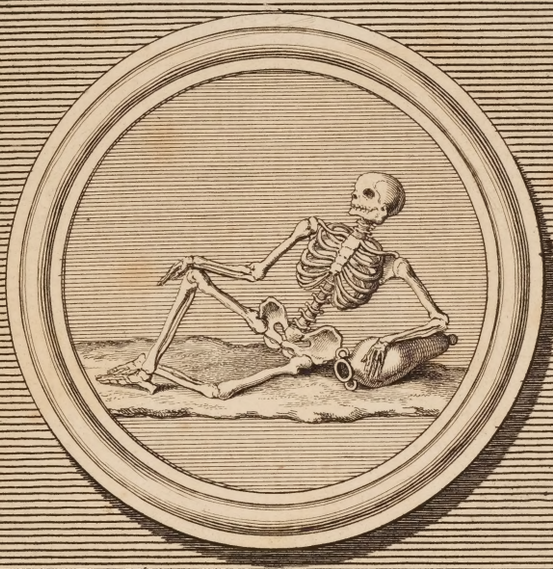




I

II

III

IV

V

L. P. Boitard Sculp.

BOOK the Tenth.

The CONCLUSION.

DIAL. XVII.

Of the Uſe of this ſort of ENQUIRIES, in general.

AS they were ſitting in the library, the next evening; Polymetis remembered his promiſe, and began in the following manner.

BEFORE I enter on the ſeveral uſes that may be made of this ſort of enquiries; I ought juſt to premiſe to you, that you ought not to judge of the full extent of them by any thing I have ſaid, or can ſay, on this ſubject. It is like a country that is but newly diſcovered: where much more is generally left to be found out, by thoſe who may come afterwards to it; than was known to the perſon, who firſt diſcovered it. I look upon myſelf as a firſt diſcoverer in this caſe; becauſe there has ſcarce been any thing laid down in form, in relation to this ſubject; by any perſon, whoſe writings I am acquainted with. Mr. Addiſon's Treatiſe on medals is the only piece in which I have ſeen it attempted: and, to carry on the metaphor I uſed juſt before, he ſeems rather to have only ſailed along the coaſts, than to have entered at all into the country.

THE uſefulneſs of antiques toward explaining the antient authors; and particularly the beſt Roman poets; may have appeared to you, in ſome meaſure, from ſeveral of the paſſages I have mentioned to you ſince you have been with me here: ſome of which poſſibly you did not perceive, in the ſame view; or at leaſt, not in ſo ſtrong a light, before. But it would be very unfair, to judge of this, by what I have done: it ought rather to be conſidered what probably might have been done, had more and better hands been employed in ſuch an enquiry. The true way of judging is not from my performance, but from the reaſon of the thing; and as to that, I muſt repeat to you what I ſaid at firſt (1), that the works of the old artiſts and poets muſt naturally be the beſt explainers of one another: becauſe they were both converſant in the ſame ſort of knowledge; fell much into the ſame train of thinking; and were employed often, on the very ſame ſubjects. I think therefore there can be no room to doubt, that ſome of the beſt comments we could have on the antient poets, might be drawn from the works of the artiſts, who were their cotemporaries; and whoſe remains often preſent to our eyes the very things, which the others have delivered down to us only in words.

INSTEAD of this, our only reſource now is to our commentators; than whom, I believe one may ſafely ſay, there has never been a more wrong-headed ſet of men upon earth. At leaſt, I am ſure, we uſually want quite other helps than they give us: and this makes any new help towards explaining the claſſics very deſireable, at leaſt; if not quite neceſſary. As to the comments we have, they are generally ſpeaking not only apt to conceal, but to miſlead: and when I was moſt converſant with them, I often uſed to think myſelf not unlike a traveller, who has loſt his way on ſome wide heath, with the darkneſs of the night coming on all around him; and only here and there, two or three little

(1) Dial. I. p. 3.

little wavering lights; which inſtead of guiding him to his home, only ſerve to entice him, and plunge him the deeper, into the bogs and fens from which they ariſe.

When under theſe difficulties and diſtreſſes, how often have I wiſhed, that the commentators in general had followed the rules laid down for ſome of them, by the Duke de Montauſier? This nobleman was the firſt promoter of what we call the (2) Dauphin Edition of the Claſſics. He loved reading himſelf; and had a good taſte for the antients: but in a variety of employs, could not ſpare ſufficient time, for conſulting and comparing different books, in order to clear up the paſſages, in which he found himſelf moſt at a loſs. It was therefore his deſire that ſhort and clear explications ſhould be annexed to ſuch paſſages in the claſſics, as moſt wanted them. He uſed often to ſay, that he could eaſily ſee that the difficulties which occur to us in reading the works of the antients, might all be comprehended in two claſſes; and that they ariſe, either from our not knowing in what ſenſe they uſed ſuch a word formerly: or elſe from our being ignorant now, of ſome opinion, cuſtom, or thing, that was familiarly known among them. In the former caſe, the commentator ſhould endeavour to determine the meaning of the word in queſtion, by conſulting how it is uſed by the ſame author in other places, where the meaning of it may be more evident; or by any other of the ſame country, and (as near as may be) of the ſame times. In the ſecond caſe, the thing, cuſtom, or opinion, hinted at, ſhould be ſubjoined; in as few words as is conſiſtent with clearneſs. This was all that he found he wanted; and it was agreeably to this that he calculated the two great rules, which he gave for the perſons employed in the Dauphin edition of the claſſics: but which, tho' they are ſo ſenſible and juſt, were not ſufficiently obſerved by them; nor by any other commentator, I ever met with.

Inſtead of following two ſuch obvious and eaſy rules, what is the moſt uſual aim of our commentators at preſent? Why really their uſual aim ſeems to be, to ſhew their own erudition; at leaſt, I am ſure, they generally go but a very little way toward clearing up the meaning of their authors. A very learned comment, is like a very learned man; it is rather troubleſome, than uſeful to you. When you conſult them, their anſwers are for the moſt part as dark, and as equivocal, as thoſe of oracles. There never can be but one meaning wanting; and they are ſo over-good as to furniſh you with half a dozen. Or elſe they play at croſs-purpoſes with you. As for example; I ſhould be glad, to learn, what colour the Romans meant by the word Glaucus? Glaucus, anſwers the commentator, ſignifies blue; brown; green; red; and iron-grey.——How far was Alba from Rome? O, ſays the commentator, Alba is the place where Æneas met with the white ſow and her thirty pigs; and there was a very fine flitch of bacon, of this very ſow, kept in the chief temple there; even to Auguſtus's time: as I find it recorded in that excellent hiſtorian, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus.——If you aſk what Niobe is doing, in ſuch a part of Ovid's deſcription of her, they will tell you who was her father: or if you enquire for the ſituation of one of the Grecian cities, they will beſtow half an hour in proving, that it was firſt inhabited by a colony from Aſſyria; and perhaps add all the adventures and diſtreſſes that the poor people met with, both by ſea and land, in coming to it.

These abſurdities of the commentators, (if they are generally ſo abſurd, as I fear they are,) will go a great way toward ſupporting a paradox; which will ſound the leſs ſtrange to you from me, becauſe you have heard me mention it, I believe, more than once: "That the greateſt difficulty I meet with in underſtanding the claſſics now, ariſes from my having read and ſtudied them too much at ſchool." Our cuſtom there, was generally

(2) This edition was planned by the Duke of Montauſier; encouraged, by Monſieur Colbert: and carried on, by the Biſhop of Avranches. It was the latter, who choſe the commentators that were to be employed; and who himſelf complains of his not being able to find out a ſufficient number of perſons, equal to ſuch a taſk. See that Biſhop's Comm. de rebus ſuis. p.286. Ed. Amſt. 1718: and his, Huetiana, §.37. p. 93. Ed. Paris, 1722.

generally to enquire more what others ſay for an author; than what the author ſays for himſelf. I uſed to be perpetually conſulting my notes: and before I left ſchool, could have given you three or four different meanings for moſt of the difficult paſſages in Virgil, Horace, or Juvenal; and perhaps twenty, for ſome in Perſius. This way of ſtudying, by drawing your eye off (at every line almoſt) to the ſide lights, inſtead of keeping it ſteddy upon the proper object you ought to view, makes one often neglect the real intention of the author; and almoſt always loſes the thread of his thoughts, and the connexion of the whole piece. The limbs of the poet, (to uſe an expreſſion of Horace on a different occaſion,) are ſo ſcattered by theſe inhuman manglers, as to be almoſt incapable of being ever brought into a body again. At beſt, you know, perhaps, what De la Rue ſays for Virgil; but you do not ſo well know what Virgil ſays himſelf: and if this is prejudicial even from De la Rue, (who is certainly one of the beſt of the commentators, commonly uſed in this way of ſtudying;) what muſt it be in thoſe, who generally give you falſe lights, who deal chiefly in things foreign to the purpoſe, and ſometimes in the ſtrangeſt miſrepreſentations of the ſenſe of their authors that can be conceived? I muſt beg leave to mention to you one fact, which will ſhew at leaſt how far this early way of ſtudying the claſſics had ſerved to blind me. When Mr. Pope a few years ago publiſhed his Imitations of ſeveral of the ſatires and epiſtles of Horace, I immediately ſaw a connexion and chain of thinking in them; which tho' I had read over the originals, (ſome of them perhaps a hundred times,) I had never regarded or ſuſpected before. I was ſurprized, in almoſt each of thoſe pieces, with the new lights and beauties that ſtruck me all at once. I compared the copies with the originals; and found that Pope and Horace were much the ſame: I mean as to the true ſpirit, the connexions, and their way of thinking. I then began to reflect, how I came not to ſee that in Horace before, which I now ſaw ſo plainly in Mr. Pope's copies from him: and the only way I could find to account for it was, that I had at firſt been uſed to ſtudy each of thoſe poems in the original by piece-meal; that I had been drawn off every other inſtant from what Horace ſaid to what he did not ſay, and very often to what was not at all to his purpoſe; that this falſe and broken impreſſion of Horace's thoughts, (taken in at a time when the mind receives impreſſions moſt eaſily, and retains them moſt firmly,) had given me a falſe idea of his manner of thinking, in general; and had prevented me from ſeeing thoſe pieces of his in particular, in a right light; till thoſe entire pictures of his thoughts were ſet before my eyes by a third perſon: who, by the way, was himſelf perhaps the better enabled to conceive Horace ſo clearly and fully as he has done, by his not having taken his firſt impreſſions of that poet, in the manner we uſually do at ſchools.

MAY I be allowed to add here, what I have long ſuſpected; that the method of education, which is followed now, and has been followed for ſo many ages, in our ſchools, is chiefly founded on a miſtake? What I have to ſay on this head, may ſeem perhaps very conjectural to you; however I will give it you, ſuch as it is. The ſchool-education (3) among the Romans of old, aimed no farther than at two languages; and each of thoſe,

(3) By what I have remarked by chance here and there, in reading the Roman writers; in relation to the method of education, uſed in their ſchools: it appears,

1. That they applied themſelves to the learning two languages only; and both thoſe, languages in uſe at the time that they learnt them. Theſe, in the infancy of their ſtate, were their mother-tongue, and the Tuſcan; and, in the moſt flouriſhing ages of it, their mother-tongue, and the Greek.——Habeo autores vulgò tum (in the 444th year, after the founding of Rome,) Romanos pueros, ſicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruſcis literis erudiri ſolitos. Livy, Lib. 9. cap. 36.

Cicero commends a Conſular man, and Suetonius commends an Emperor, for underſtanding their own language, and that of their neighbours the Greeks.—D. Brutus, Marci filius, ut ex familiari ejus L. Actio ſum audire ſolitus; erat eum literis Latinis, tum etiam Græcis, (ut temporibus illis,) ſatis eruditus. Cicero. in Brut.——Peritiſſimus Latinæ Græcæque linguæ. Suetonius in Tit. cap. 3.

Theſe

thoſe, a living language. Their own; for converſation, for reading, and for ſpeaking in public: and Greek, that of their neareſt neighbours; and of neighbours too, who had been for ſome time in the chief poſſeſſion of the arts and ſciences. In teaching their own language, the Romans made uſe chiefly of their poets; and with very good reaſon: for the thing to be taught at firſt was the right pronunciation; and how could they fix the proper tones of the words, and the true quantities of their ſyllables, but from the works of their poets? When the Romans had advanced their conqueſts pretty far in our iſland; our anceſtors, (wiſer, perhaps, in this than we may be,) fell with a ſurprizing readineſs into the cuſtoms of the conquerors; ſtudied their language; and, probably, adopted their method of ſchool-education: for they had ſcarce before any common ſchools of their own. It might be right enough then to comply with the (4) politics of

Theſe were called, "The two languages," in the Auguſtan age; as we find by Ovid's advice, to his fine gentleman:

Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluiſſe per artes
Cura fit; & linguas edidiciſſe duas.
De Art. Am. Lib. 2. ℣. 122.

2. They were often taught to ſpeak Greek, before their own mother-tongue; and when they came to read, they were taught them both conjointly. Thus Quintilian ſays, in his firſt chapter; A ſermone Græco puerum incipere malo: quia Latinus, qui pluribus in uſu eſt, vel nobis nolentibus ſe perhibet; ſimul quia diſciplinis quoque Græcis priùs inſtituendus eſt, unde noſtræ fluxerunt. Non tamen hoc adeò ſuperſtitioſè velim fieri, ut diu tantum loquatur Græcè aut diſcat; ſicut pleriſque mos eſt.——Non longè itaque Latina ſubſequi debent; & citò, pariter ire. And afterwards, in that De lectione pueri. Optimè inſtitutum eſt, ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inceperit. Inſt. Orat. Lib. 1. Cap. 8.

3. They read the works of the poets only, to ſuch an age: for the ſame author ſpeaks only of poets, in his chapter De lectione pueri; and the proſe-writers are not mentioned by him till afterwards, in his chapter De lectione oratorum & hiſtoricorum, apud rhetorem: that is, in a higher period; under their rhetoric-maſter. Inſt. Orat. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

4. Their beginning with the poets was chiefly intended to teach them the right tones and meaſures of the words. Thus Horace, in reckoning up the uſefulneſs of the poets, inſtances firſt in this:

Os tenerum pueri balbumque poëta figurat.
Lib. 2. Epiſt. 1. ℣. 126.

And Plautus, in his humorous way:

Tum librum legeres: ſi unam peccaviſſes ſyllabam,
Fieret corium tam maculoſum quàm eſt nutricis pallium.
Bacchid. Act. 3. Sc. 3. ℣. 30.

The tones, or tuning of the words, had ſo much to do in what they learned under their firſt maſter; that Macrobius calls this firſt reading under him, Singing; Nunc quia cum Marone nobis negotium eſt, reſpondeas volo, utrum poetæ hujus opera inſtituendis tantum pueris idonea judices; an alia illis altiora ineſſe fatearis. Videris enim mihi ita adhuc Virgilianos habere verſus, qualiter eos pueri magiſtris prælegentibus canebamus. Saturnal. Lib. 1. Cap. 24.

5. The uſual method, in this ſort of teaching, was for the maſter to read a period in ſome choſen poet firſt; and the boy to repeat the ſame, immediately after him. This Horace calls, Dictare; (Lib. 2. Epiſt. 1. ℣. 71.) and Macrobius, prælegere: (ubi ſupra.)

I am apt to think that Martial originally uſed the ſame word, in ſpeaking of the ſame thing; (whatever liberties ſome editor, or other, may have taken with his works ſince;)

Verſus ſcribere me parum ſeveros,
Nec quos prælegat * in ſcholâ magiſter;
Corneli, quereris.———
Lib. 1. Ep. 120.

* The common reading is perlegat.

And poſſibly this is the very thing, that is meant by Juvenal's Crambe: for the maſter reading, and the boy repeating, till the latter could tune the period quite right; muſt ſometimes have been one of the moſt tireſome things, that can be imagined.

——Quæcunque ſedens modo legerat, hæc eadem ſtans
Proferet; atque eadem cantabit verſibus iiſdem:
Occidit miſeros crambe repetita magiſtros.
Sat. 7. ℣. 154.

(4) Julius Agricola, (who was made governor of Britain toward the end of Veſpaſian's reign,) was the firſt who found out the true way of conquering our forefathers. He ſaw that they were a rough, barbarous, valiant, and reſtleſs people. He found that they were always ready to rebel; and endeavouring, on every opportunity, to recover what they had loſt. He reſolved therefore to uſe them kindly; and to try whether he could not ſoften the roughneſs and ferocity of their tempers, by introducing the Roman language, cuſtoms, and arts, among us. All this we learn from his own ſon-in-law, Tacitus.——Animorum provinciæ prudens, ſimulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis ſi injuriæ ſequerentur; cauſas bellorum ſtatuit exſcindere. A ſe ſuiſque orſus, primùm domum ſuam coercuit:——nihil per libertos ſervoſque publicæ rei; non ſtudiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites aſcire, ſed optimum quemque fideliſſimum putare; omnia ſcire, non omnia exſequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis ſeveritatem commodare; nec pœnâ ſemper, ſed ſœpius pœnitentiâ contentus eſſe. (Tacitus, in vitâ Agric. p. 308. Ed. Plantin. 1589.) ——This was in the very firſt year of his government; and in ſpeaking of the ſecond, he ſays:——Sequens hiems ſaluberrimis conſiliis abſumta. Namque ut homines diſperſi ac rudes, eòque bello faciles, quieti & otio per voluptates aſſueſcerent; hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè, ut templa, fora, domus exſtruerent; laudando promtos, & caſtigando ſegnes: ita honoris æmulatio pro neceſſitate erat. Jam verò principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire; & ingenia Britannorum ſtudiis Gallorum anteferre: ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiſcerent. Ibid. p. 309.

It ſhould ſeem from a paſſage in Juvenal, that in forty years after this, (about the beginning of Adrian's reign,) the love for the Roman cuſtoms, and language,

of Agricola; and to be as ready to learn the cuſtoms of the Romans, as they were to teach them: and indeed whilſt the Roman dominion laſted here, the moſt prudent of the old Britons were probably the moſt earneſt ſtudents of their times. It was then politic to ſtudy Latin, and Greek: Latin, as neceſſary to enable them to converſe with their maſters; and Greek, as a language ſo much in vogue with the ſame. Without the former, at leaſt, they could not well make their court to the conquerors; nor get themſelves advanced to any poſt of credit in their own country. It was this, I imagine, which made the Roman method of education take ſo much among us: and the introducing, and following it for ſome time, was as prudent as it was neceſſary. But after the Romans found it not worth their while to maintain their conqueſts in this iſland, and at laſt quite deſerted it; the Britons of that age might be as wrong in continuing this method of education, as thoſe of the former were right in receiving it. However as it was then in poſſeſſion, and had been for three or four centuries, it ſeems to have been continued without conſidering that there were not the ſame reaſons for it; and ſo to have been handed on without any very conſiderable interruptions, quite down to our days. All this while, tho' the cuſtom has ſo much antiquity to plead for it, and has been preſerved with ſo much uniformity for ſo many ages, I know not whether we are obliged to our anceſtors for handing it down to us ſo regularly or not. Might not one very fairly aſk ſome difficult queſtions in relation to it? Would not it have been better for us when we are young, to be inſtructed thoroughly in our own language, than in any dead languages whatever? Is a miniſter now to preach, or a lawyer to plead, or a gentleman in parliament to ſpeak, in Latin? Yet in our ſchools we are to this day inſtructed to write themes, and to make orations, in the language of the Romans; with almoſt a total neglect of that, which I ſhould think is the moſt neceſſary for us, not only in converſation, but in almoſt all the buſineſſes of life. This it is that has made me often think, that the ſchool-education in uſe at preſent among us is founded on a blunder: ſuch a ſort of blunder, for inſtance, as that of the Roman catholics, in continuing the uſe of the Latin tongue, in all their public devotions; for ſo many ages, ſince that language has ceaſed to be generally underſtood among them. But granting that there was no ſuch miſtake in the preſent caſe; and ſuppoſing that the very wiſeſt aim for our ſchool education now, is that which is ſo generally in faſhion: I ſhould ſtill be apt to imagine, that we are very wrong in the methods moſt uſually taken to purſue the end which is propoſed. If the general deſign of our ſchools ſhould be that of teaching us to underſtand, what the Latin and Greek authors have ſaid in their writings; why then are we led ſo much into the ſhades, that the modern commentators have caſt around them?——Why are we ſo often obliged to fix hundreds of their lines in order, one after another, in our heads; and taught to repeat whole books of Homer and Virgil, by rote? ——Why are we plunged ſo much oftner in the works of the antient poets, than in thoſe of their hiſtorians?——And why is every boy, ſet to write things, that are called Latin verſes; and obliged to endeavour at becoming a poet, in a foreign tongue?——Why muſt we in ſome ſchools be taught to ſpeak, and in all be obliged to write, in languages that have been dead for ſo many centuries?——And why muſt all the youth at our beſt ſchools, (however different their genius's are, or whatever they are deſigned for in life,) be all inſtructed in the very ſame things; and, pretty near, in the very ſame track?

I Do not mean by this that the claſſics ſhould be wholly given up; but rather that our own language ſhould not be given up for them: and, indeed, that the ſtudy of them need

guage, had prevailed ſo much among us; that our lawyers began even to plead in Latin: as they did in French, after the Norman conqueſt. The paſſage which I mean in Juvenal, is of an humorous and hyperbolical turn; (as his often are:) but if it means any thing ſeriouſly at all, I think it muſt mean what I have mentioned. "The perfection of the Greek and Latin tongues, (ſays that poet,) are now ſtudied all over the world. The Britiſh lawyers have learnt it, from thoſe in Gaul: and, no doubt, in a little time we ſhall have Rhetoric-ſchools ſet up in the Terra Incognita."

Nunc totus Graias noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas;
Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos:
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.
Juv. Sat. 15. ℣. 112.

need not be ſo univerſal. They are, I ſhould think, one of the fineſt amuſements for a gentleman, that can be; and may become very uſeful to divines, philoſophers, hiſtorians, antiquarians, poets, ſculptors, and painters: but why ſhould all thoſe too be led into theſe ſtudies, who are meant for the more buſy offices of life; and who will probably have very little time, either for ſtudy, or amuſement? I believe any body would own it to be very abſurd, if every child that went to ſchool, was to be obliged to ſtudy navigation: and yet I will venture to ſay, that this would not be near ſo abſurd, (in ſeveral countries, and in our own in particular;) as the endeavouring to make every boy that comes to ſchool, a claſſic ſcholar and a Latin poet.

But to leave this long digreſſion: Whether our youth ought to be educated in the manner they generally are, or not; and whether we ſhould apply ſo much to the claſſics when young, or defer it till our judgments are better ſettled; whenever, or by whomſoever they are to be read, I moſt heartily wiſh (both for their credit, and our greater pleaſure,) that all perſons who write comments upon them, would ſtrictly obſerve the two rules mentioned to you juſt before this digreſſion: and that they would endeavour only to explain the doubtful or difficult words, from parallel paſſages in which their meaning is more determined; and to give a ſhort and clear account of any opinion, cuſtom, or thing, not commonly known at preſent. Under the latter it is, that antiques, if well applied, might be of very great ſervice: for the figures of the things themſelves ſpeak to the eyes; and are leſs equivocal, and more expreſſive, than the cleareſt language can poſſibly be. We have very great treaſures of all ſorts, for this purpoſe, ſtored up by Agoſtini, Santo Bartoli, Maffei, Grævius, and Montfaucon; not to mention a multitude of others: but they have hitherto been too much like great treaſures hid under-ground; or gold, yet in the mine. It is the applying them to their proper uſes, that is the thing neceſſary, (if I may be allowed ſuch an expreſſion,) to ſtamp them; and to make them more current among us.

As to the explaining of antiques in their turn from the claſſics; tho' we ſhould not find ſo great aſſiſtance in this caſe as in the former, (for our eyes, as Horace ſays, are much more faithful and true to us than our ears,) yet, it is the beſt, and almoſt only aſſiſtance we can have in this caſe: for how ſhould we at all underſtand the greater part of the remains of the antient artiſts, if it were not for what we are told by the antient authors? This would hold, very often, as to ſingle figures; but is much ſtronger as to groupes, and all hiſtorical or fabulous pieces; whether in paintings, in marble, or on gems. In that fine groupe, for inſtance, now in the Belvedere, (which has been called, "the nobleſt work of art, in the whole world;") we ſhould be ſtruck with the beauty of the deſign, and the expreſſion of pain in the father; of dread in one of the ſons, and of languiſhment in the other; but we ſhould not know that it was Laocoon, without the help of what Virgil (5), and one or two more of the Latin writers, have ſaid on that ſubject. This moſt noble work would then have been leſs intereſting, to every one almoſt that viewed it: and people would perhaps have been apt to have puzzled themſelves as much, in gueſſing at the ſtory of it; as to have delighted themſelves, with the excellence of the work. One might give a thouſand inſtances of the ſame nature; but the caſe is too clear, I think, to require any more. I cannot pretend to have made any great diſcoveries of this kind myſelf, in that part which makes the ſubject of my collection: but if you were to inſiſt on my giving you ſome inſtances, I ſhould chuſe to refer you to what I ſaid when we were conſidering the two nobleſt hiſtory-pieces in it; the relievo of Mars and Neriene (6), and that other of the Judgment of Paris and Jupiter's decree againſt Troy: in either of which if I have gueſſed at all aright, it muſt be wholly owing to what acquaintance I may have had with the claſſic writers. I have obſerved ſome other excellent

(5) Virgil, Æn. 2. ℣. 199, to 227.——Petronius Arb. p. 151. Ed. Lond.——and Pliny, Lib. 36. Cap. 5. p. 474. Ed. Elz. (6) See Dial. VII. Pl. 9. and Dial. XV. Pl. 34.

excellent relievo's at Rome, which are ſtill wholly in the dark; and which want ſome proper paſſage in the claſſics to be hit upon and applied to them, to determine what they mean. Such, in particular, is a noted ſubject which I have ſeen repeated at leaſt half a dozen times, on as many different (7) relievos there; and which ſeem to me to relate to ſome Bacchanals, who had probably done a great deal of miſchief, (as they often did in their mad fits;) and who are ſurprized in their ſleep, by the perſons they had injured; or perhaps, the relations of ſome unfortunate wretches, whom they had torn to pieces. Whatever it be, it certainly relates to ſome known ſtory of old; from its being repeated ſo often, and ſometimes by ſo very good hands: but either from the total ſilence of the antient authors, in relation to this ſtory; or from no body's having yet obſerved, what they may have ſaid in relation to it; it is now only one fine confuſion to the eye, or a puzzle for the poor antiquarians.

WHAT I have been ſaying to you hitherto, of the mutual uſe of the remains of the antient artiſts and the claſſic writers towards explaining one another, is meant in general; and on any ſubject you could name: whether relating to their religion; their hiſtory; their arts, or manners of living; in ſhort, to every thing known or practiſed among them: and ſo would iuclude all their authors too, indifferently, whether in proſe or verſe. My collection, you know, is not near ſo extenſive as this; for you ſee that I have confined it only to ſuch things as relate to the allegorical or imaginary beings, received among the Romans: a large ſubject indeed in itſelf; and, perhaps, a half of the whole. What I have ſaid in general will hold of that, as well as of the reſt; and I will now go on to enquire, what particular uſes might be made of this part; conſidered ſeparately, and by itſelf. Here Polymetis pauſed, for ſome time; and then proceeded in the following manner.

(7) One of them is publiſhed in the Admiranda; Pl. 52. from a relievo in the Juſtiniani palace; Bellori, in his note on it, ſpeaks of another, in the Barbarini-Palace, at Rome: and I have ſeen ſeveral others on the ſame ſubject; in the other palaces or villas about that city.

DIAL. XVIII.

The Uſe of this Enquiry, in particular: and of the Defects of the MODERN ARTISTS, in Allegorical Subjects.

THE allegories of the antients, where they are well ſettled and known, might I think be of very great ſervice to our artiſts, and poets, now; and are indeed abſolutely neceſſary to be ſtudied by all ſuch of our poets, as undertake to tranſlate the Roman poets into our language.

THE reaſon why I think the allegories of the antients might be ſerviceable to our modern artiſts and poets in general, is founded on the clearneſs and ſimplicity uſually to be met with in the former; and the confuſion and darkneſs that is but too common in the latter, in their allegorical or imaginary beings.

THE allegorical repreſentations of the antients generally expreſs what they mean directly, and eaſily; and often by a ſingle circumſtance. This character of them in general you muſt have obſerved, I believe, of yourſelves, in going thorough my collection of ſtatues here: but, if you pleaſe, you may try it in one (1) whole ſet of them; that of the moral beings: in which you would find, that each of them is generally diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt by ſome ſingle circumſtance, or other. Thus Prudence, (as you may remember,) is marked out by her rule, pointing to a globe at her feet; Juſtice, by her equal balance; Fortitude, by a ſword; and Temperance, by a bridle.—Devotion, is flinging incenſe on an altar; Honeſty, is in a tranſparent veſt: Modeſty, is veiled; and Clemency, is known by her olive branch.——Health, is diſtinguiſhed by her ſerpent; and Liberty, by her cap.—Tranquillity, ſtands firm againſt a column: Gayety, has the myrtle of Venus in her hand: and Joviality, the wreath of flowers, which they wore of old at feaſts.——Neceſſity, is diſtinguiſhed by her clavus trabalis; the Deſtinies, by their diſtafs; and Fortune, by her rudder. All theſe marks are ſettled, and obvious; and moſt of them point out the character of the perſon they belong to, in a more eaſy and ſtrong manner, than a multiplicity of marks for each could ever have done.

AS propriety and ſimplicity are the diſtinguiſhing character of the antient artiſts, in their allegorical figures; ſo multiplicity and impropriety may almoſt be looked upon as the diſtinguiſhing character of the modern. I ſhall give you ſome inſtances of this, that may perhaps ſurprize you: but the more abſurd, and the more ridiculous they are; the ſtronger will it appear of how much uſe it might be to our artiſts now, to ſtudy and follow the antients in this particular, more than they may have hitherto done.

ANY one that has been much uſed to ſee the works of the modern ſculptors, will I believe be very ready to acknowledge that in the allegorical figures of their own invention, we are frequently at a loſs to know what they mean. I could give you various inſtances of this, even from the gardens of Verſailles, and the collections in Rome itſelf; but I rather chuſe to refer you to a number of inſtances, that lay all together: in a book publiſhed by Cavalier Ripa, to direct our modern artiſts in ſubjects of this kind; and which, it ſeems, has been ſo generally regarded as a good model, that it has been tranſlated into no leſs than ſeven different languages.———You need not refer me to that, as a new thing to me, ſays Myſagetes; Ripa is my old acquaintance. I uſed to divert myſelf with the oddneſs of his figures, when I was a boy; and remember ſeveral of them ſtill.

(1) See Plates 21, 22, and 23.

ſtill. I know you have got his book here, in your ſtudy; and tho' you did not care perhaps to own it, I ſhall (with your leave) take it down from that ſhelf: if it were only out of pure malice, to puzzle Philander; in ſetting him to gueſs, what ſome of his figures mean. Here I have it: and (to go on regularly) will give Philander ten minutes, to name who this lady is toward the beginning of the book (2), with a flute in her hand, and a ſtag at her feet. By her flute, ſays Philander, I ſhould be apt to take it for a Muſe; but by the ſtag, it ſhould be a Diana. It is neither the one, nor the other, anſwered Myſagetes; and you are yet very wide of the perſon intended. This lady is a very gentle lady, called Flattery; and ſhe is repreſented with a flute and ſtag, becauſe, (as ſome authors ſay,) ſtags are naturally very great lovers of muſic; and will ſuffer themſelves to be (3) taken, if you will but play upon a flute to them.——I hope you will have better luck with the next. Who is this naked lady (4), whoſe body is encompaſſed all round with light, and whoſe head is hid in the clouds? Ay this, ſays Philander, is not ſo difficult as the former: for by the circumſtances you have juſt mentioned, and by the globe and compaſſes there in her right hand, the known emblems of Urania, you will at leaſt allow this to be that Muſe. I find, replied Myſagetes, that you would be for making a Muſe of every figure you ſee. No, Sir; this is Beauty: and her head is all involved in clouds, becauſe (5) there is nothing ſo difficult to be conceived by the human mind, as the true idea of beauty.—Once more: Who is this man (6), with a pair of bellows in one hand, and a ſpur in the other? I muſt give out, anſwered Philander, for I never had any happineſs in ſolving riddles; and theſe I think are rather more intricate, than any I ever yet tried at. Well, ſays Myſagetes, ſince you find them ſo knotty, I will trouble you with no more trials; but will tell you what each figure means, as I turn over the book. This man then is, Caprice; and he is marked out by his bellows and ſpur, as my author ſays, becauſe (7) the capricious are ſometimes very ready to blow up people's virtues; and at others, as ready to ſtrike at their vices.—This lady (8), with a heart in her hand, and a lighted candle ſtanding upon the heart, is the Holy Catholic Faith; becauſe faith enlightens the mind of man: and this woman with two different heads and faces (9), with two hearts in one hand, and a maſk in the other (10), (not to mention her ſcorpion's tail, and eagle-legs,) is Fraud.—This old man ſitting on a rainbow, is Judgment (11); becauſe Judgment is the reſult of much experience.—This fat figure, with a crab in his hand, is Corpulency (12); becauſe crabs grow fat at the increaſe of the moon: and this old woman with a crow on each ſide of her, is Irreſolution, or Procraſtination (13); becauſe that bird, (as our author very gravely obſerves,) always cries; Cras, Cras!————We are got now to a figure, that looks more like a landſcape than a ſingle figure. In the midſt, you ſee, ſtands a lady (14), with a church in her hand, and

(2) See Ripa's Iconologia, p. 6. Ed. Romæ, 1603.

(3) Scrivono alcuni; che il cervo di ſua natura allettato dal ſuono del flauto quaſi ſi dimentica di ſe ſteſſo, & ſi laſcia pigliare. In conformatione di cio è la preſente imagine. Ibid. p. 7.

(4) Ibid. p. 41.

(5) Si dipinge la Bellezza con la téſta aſcoſa fra le nuvole; perche non è coſa, della quale più difficilmente ſi poſſa parlare con mortal lingua, & che meno ſi poſſa conoſcere con l' intelletto humano, quanto la bellezza; la quale nelle coſe create non e altro che un ſplendore che deriva dalla luce della faccia di Dio. Ibid.

(6) Ibid. p. 49.

(7) Lo ſperone & il mantice moſtrano il capriccioſo pronto all' adulare l' altrui virtu, ò al pungere i vitii. Ib. p. 48.

(8) Ib. p. 151.

(9) Ib. p. 174.

(10) The fault for which this is mentioned, is the multiplying of attributes, thrice over, to tell the ſame thing. As to the tail and feet, one would think that they had been meant to ſignify, that ſhe was ſwift to do miſchief; but the author it ſeems intended ſomething elſe by them. La coda di ſcorpione & i piedi d'aquila, (ſays he,) ſignificano il veleno aſcoſo, che fomenta continouamente come ucello di preda, per rapire altrui, ò la robba, ò l' honore. Ib. 175.

(11) Ib. p. 185.——Ciaſcuno che ſale à gradi dell attioni humane, biſogna che da molte eſperienze apprenda il Giuditio; il quale quindi riſulti, come l' iride riſulta, &c. p. 186.

(12) Ib. p. 198.

(13) Ib. p. 234.

(14) Ib. p. 255.

a helmet on her head. Behind her is a country all full of rocks and mountains. On the mountain, to her right hand, are two boys holding a cornucopia; and on the mountain, to her left, is a bull under a rainbow. This is, indeed, a very complicated riddle; however I will tell you the whole meaning of it. The lady, in the midſt, is the province of Umbria, in Italy: ſhe is repreſented with ſo many mountains about her, becauſe mountains are apt to caſt a ſhade; and her name is Umbria. She has a helmet on her head, becauſe the inhabitants of that province were formerly great warriours; and holds a church in her hand, becauſe St. Bennet of Norcia, and St. Francis of Aſſiſi, were both born in this province. The two boys with the cornucopias, are the Gemini; (I ſuppoſe, to point out the two ſaints again, and the fertility of the country:) the bull is in memory of the famous bulls formerly, on the banks of the Clitumnus: and the rainbow is a ſignal of the waterfal at Velini; in which, I have myſelf happened to ſee a rainbow.——A little farther, you have (15) Liberty, with a cat, at her feet; becauſe a cat loves liberty: and Free-will (16), dreſſed like a Gothic king, with a ſcepter in his hand, and the letter Y, in the air over it.——Obligation, with two heads, and two arms on each ſide (17): becauſe a perſon that is much obliged, is forced to ſuſtain two perſonages; one to take care of himſelf, and the other to take care of his benefactor.——Perſuaſion (18), with a tongue on the top of her head: and Piety, with flames (19) burning on hers; which latter, by the way, ſeems to be a favourite thought with this author.—Then you have Poverty, with a great ſtone chained to one hand, and wings to the other (20); becauſe poverty keeps people down, that long to riſe. Sincerity, with her heart (21) in her hand; Terror (22), with the head of a lion: and Vigilance, with a crane, holding a ſtone (23); becauſe the crane, that ſtands guard whilſt the reſt are feeding, holds a ſtone to give notice of the approach of any enemies.——All theſe ſurely are inſtances of improper and unnatural allegories, in this work of the Cavalier Ripa: and I might be able perhaps, to give you ten times as many of the ſame kind, was I to conſult all the ſtrange figures he has given us in this work; and all the rules he has laid down for other figures, ſome of which would be full as ſtrange: but I have only touched on a part of the former; and theſe I have mentioned are certainly enough for Polymetis's purpoſe; and, probably, too much for any body's patience. Such is the model which has been given, from Rome itſelf, for our modern artiſts! and ſuch the work, which has been tranſlated into the languages of, at leaſt, ſeven different nations! among which, that of our own dear native country, has the honour of being one.

SINCE you would produce that book, (reſumed Polymetis;) in return, I ſhall beg leave to ſhew you another. It is a work of Otho Venius; and conſiſts of ſeveral allegorical pictures; taken from the works of Horace; and therefore called Horace's Emblems. Over againſt each plate, the author has affixed ſome account of the emblem contained in it, in five ſeveral languages; that it may be of the more general uſe. This Otho Venius, was (24) a celebrated painter; of the beſt ſchool, perhaps, that ever we had on this ſide the

(15) Ibid. p. 293.

(16) Ibid. p. 296.

(17) Ibid. p. 365.

(18) Ibid. p. 394, & 401.

(19) When virtues or vices are repreſented perſonally, and under human figures; it is very odd, one would think, to repreſent them under circumſtances diſſonant to the nature of human bodies.——Such is this of having fire burning on any part of the body; without its being conſumed, or at all affected by it.—Thus too Religion, in Ripa, (p. 430.) carries a flaming fire on the palm of her hand; the Longing after God, has the ſame on her breaſt; (ib. p. 102.) and Hereſy, has flames coming out of her mouth. (ib. 217.)

(20) Ib. p. 410.

(21) Ib. p. 456.

(22) Ib. p. 485.

(23) Ib. p. 502.

(24) Otto Venius vivoit du tems de Tempeſte. Il étoit de Leyde; & fort eſtimé dans les Pais-Bas: non ſeulement pour ſes ouvrages, mais pour le grand ſçavoir & pour les belles qualitez qui étoient en lui. Il peignoit pour le Duc de Parme; & depuis demeura entierement attaché au ſervice de l'Archiduc Albert. C'eſt de lui les Emblemes d'Horace que vous avez vûës gravées. Il y a dans l'Egliſe Cathedrale de Leyde un tableau, où il a repreſenté la Céne de notre Seigneur; qui eſt un ouvrage qu'on eſtime beaucoup. Il eût pour diſciple Paul Rubens. Felibien, Tom. III. p. 332. See p. 406. Ibid.

the Alps: and in the moſt flouriſhing times of that ſchool. He ſtudied at Antwerp: and was the famous Rubens's maſter. In ſpite of all this, you will find his patterns almoſt as full of faults as Ripa's; tho' his faults are of a very different kind: Ripa's allegorical fancies being defective, moſt commonly, as far-fetched and obſcure; whereas Venius's faults are generally owing to his following his author in too literal and frivolous a manner. Thus if Horace ſays, Miſce ſtultitiam conſiliis brevem, Venius takes brevis perſonally; and ſo repreſents Folly (25) as a little, ſhort child, of not above three or four years old.—In the emblem which anſwers Horace's, Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum Deſeruit pede pœna claudo; you have Puniſhment (26) with a wooden leg: and for, Pulvis & umbra ſumus, you have a dark burying-vault (27), with duſt ſprinkled about the floor; and a ſhadow, walking upright, between two ranges of urns.—For Virtus eſt vitium fugere, & ſapientia prima Stultitiâ caruiſſe; you ſee ſeven or eight Vices (28) purſuing Virtue; and Folly, juſt at the heels of Wiſdom. I queſtion too, whether he had not ſome meaning in placing Wiſdom firſt, in the whole piece; (ſapientia prima.)—Quantum ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ Celata virtus, has furniſhed Venius with a very quaint thought. To anſwer it exactly, he gives you (29) Virtue ſitting in a ſhade, under a little dark hovel; Sloth, lying on a bed, with a ſepulchral inſcription over it: and there is but a thin partition-wall between them both; becauſe, Paulum ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ Celata Virtus.—There is as much punctuality obſerved in the emblem for the following paſſage:

> Inter ſpem curamque timores inter & iras,
> Omnem crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum;
> Grata ſuper veniet quæ non ſperabitur hora.

For here (30) he gives you a man ſitting between Hope and Care, on one ſide of him; and Anger and Fear, on the other; for the firſt line: then there is a thread, reaching from heaven to the head of the man who is thus ſeated; and a hand coming out of the clouds with a pair of ſheers, as juſt ready to cut the thread in two; for the ſecond: and one of the Horæ, or Hours, flying down from heaven towards him; with a horn of plenty in her arms; for the third. I ſhall not inſiſt here on the great impropriety of flinging ſo many oppoſite things together into one piece; and ſo repreſenting a man as pleaſed, and vexed, and killed, and comforted, all at the ſame time: but ſhall go on to ſome more inſtances of the moſt general fault of this artiſt; his trivial and literal way of imitation. Thus, for, Dominum vehet (31), you have a poor man, crawling on all four; and a man, richly dreſſed, riding on his back.—For, Comperit invidiam ſupremo fine domari; a figure of Death (32), ſtamping on the breaſt of Envy——and for,

> Linquenda tellus, & domus, & placens
> Uxor; neque harum quas colis arborum
> Te, præter inviſas cupreſſus,
> Ulla brevem dominum ſequetur:

You ſee (33) Death, leading away a man from his wife and family; and carrying two cypreſs-trees along with them, upon his ſhoulders.

I Could give you many more inſtances of Venius's general fault, which is that of being too minute, and literal; but theſe I believe will be enough to ſatisfy you. If you aſk

(25) See Venius's Emblemata Horat. p. 66. Ed. Antverp. 1612.

(26) Ibid. p. 180.

(27) Ibid. p. 208.

(28) Ibid. p. 16.

(29) Ibid. p. 22.

(30) Ibid. p. 164.

(31) Ibid. p. 84.

(32) Ibid. p. 172.

(33) Ibid. p. 196.

aſk me how he has ſucceeded in his manner of allegorizing, as to the ſingle figures which are uſed by him to expreſs ſuch or ſuch a paſſion; my anſwer muſt be, that tho' he may not be ſo ridiculous as Ripa, yet he falls very far ſhort of the juſtneſs and propriety of the antients. To give you ſome inſtances of this: Pride is diſtinguiſhed in him, by having a peacock over her head.—Envy, holds her own heart up to her mouth; and is (34) eating part of it.—Poverty is diſtinguiſhed, by a (35) cabbage; becauſe ſhe lives upon herbs.—Labour carries an ox's head (36), on his back; and Fear has a hare (37) ſtanding upon his ſhoulders.—I could multiply inſtances of this kind too, upon you: but theſe few, I think, may be ſufficient to ſhew the puerility of this artiſt in ſome caſes; and his inexpreſſiveneſs, in others. In ſeveral of his imaginary beings, as Virtue, Wiſdom, Ingenuity, Piety, Love, Hope, (and perhaps ſome others,) he is much more ſenſible and exact: but that is generally owing to his borrowing thoſe figures, from the remains of the antient artiſts: and particularly, (as he (38) himſelf tells us,) from their ſtatues and medals.

RUBENS is one of the moſt famous of our modern painters, for allegorical figures; and perhaps dealt in them the more, from his having been bred up under Venius. The character of Rubens, as a Colouriſt, is indiſputable: and as to the parts in which he really excels, I admire him as much as any one. But all I have to conſider here is his manner of treating allegories: and in thoſe, I think, I may very ſafely ſay; that he might have ſucceeded better, had he been more conſtant, and more regular, in his imitations of the antients.

THERE is a large (39) work, (all deſigned by Rubens, and publiſhed by Gevartius,) which may ſerve to ſhew this celebrated painter's taſte in allegories, more fully than any thing I know of; as it conſiſts of a great variety of prints, moſt of which abound chiefly in imaginary figures. Among theſe there are ſeveral that are plain and eaſy; both from antiques, and of his own invention: but there are too many inſtances too, of his miſrepreſenting the allegorical perſonages of the antients; and of his inventing others, either in an improper or confuſed manner.—Such I ſhould take the mean ſtaring Apollo to be, in a chariot drawn by two horſes, in the frontiſpiece; the Diana dreſſed like Veſta (40), and the Veſta with the fulmen in her hand. Virtus (41), with the ſame attribute; and Providence (42), with one face before, and another behind.—Time, with an hour-glaſs on his head; and Hope, with her anchor on her ſhoulder.—Two Fames (43), each with two trumpets; one of them with a tigre in her lap; and the other, with an eagle at her feet.—Diſcord (44), tearing her own veil: and repreſented arm in arm with Rixa; and yet quarrelling with her all the while.——Antwerp (45), with a mural crown, mixed with fruits, on her head; and two hands, juſt above it, but detached from it.—Here a lady (46), with a ſhip ſailing along the palm of her hand; and there another (47), with the ſame phænomenon on her head.—His Winds (48), with their cheeks almoſt burſt: and that very ſtrange one, in particular; whoſe arms end in a ſort of finny wings, from

(34) Ibid. p. 16.

(35) Ibid. p. 134.

(36) Ibid. p. 166.

(37) Ibid. p. 156.

(38) Virtutes ac Vitia more veterum, ex numiſmatibus ac ſtatuis, non rarò expreſſi. Venius's Pref.

(39) It was occaſioned by the entry of Ferdinand, into Antwerp, in 1635; and is entitled, Pompa Introitûs; Honori Sereniſſimi Principis Ferdinandi Auſtriaci, Hiſpaniarum Infantis,—Belgarum & Burgundionum gubernatoris, a S. P. Q. Antverp. decreta & adornata.

(40) Pl. 14, & 21.

(41) Pl. 43.

(42) Pl. 43, & 32.

(43) Pl. 6.

(44) Pl. 30.

(45) Pl. 34, & 43.

(46) Pl. 35.

(47) Pl. between 31, & 32.

(48) Pl. 7.

from the elbow; and whoſe legs are of ſo ſtrange a figure, that it would puzzle one to find out any name for it. Some of theſe thoughts are improper enough; and others quite fanciful and ridiculous: but this indeed was a taſk, undertaken perhaps on a ſudden, by Rubens; and executed, probably, in haſte. Let us then, if you pleaſe, conſider one or two of his more ſtudied performances; and ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have been the moſt correctly imagined. I believe you would not be unwilling to allow me, that two of the moſt capital works Rubens ever did, are the ceiling, in the Banquetting-houſe at Whitehall; and the fine ſet of pictures, in the Luxemburg gallery, at Paris. In theſe we ſee the right ſide of Rubens's character, in its higheſt perfection; but we may diſcover the wrong ſide of it too: for if we were to judge only by them, one might ſafely ſay, that his character is colouring, and not allegorizing. As to the latter, there are, I think, ſeveral faults even in theſe moſt excellent works of that great maſter; and I ſhall take the liberty of pointing out ſome of them to you.

IN the farther ſquare of the fine ceiling, painted by Rubens at Whitehall, there are two ladies embracing each other; which from the compliments moſt uſually paid to James I. I ſhould take to be Peace and Righteouſneſs; tho' Righteouſneſs has no attribute to diſtinguiſh her, and Peace only a very general one.—In the hither ſquare, two of the three imaginary ladies that are holding two crowns tied together, over the young prince's head, are in the ſame manner without any attribute to ſhew who they are: tho' they are ſaid to have been meant for the Genius's of England, and Scotland; and if ſo, might have been marked out eaſily enough.——In the middle great oval, (or the Apotheoſis,) there are two Virtues with attributes, but improper ones: for, I fancy, you will hardly approve of Piety's holding up ſuch a large altar, (with ſuch a fire lighted on it too,) ſo near her breaſt: or of Juſtice's graſping a bundle of flames and her ſcales together, in the ſame hand.——The ſide-ornaments conſiſt of two long pannels; and four ovals, one at each corner. I cannot well gueſs why the Cupids, in one of theſe pannels, are to conduct a triumphal ſort of car, drawn by wild lions; and much leſs, why the triumphal car in the other, is drawn by a ram and a bear.——As to the figures in the corner ovals, they are meant, I ſuppoſe, for the four Cardinal Virtues: tho' I never ſaw them repreſented in ſuch a manner elſewhere. Indeed this ſeems to me to be much the moſt faulty part of the whole work. For, in the firſt place, I imagine that theſe moral beings ought rather to appear for themſelves, than be repreſented by any deputies whatever. In the next place, I think, the manner of expreſſing them ought, at leaſt to be uniform; that they ſhould appear either all in perſon, or be repreſented all by proxy: whereas here Temperance only appears in her proper perſon, and the other three are figured out under different deities. In the third place, the deities ſubſtituted in the place of theſe three Virtues, do not ſeem to me to be quite well choſen. You have Apollo, for Prudence; Hercules, for Fortitude; and Minerva, for Juſtice. The introducing Hercules inſtead of Fortitude is perfectly eaſy and obvious: but the caſe is not altogether ſo clear, as to the Apollo; and not at all, as to the Minerva. In the fourth place, I ſhould be apt to quarrel greatly with their attitudes; and their being repreſented each as oppreſſing ſome body, or another. Thus Apollo is ſitting on Avarice; Temperance, has Rapaciouſneſs, (as I ſhould gueſs by the wolf's head appearing juſt by,) for her foot-ſtool; Hercules is kneeling on a ſnaky-headed lady, perhaps Envy; and Minerva is neither ſtanding, ſitting, nor kneeling, on a naked perſon whoſe name I cannot ſo much as gueſs at.——I ſhall only add, that this is the firſt time that ever I ſaw Apollo with a horn of plenty in his hand: and that I do not know any particular reaſon why it ſhould be given him here. If this work be ſo faulty in the allegorical part of it, as I imagine it to be, I am the more ſorry for it; becauſe it is certainly one of the fineſt paintings, as to the beauties of the colouring, the happineſs of the pencil, and the judicious management of the lights and ſhades, in the whole world: and deſerves to be much better known, and much more regarded among us, than it has generally been. Were it in Italy, inſtead of England, I doubt not but ſeveral of our travellers would willingly have

gone

gone a hundred miles out of their way, on purpoſe to ſee it: who, perhaps, have now never ſeen it at all; becauſe it is juſt at their own doors.

In the fine ſet of pictures, by Rubens, in the Luxemburg gallery, you will meet with various faults too, in relation to the allegories. I ſhall juſt point out ſome of them to you; becauſe you may have been taken up ſo much with the beauty of thoſe paintings, that you may not have had any attention to ſpare for their defects. Theſe, I think, are of three ſorts. Firſt, where the painter borrows any allegorical figures long ſince invented by the antients, and ſome way or another miſrepreſents them: the ſecond, where they are wholly of his own invention, but are either too fanciful, or elſe ill expreſſed: and the third, where either the one or the other are introduced in an improper manner, or an improper place.

For inſtances of the firſt ſort I ſhall only name to you, the three (49) Deſtinies in the firſt hiſtory-piece, who are all young, plump ladies; the Juno Lucina (50), almoſt wholly naked: and the Mercury (51), with a great beard.

Of the ſecond ſort, is that idea of Juno and Cupid, placing each a couple of doves on a globe (52); to ſhew the mildneſs of the government of the Queen-mother: and Time bringing up Truth in his arms (53), to reconcile the queen and her ſon. Theſe, I think, are too fanciful: and as to ſuch as are ill expreſſed, I ſhould inſtance in his Envy, Ignorance, and Defamation (54); in one piece: and his Fidelity, Juſtice, Piety, and Fortitude (55); in another. The former of theſe have ſcarce any attributes to diſtinguiſh them from one another; and the latter are diſtinguiſhed in a manner almoſt as coarſe, as if their names had been written under them. They are, as you may remember, thoſe four plump ladies, who are rowing the Queen-mother, and the young King, in a ſtate-barge: with a ſort of badges, affixed by the ſide of each of them; to tell us who they are.

Under the third head, (or that of improprieties,) we may reckon the Victory lamenting the death of Henry the Fourth (56), with a trophy exalted; Fame wringing her hands (57), and holding a palm-branch; (who, by the way too, is much more like ſome diſtreſſed popiſh ſaint, than the goddeſs ſhe is meant to repreſent:) the two Fames each (58) with two trumpets; Bacchus careſſing (59) Ceres, a little too familiarly for a council of the gods; the Queen-mother, in council, with two cardinals (60) and Mercury; and the Hymen on one ſide of Mary of Medici (61), and Cardinal Aldobrandini on the other, officiating in (what they call) a ſacramental rite, before the high altar in the great church at Florence: on which he has repreſented, at the ſame time, the two moſt ſacred figures than can be imagined. Had the publiſhers of this celebrated work of Rubens, given a due attention to theſe, and ſome other, particulars; I imagine, they would ſcarce have choſen out his talent for allegory, as the higheſt (62) point of merit in that excellent painter.

If

(49) See Monſ. Nattier's Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg; la Deſtinie de la Reine, N°. 1.

(50) La Naiſſance de la Reine. Ib. N°. 2.

(51) L'Education de la Reine. Ib. N°. 3.

(52) Le Gouvernement de la Reine. Ib. N°. 12.

(53) Le tems decouvre la Verité. Ib. N°. 21.

(54) La Felicité de la Regence de la Reine. Ib. N°. 15.

(55) La Majorité du Roy Louis XIII. Ib. N°. 16.

(56) L'Apotheoſe de Henry IV. Ib. N°. 11.

(57) Ibid.

(58) La Felicité de la Regence de la Reine. Ib. N°. 15.

(59) Le Gouvernement de la Reine. Ib. N°. 12.

(60) La Reine prend la partie de la Paix. Ib. N°. 18.

(61) Le Mariage de la Reine. Ib. N°. 5.

(62) Il n'y a nulle des ecoles de peinture ou Rubens ne ſoit en admiration, pour la verité de la couleur; la belle & riche compoſition; pour cette partie qu'on nomme Clair-obſcur; la fecondité du genie; le beau feu; les graces naïves: &, ſur tout, pour l'eſprit & la juſteſſe des allegories. Avertiſſ. Ibid.

IF you ſhould ſay that it is not fair in me, thus to produce a Flemiſh painter (tho' ever ſo famous an one) as an inſtance to ſhew how faulty the modern painters are in their allegories; I beg leave to put you in mind of what I happened to ſay to you the other day (63) of the inferiority of Dominiquin, (one of the moſt exact maſters, in the beſt of all the ſchools in Italy,) when compared with the antients; in expreſſing that great ſubject, the four Cardinal Virtues: and I believe I may venture to aſſure you, that what I then ſaid of Dominiquin, may be ſaid of all the Italian painters, as well as of the Flemiſh.

OF all the Italian painters, Dominiquin may perhaps be reckoned the next to Raphael, for juſtneſs and correctneſs; and even Raphael himſelf, the divine Raphael, is not without his faults in the allegorical part of his paintings. Indeed he uſes allegories very ſparingly: partly perhaps, from his being ſenſible of the defectiveneſs of modern painting, in that branch. In ſome of Rubens's pieces laſt mentioned, you have more of fiction than reality. Raphael is far from being ſo profuſe. He introduces his allegorical or ſupernatural perſonages, with the greateſt moderation; and generally, not without ſome foundation in hiſtory: I mean, at leaſt that romance ſort of hiſtory, which is received and read ſo much in all popiſh countries. This might be proved from his works in general; and particularly from thoſe fine ones in the apartments of the Vatican, which from them commonly go by the name of Raphael's chambers: where you have ſcarce any thing of this kind, in the hiſtorical pieces; except the little angels holding up a croſs in the air, while Conſtantine harangues his ſoldiers; the larger angels, flying over his army and protecting them, in the battle; the two miniſters of vengeance, driving the wicked Heliodorus out of the temple; and St. Peter and St. Paul, appearing in the air againſt Attila. Theſe are all plain and juſt, and moſt of them hiſtorical: and Raphael can no more be blamed for introducing them, than an antient painter would be for having introduced Caſtor and Pollux as aſſiſting the Roman army againſt their enemies. Yet even Raphael ſometimes falls ſhort of the antient ſimplicity and propriety, in treating allegorical ſubjects; and in theſe very apartments you have the four Cardinal Virtues expreſſed not quite ſo neatly and clearly by him, as they were commonly of old. Among my figures (64), as you may remember, each of theſe Virtues are marked out by ſome ſingle attribute; Prudence, by her rule pointing to the globe at her feet, Juſtice by her ſcales, Fortitude by her ſword, and Temperance by her bit or bridle. Raphael's way of expreſſing ſome of theſe is more complex. He paints Temperance, with a bit; Juſtice, with a ſword and ſcales: Fortitude ſitting, (which I ſhould imagine to be wrong,) and reſting her hand on the head of a lion: and Prudence, with a woman's face before, and a man's face behind; a little Cupid holding up a looking-glaſs to her, and her fore-face reflected in it; the Gorgon's head on her breaſt, and another Cupid ſtanding by her with a flaming lamp. As this laſt errs againſt ſimplicity, there is another piece in the ſame apartments, that errs againſt propriety; and that is the famous Parnaſſus: in which you ſee Apollo, playing on a modern fiddle: but one Muſe only with a lyre; and that not like any of the antient lyres: the Muſes, in general, not well diſtinguiſhed; and the two theatrical ones, in particular, not to be diſtinguiſhed at all: they having both the ſame ſort of maſk; and that of a modern make, and unlike the antient maſks or perſona's.

IF you were to take the trouble of comparing prints of all the works of any modern painter you pleaſe, with the figures and drawings in my collection here; I doubt not but that upon the whole you would find the manner of the modern to be neither ſo ſimple, nor ſo well fitted to expreſs the beings they would repreſent, as the antient manner was: for if Raphael himſelf ſhould be found deficient, whom elſe can we think of comparing with them? When therefore I commend the antient artiſts ſo highly and ſo often, it is

(63) See Dial. X. p. 144. (64) See Pl. XXI.

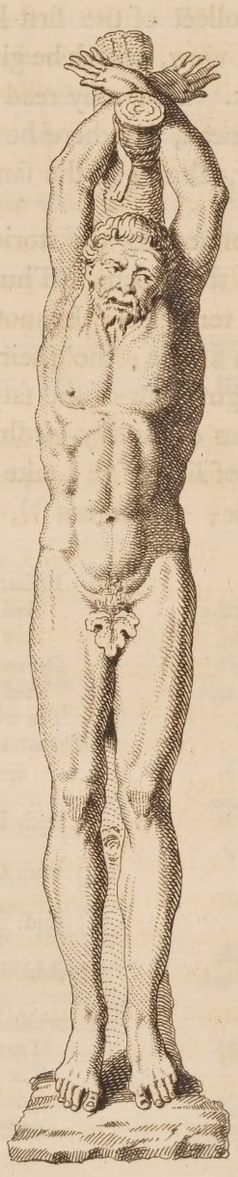
is not becauſe they are antients; but becauſe they are better, than the moderns. Nay, I do not even think that this abſolutely proves a ſuperiority of genius in the antients, (for men may perhaps be of near the ſame capacity in all ages,) but only a ſuperiority of practice. They of old purſued the arts with more conſtancy, and more encouragements, than we have happened to do, in theſe latter ages of the world. The great age of ſtatuary and painting began a conſiderable time before the reign of Alexander the Great; and was continued on, ſucceſſively in Greece, and Italy, (without any great interruptions,) down to the times of the Antonines (65); and ſomewhat lower. Many of the greateſt princes, during this period, gave the higheſt encouragements to the artiſts; and the practice of idolatry, which reigned for all that time all over Europe, made their employ a very conſtant and a very gainful one. This was a long period for gradual improvement, (and all great improvements muſt be gradual;) with a much greater call, for their works: and vaſt rewards ſometimes, for the beſt of them. The caſe has been very different in the modern ſtate of Europe. The fall of the Roman Empire ſhattered every kingdom in it into pieces, if I may be allowed ſuch an expreſſion; or, in other words, it occaſioned a number of petty principalities to ariſe; which have been ſtruggling with one another almoſt ever ſince: and in many kingdoms are not yet re-united into one great body. Such was the Heptarchy in England; and ſomething like it, in moſt of the kingdoms of Europe. In Italy, itſelf, the effect of this great ſhock continues viſible to this day: and it may be many ages yet, before they become one kingdom again. Under this inconvenience of power ſplit into ſo many hands, we have ſcarce as yet had any ſettled age for the arts. They have only roſe up a little by ſtarts, in compariſon of the great period above mentioned; and then ſunk down again: witneſs that great age for them in Italy, under Leo the Tenth; and that other in France, under Lewis the Fourteenth: which were very promiſing indeed, but not very laſting. And in both theſe great ages of the arts, it is very obſervable by the way, that the greateſt improvements that were made, were made by perſons who imitated the remains of the antient artiſts the moſt ſtrictly. Thus Raphael and Michael Angelo, for example, advanced ſtatuary and painting more by this means, in twenty years; than all the artiſts in Italy together, had done in the compaſs of two hundred years before them: and Pouſſin and Gerardon, who ſtudied antiques the moſt of any of the French artiſts, have more merit than almoſt all the reſt put together.——The great conſequence of all this, ſays Myſagetes, is too clear to be miſſed by us; it is plainly this; that if we would have an artiſt excel the reſt of his brethren, in theſe our days, we ought to ſend him directly to your collection. You are very right, ſays Polymetis: and it would not be at all amiſs, if you would ſend our poets thither too: I mean only, to form their ideas as to the imaginary or allegorical perſonages, which they may have occaſion to introduce in their poems. Indeed allegory is on a worſe footing with our poets, than it is with our artiſts. For, to ſay the truth, our poets ſeem as yet to have formed no ſettled ſcheme at all, for their allegories: and therefore either take up with the broken ideas that occur to their minds from what they have read in the antients: or elſe form ſome irregular phantoms of their own; juſt as chance, or fancy, leads them. Hence is that jumble of chriſtianity and heatheniſm; which makes us ſometimes meet with a pagan deity in one line, and an angel in the next. The poet generally ſits down wholly undetermined, whether Furies, or Devils, are to be the executioners he will make uſe of: and brings in either the one or the other, juſt as the humour takes; or, as the verſe demands. If two ſyllables are wanting, it is Satan; but if four, you are ſure of meeting with Tiſiphone.

IT is not my buſineſs to determine, whether it would be wiſer in our poets to follow the allegories of the antients intirely; or to invent an intire new ſyſtem of their own: all

(65) Commodus, the laſt of the Antonines, died in the year 193. The arts were greatly declined, but not wholly gone then. The abſolute fall of them may be better fixed, as it is by many, to the time of the thirty tyrants, (or pretenders to the crown,) under the reign of Gallienus: which began in the year 260.

I would aſſert is, that where they do chuſe to follow them, they ſhould follow them regularly; which they are very far from having done.

To ſhew how irregular and defective our modern poets have been in their allegories, give me leave to make a ſort of examen into the moſt celebrated work of a very great man: whoſe genius I reſpect; and who gives every body pleaſure that reads him. I mean, our own Spenſer: the beſt allegoriſt, as I take it, among all our modern poets; and it is therefore that I chuſe particularly to inſtance from him, rather than any other: for if the beſt is faulty, you know what we are to conclude of the worſt. I have read his Fairy Queen over lately, with this very view; and you will pardon me, if the obſervations which I ſhall make on that work with pain, ſhould take up more of your time than you may care for.



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DIAL. XIX.

The Defects of our Modern Poets, in their Allegories: inſtanced from SPENSER's Fairy Queen.

THE faults of Spenſer in relation to his machinery or allegories, (continued Polymetis,) ſeem to me, to be all reducible to three general heads. They ariſe either from that poet's mixing the fables of heatheniſm, with the truths of chriſtianity;——or from his miſrepreſenting the allegories of the antients:——or from ſomething that is wrong in the allegories of his own invention. As to the two former, I ſhall not have much to ſay; but ſhall beg leave to be a little more diffuſe, as to the third.

THE ſtrongeſt inſtance I can recollect of the firſt kind, his mixing chriſtianity and heatheniſm together, is in that ſhort view, which he gives of the infernal regions; in the ſeventh Canto, of the ſecond book. You may read the paſſage here, in his Fairy Queen (1). The particular part I mean, is where he ſpeaks of Jupiter and Tantalus, and of Pontius Pilate and our Saviour, almoſt in the ſame breath.

THE inſtances of Spenſer's miſrepreſenting the ſtories, and allegorical perſonages, of the antients, are not uncommon in this poem. Thus, in a former view of hell, he ſpeaks of Eſculapius (2), as in eternal torments. In another place, he introduces a company of ſatyrs, to ſave a lady (3) from a rape; tho' their diſtinguiſhing character was luſt: and makes Sylvanus (4), the god or governor of the ſatyrs, a dignity which the antients never ſpeak of for him; no more than of the ivy-girdle (5), which he gives him, round his waiſt. It is with the ſame ſort of liberty as I take it that he deſcribes the day, or morning (6), as having purple hair; the Sirens (7), as half-fiſh; and Bacchus, as fat:

(1) The knight him ſeeing labour ſo in vain,
Aſk'd who he was and what he meant thereby;
Who groaning deep, thus anſwer'd him again,
Moſt curſed of all creatures under ſky
Lo, Tantalus I here tormented lie!
Of whom high Jove wont whilom feaſted be,
Lo here I now for want of food do die:
But if that thou be ſuch as I thee ſee,
Of grace I pray thee, give to eat and drink to me.

Nay, nay, thou greedy Tantalus, (quoth he,)
Abide the fortune of thy preſent fate;
And unto all that live in high degree
Enſample be of mind intemperate;
To teach them how to uſe their preſent ſtate.
Then 'gan the curſed wretch aloud to cry,
Accuſing higheſt Jove and Gods ingrate;
And eke blaſpheming heaven bitterly,
As author of injuſtice there to let him die.

He look'd a little further, and eſpy'd
Another wretch; whoſe carcaſs deep was drent
Within the river which the ſame did hide:
But both his hands, moſt filthy feculent
Above the water were on high extent,
And fain'd to waſh themſelves inceſſantly:
Yet nothing cleaner were for ſuch intent;
But rather fouler ſeemed to the eye:
So loſt his labour vain, and idle induſtry.

The knight him calling, aſked who he was;
Who lifting up his head, him anſwer'd thus.
I Pilate am, the falſeſt judge alas
And moſt unjuſt! that by unrighteous
And wicked doom to Jews deſpiteous
Deliver'd up the Lord of life to die;
And did acquit a murdrer felonous:
The whiles my hands I waſh'd in purity,
The whiles my ſoul was foil'd with foul iniquity.
Spenſer's Fairy Queen, Book 2. Cant. 7. St. 62.

(2) Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 5. St. 40, to 43.

(3) Ibid. Cant. 6. St. 6, to 19.

(4) Ibid. St. 15. ℣. 4.

(5) Ibid. St. 14. ℣. 9.

(6) He all his armours ready dight that day,
That nought the morrow next mote ſtay his fare:
The morrow next appear'd with purple hair,
Yet dropping freſh out of the Indian fount;
And bringing light into the heavens fair.
Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 10. St. 16.

(7) They were fair ladies till they fondly ſtriv'd
With the Heliconian maids for maiſtery:
Of whom they overcomen, were depriv'd
Of their proud beauty; and th' one moiety
Transform'd to fiſh, for their bold ſurquedry.
Ibid. Book 2. Cant. 12. St. 31.

The figures of Sirens are not uncommon in antiques; and are never repreſented there with a fiſh-tail,

fat (8): that he ſpeaks of Clio, as Apollo's (9) wife; and of Cupid, as brother (10) of the Graces: and that he repreſents Orion, in one place, as flying from a ſnake (11), in the heavens; and, in another, as a water-god, and one of the attendants of Neptune. The latter is in Spenſer's account of the marriage of the Thames and Medway; in which he has greatly increaſed Neptune's court; and added (12) ſeveral deities as attendants to that god; which were never regarded as ſuch by any of the antients.

THIS may be ſufficient to ſhew, that where Spenſer does introduce the allegories of the antient poets, he does not always follow them ſo exactly as he might; and in the allegories which are purely of his own invention, (tho' his invention is one of the richeſt and moſt beautiful that perhaps ever was,) I am ſorry to ſay, that he does not only fall very ſhort of that ſimplicity and propriety which is ſo remarkable in the works of the antients; but runs now and then into thoughts, that are quite unworthy ſo great a genius. I ſhall mark out ſome of theſe faults to you, that appear even through all his beauties; and which may, perhaps, look quite groſs to you, when they are thus taken from them, and laid together by themſelves: but if they ſhould prejudice you at all againſt ſo fine a writer; read almoſt any one of his entire Canto's, and it will reconcile you to him again. The reaſon of my producing theſe inſtances to you, is only to ſhew what faults the greateſt allegoriſt may commit; whilſt the manner of allegorizing is left upon ſo unfixed and irregular a footing as it was in his time, and is ſtill among us.

THE firſt ſort of fault I ſhall mention to you, from ſuch allegories of Spenſer as are purely of his own invention, is their being ſometimes too complicated, or over-done. Such for example are his repreſentations of Scandal, Diſcord, and Pride.

SCANDAL, is what Spenſer calls, the Blatant Beaſt: and indeed he has made a very ſtrange beaſt of him. He ſays, that his mouth was as wide (13) as a peck: and

tail, that I know of: but with the upper part, human, and the lower, like birds. (See Gorlæus's gems, 2. 482.—Agoſtini's Medals, 156. 3.—Smid's Martial, p. 106, &c.) The poets deſcribe them in the ſame manner; and particularly Ovid, in his account of their transformation.

——Vobis, Acheloïdes, unde
Pluma pedeſque avium, cum virginis ora geratis?
Met. 5. ỳ. 553.

The moderns, by ſome miſtake or other, have turned their lower parts into fiſh; and ſo made of them the very ſame ſort of monſter, which Horace ſpeaks of, in the beginning of his Art of Poetry.

(8) ——Fruitful Ceres, and Lyæus fat.
Spenſer's Fairy Queen, Book 3. Cant. 1. St. 51.

This is another miſrepreſentaion, very common among the modern artiſts; and from them, I ſuppoſe has ſtole into the works of our poets. It is not only to be proved from our ſign-poſts: for ſome tolerable ſtatuaries, and ſome very good painters, even in Italy, have given into it.

(9) Now, O thou ſacred Muſe, moſt learned dame;
Fair imp of Phœbus, and his aged bride.
Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 11. St. 5.

(10) With his fair mother he him dights to play;
And with his goodly ſiſters, Graces three.
Ib. Book 2. Cant. 8. St. 6.

(11) Night was far ſpent; and now in Ocean deep,
Orion flying faſt from hiſſing ſnake,
His flaming head did haſten for to ſteep.
Ibid. Cant. 2. St. 46.

(12) Phorcys, the father of that fatal brood
By whom thoſe old heroës won ſuch fame;
And Glaucus, that wiſe ſoothſays underſtood;
And tragic Ino's ſon, the which became
A god of ſeas thro' his mad mother's blame;
Now hight Palæmon, and is ſailor's friend:
Great Brontes; and Aſtræus, that did ſhame
Himſelf with inceſt of his kin unkind;
And huge Orion, that doth tempeſts ſtill portend.

The rich Cteatus, and Eurytus long;
Neleus and Pelias, lovely brethren both;
Mighty Chryſaor, and Caïcus ſtrong;
Eurypulus, that calms the waters wrath;
And fair Euphæmus, that upon them go'th
As on the ground, without diſmay or dread;
Fierce Eryx; and Alebius, that know'th
The waters' depth, and doth their bottom tread;
And ſad Aſopus, comely with his hoary head.

There alſo ſome moſt famous founders were
Of puiſſant nations, which the world poſſesd;
Yet ſons of Neptune, now aſſembled here.
Auncient Ogyges, even th' auncienteſt;
And Inachus, renownd above the reſt:
Phœnix, and Aon, and Pelaſgus old;
Great Belus, Phæax, and Agenor beſt:
And mighty Albion; father of the bold
And warlike people, which the Britain-Iſlands hold.
Ibid. Book 4. Cant. 11. St. 15.

(13) A full good peck, within the utmoſt brim.
Ibid. Book 6. Cant. 12. St. 26.

and that he had a thouſand tongues in it; of dogs, cats, bears, tygers, men, and ſerpents (14).

THERE is a duplicity in his figure of Diſcord, which is carried on ſo far as to be quite prepoſterous. He makes her hear double, and look two different ways; he ſplits her tongue, and even her heart, in two: and makes her act contrarily with her two hands; and walk forward with one foot, and backward with the other, at the ſame time (15).

THERE is a great deal of Apparatus in Spenſer's manner of introducing Pride, in a perſonal character: and ſhe has ſo many different things and attributes about her; that was this ſhew to be repreſented, (in the manner of our old pageants,) they would rather ſet one a gueſſing what they meant themſelves, than ſerve to point out who the principal figure ſhould be. She makes her appearance (16), exalted in a high chariot, drawn by ſix different creatures: every one of them carrying a Vice, as a poſtilion, on his back; and all drove on by Satan, as charioteer. The ſix Vices are Idleneſs, on an aſs; Gluttony, on a hog; Lechery, on a goat; Avarice, on a camel laden with gold; Envy, eating a toad, and riding on a wolf; and Wrath, with a firebrand in his hand, on a lion. The account of each of theſe particular Vices in Spenſer, is admirable: the chief fault I find with it is, that it is too complex a way of characterizing Pride in general; and may poſſibly be as improper in ſome few reſpects, as it is redundant in others.

THERE is another particular in ſome of Spenſer's allegories which I cannot but look upon as faulty, tho' it is not near ſo great a fault as the former. What I mean is his affixing ſuch filthy ideas to ſome of his perſonages, or characters, that it half turns one's ſtomach to read his account of them. Such, for example, is the deſcription of Error (17), in the very firſt Canto of the poem; of which we may very well ſay, in the poet's own words, on a like occaſion:

Such loathly matter, were ſmall luſt to ſpeak, or think (18)!

THE third fault in the allegories of Spenſer's own invention is, that they are ſometimes ſtretched to ſuch a degree, that they appear rather extravagant than great: and that he is ſometimes ſo minute, in pointing out every particular of its vaſtneſs to you; that the object is in danger of becoming ridiculous, inſtead of being admirable. This is not common in Spenſer: the ſtrongeſt inſtance of the few I can remember, is in his deſcription of the dragon, killed by the knight of the red-croſs, in the laſt Canto of his firſt book. The tail of this dragon, he tells you, wanted but very little of being (19) three furlongs in

(14) Therein were a thouſand tongues empight;
Of ſundry kinds, and ſundry quality.
Some were of dogs, that barked day and night;
And ſome of cats, that wrawling ſtill did cry;
And ſome of bears, that groyn'd continually;
And ſome of tygers, that did ſeem to gren,
And ſnar at all that ever paſſed by:
But moſt of them were tongues of mortal men;
Which ſpake reproachfully, not caring where nor when.

And them amongſt, were mingled here and there
The tongues of ſerpents with three-forked ſtings;
That ſpat out poiſon, and gore-bloody gere,
At all that came within his ravenings.
Fairy Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 28.

(15) Her face moſt foul and filthy was to ſee;
With ſquinted eyes, contrary ways intended:
And loathly mouth, unmeet a mouth to be,
That nought but gall and venom comprehended;
And wicked words, that God and man offended.
Her lying tongue was in two parts divided;
And both the parts did ſpeak, and both contended:
And as her tongue, ſo was her heart diſcided;
That never thought one thing, but doubly ſtill was guided.
Als as ſhe double ſpake, ſo heard ſhe double;
With matchleſs ears, deformed and diſtort:
Fild with falſe rumors, and ſeditious trouble,
Bred in aſſemblies of the vulgar ſort;
That ſtill are led with every light report.
And as her ears, ſo eke her feet were odd;
And much unlike: th' one long, the other ſhort;
And both, miſplac'd: that when th' one forward yode,
The other back retired and contrary trod.

Likewiſe unequal were her handes twain:
That one did reach, the other puſh'd away;
That one did make, the other marrd again.
Ibid. Book 4. Cant. 1. St. 29.

(16) Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 4. St. 18, to 36.

(17) Ibid. Cant. 1. St. 20.

(18) Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 11. St. 31.

(19) His huge long tail, wound up in hundred folds,
Does overſpread his long braſs-ſcaly back.
Whoſe wreathed boughts whenever he unfolds
And thick entangled knots adown does ſlack,
Beſpotted

in length ;——the blood, that guſhes from his wound, is (20) enough to drive a water-mill ;——and his roar, is like that of a hundred (21) hungry lions.

THE fourth claſs of faults in Spenſer's allegories, conſiſts of ſuch as ariſe from their not being well invented. You will eaſily, I believe, allow me here, the three following poſtulata. That in introducing allegories, one ſhould conſider whether the thing is fit to be repreſented as a perſon, or not.——Secondly; that if you chuſe to repreſent it as a human perſonage, it ſhould not be repreſented with any thing inconſiſtent with the human form or nature.——And thirdly, that when it is repreſented as a man, you ſhould not make it perform any action, which no man in his ſenſes would do.

SPENSER ſeems to have erred againſt the firſt of theſe maxims, in thoſe lines in his deſcription of the cave of Care.

——They for nought would from their work refrain,
Nor let his ſpeeches come unto their ear;
And eke the breathful bellows blew amain
Like to the northern wind, that none could hear:
Thoſe, Penſiveneſs did move; and Sighs, the bellows were (22).

WAS a poet to ſay that ſighs are "the bellows, that blow up the fire of love," that would be only a metaphor: a poor one indeed; but not at all improper: but here they are realized, or rather metamorphized into bellows; which I could never perſuade myſelf to think any way proper. Spenſer is perhaps guilty of the ſame ſort of fault, in making Gifts, or Munera, a woman; in the ſecond Canto of the fifth book (23): tho' that may be only a miſnomer; for if he had called her Bribery, one ſhould not have the ſame objection. But the groſſeſt inſtance in him of this kind, is in the ninth Canto of the ſecond book (24): where he turns the human body into a caſtle; the tongue, into the porter, that keeps the gate; and the teeth, into two and thirty warders, dreſſed in white.—Spenſer ſeems to have erred againſt the ſecond of theſe maxims, in repreſenting the rigid execution of the laws under the character of a man (25) all made up of iron; and Bribery, (or the lady Munera, before mentioned,) as a woman (26), with golden hands, and ſilver feet:

Beſpotted all with ſhields of red and black;
It ſweepeth all the land behind him far:
And of three furlongs does but little lack.
Fairy Queen, Book 1. Cant. 11. St. 11.

(20) ——Forth flowed freſh
A guſhing river of black goary blood,
That drowned all the land whereon he ſtood;
The ſtream whereof would drive a water-mill.
Ibid. St. 22.

(21) The cruel wound enraged him ſo ſore,
That loud he yelled for exceeding pain;
As hundred ramping lyons ſeem'd to roar,
Whom ravenous hunger did thereto conſtrain.
Then gan he toſs aloft his ſtretched train;
And therewith ſcourge the buxom air ſo ſore,
That to its force to yielden it was fain:
Ne ought his ſturdy ſtrokes might ſtand afore,
That high trees overthrew and rocks in pieces tore.
Ibid. St. 37.

(22) Ibid. Book 4. Cant. 5. St. 38.

(23) St. 9, 10, &c.

(24) St. 21, 25, & 26. See on, to the end of the Canto; where there are ſeveral other inſtances of faults of the ſame kind: as Appetite's being the marſhal of the hall; Digeſtion, clerk of the kitchin; Concoction, the maſter-cook; the Stomach, the caldron; the Lungs, the bellows: and the ſink, Port Eſquiline.

(25) ——When * ſhe parted hence, ſhe left her groom,
An iron man; which did on her attend
Always, to execute her ſtedfaſt doom:
And willed him with Arthegal to wend,
And do whatever thing he did intend.
His name was Talus, made of iron mould;
Immoveable, reſiſtles, without end:
Who in his hand an iron flail did hold;
With which he threſh'd out falſhood, and did truth unfold.
* Aſtræa. Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 1. St. 12.

It is doubtful whether this idea be wholly of Spenſer's invention, or borrowed partly from the antients; for they ſpeak of one Talus, (or rather Talo,) a ſevere lawgiver in Crete.——Του Ταλω, του χαλκου της Κρητης περιπολου. Lucian. Tom. I. p. 804. Ed. Blaeu. ——They might call him, "The brazen guardian of Crete;" becauſe he ſecured them by his laws, affixed in the moſt public places on plates of braſs: but whether they had any idea of this Talus, as a brazen man, I know not.

(26) Thereto ſhe is full fair, and rich attird,
With golden hands and ſilver feet beſide;
That many lords have her to wife deſird.
Ibid. Book 5. Cant. 2. St. 10.

feet:——and againſt the third, where he deſcribes Deſire (27), as holding coals of fire in his hands and blowing them up into a flame: which laſt particular is ſome degrees worſe than Arioſto's bringing in Diſcord, in his Orlando Furioſo (28); with a flint and ſteel, to ſtrike fire in the face of Pride.

The fifth ſort of faults is when the allegorical perſonages, tho' well invented, are not well marked out. There are many inſtances of this in Spenſer, which are but too apt to put one in mind of the fancifulneſs and whims of Ripa and Vænius, that I mentioned to you this evening. Thus in one Canto, Doubt is repreſented as walking with a ſtaff, that ſhrinks (29) under him; Hope, with an aſpergoire (30), or the inſtrument the Roman catholics uſe for ſprinkling ſinners with holy-water; Diſſimulation (31), as twiſting two clews of ſilk together; Grief (32), with a pair of pincers; and Pleaſure (33), with an humble-bee in a phial: and in another, (in the proceſſion of the months and ſeaſons,) February is introduced (34) in a waggon, drawn by two fiſhes; May, as riding (35) on Caſtor and Pollux: June, is mounted (36) on a crab; October (37), on a ſcorpion: and November comes in, on a Centaur (38), all in a ſweat; becauſe, (as the poet obſerves,) he had juſt been fatting his hogs.

This might, full as well, have been ranged under my ſixth and laſt claſs of faults in Spenſer's allegories; conſiſting of ſuch inſtances as, I fear, can ſcarce be called by any ſofter name, than that of Ridiculous Imaginations. Such, I think, is that idea of Ignorance, in the firſt book, where he is made to move (39) with the back part of his head foremoſt;

(27) And him * beſide march'd amorous Deſire,
Who ſeem'd of riper years than th' other ſwain;
Yet was that other ſwain this elder's ſire,
And gave him being, common to them twain:
His garment was diſguiſed very vain;
And his embroider'd bonnet ſat awry.
'Twixt both his hands few ſparks he cloſe did ſtrait:
Which ſtill he blew, and kindled buſily;
That ſoon they life conceiv'd, and forth in flames did fly.
* Fancy. Fairy Queen, Book 3. Cant. 12. St. 9.

(28) Lib. 18. St. 34.

(29) "He look'd aſkew with his miſtruſtful eyes;
And nicely trode, as thorns lay in his way;
Or that the floor to ſhrink he did aviſe."
And on a broken reed he ſtill did ſtay
His feeble ſteps; which ſhrunk, when hard thereon he lay.
Ibid. Book 3. Cant. 12. St. 10.

(30) She always ſmil'd; and in her hand did hold
An holy-water ſprinkle, dipt in dew.
Ibid. St. 13.

(31) Her deeds, were forged; and her words, falſe coind:
And always in her hand two clews of ſilk ſhe twin'd.
Ibid. St. 14.

(32) A pair of pincers in his hand he had;
With which he pinced people to the heart.
Ibid. Book 3. Cant. 12. St. 16.

(33) After them, went Diſpleaſure and Pleaſance:
He looking lumpiſh and full ſullen ſad,
And hanging down his heavy countenance;
She chearful freſh and full of joyance glad,
As if no ſorrow ſhe ne felt ne drad:
That evil-matched pair, they ſeem'd to be.
An angry waſp, th' one in a vial had;
Th' other, in hers, an hony lady bee.
Ibid. St. 18.

(34) ——Laſtly came cold February, ſitting
In an old waggon, (for he could not ride,)
Drawn by two fiſhes.——
Second Canto of Mutability, St. 43.

(35) Upon two brethrens ſhoulders ſhe did ride,
The twins of Leda; which on either ſide
Supported her like to their ſovereign queen:
Lord! how all creatures laughd, when her they ſpyd!
Ibid. St. 34.

(36) Upon a crab he rode, that him did bear,
With crooked crawling ſteps, an uncouth pace.
Ibid. St. 35.

(37) Then came October, full of merry glee;
For yet his noul was totty of the muſt
Which he was treading in the wine-fats ſee,
And of the joyous oil; whoſe gentle guſt
Made him ſo frolic, and ſo full of luſt:
Upon a dreadful ſcorpion, he did ride.
Ibid. St. 39.

(38) Next was November. He full groſs and fat,
As fed with lard; and that right well might ſeem:
For he had been a fatting hogs of late,
That yet his brows with ſweat did reek and ſteem.
Ibid. St. 40.

There is ſo much of the ridiculous in this proceſſion of the Months in Spenſer, that I cannot help thinking; that this excellent poet might poſſibly have formed ſome of his ideas in it, even from ſo low a thing as our old pageants: which were in great vogue, about the times he lived in.

(39) But very uncouth ſight was to behold
How he did faſhion his untoward pace;
For as he forward mov'd his footing old,
So backward ſtill was turnd his wrinkled face:
Unlike to men, who ever as they trace,
Both feet and face one way are wont to lead.
Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 8. St. 31.

foremoſt; and that of Danger in the fourth (40), with Hatred, Murder, Treaſon, &c. in his back.——Such is the ſorrowful lady, with a bottle for her tears, and a bag to put her repentance into (41); and both running out, almoſt as faſt as ſhe puts them in.—— Such the thought of a vaſt giant's (42) ſhrinking into an empty form, like a bladder;—— the horſes of Night (43), foaming far;——Sir Guyon, putting a padlock (44) on the tongue of Occaſion; and Remorſe, nipping (45) St. George's heart.

HAD Spenſer formed his allegories on the plan of the antient poets and artiſts, as much as he did from Arioſto and the Italian allegoriſts, he might have followed nature much more cloſely; and would not have wandered ſo often, into ſuch ſtrange and inconſiſtent imaginations. I am apt to believe, that he conſidered the Orlando Furioſo, in particular, as a poem wholly ſerious; tho' the author of it certainly wrote it partly in jeſt. There are ſeveral lines and paſſages in it, that muſt have been intended for burleſque; and they ſurely conſider that poem in the trueſt light, who conſider it as a work of a mixed nature: as ſomething between the profeſſed gravity of Taſſo, and the broad laugh of Berni and his followers. Perhaps Spenſer's taking ſome things to be ſaid ſeriouſly, which Arioſto meant for ridicule; may have led him now and then to ſay things that are ridiculous, where he meant to be very ſerious.

HOWEVER that be, we may reaſonably conclude from ſo great failures as I have been mentioning to you, in ſo great a man; (whether they ariſe from his too much indulging the luxuriance of his own fancy, or from his copying after ſo irrregular a pattern;) that it would be extremely uſeful for our poets in general, to follow the plan of allegory, as far as it is ſettled to their hands by the antients: at leaſt, till ſome modern may have invented and eſtabliſhed ſome better plan for them to go upon; a thing, which (to deal fairly with you,) I do not expect to ſee done in our days. But whether this be ſo prudent for our poets in general, or not; there is one ſet of them at leaſt, to whom it is abſolutely neceſſary to be thoroughly acquainted with the allegories of the antients: all ſuch I mean, as undertake to tranſlate the works of the antient poets; and to give us their thoughts, in our own language. And yet, I fear, our tranſlators have been almoſt as incurious and unknowing in this point, as our original writers have uſually been.

AS I have choſen out, perhaps the greateſt allegoriſt among all the moderns, to ſhew you how irregular we are in our allegories; ſo I ſhall now proceed to chuſe out one of the

(40) ——In the porch did evermore abide
An hideous giant, dreadful to behold,
That ſtop'd the entrance with his ſpacious ſtride;
And with the terror of his count'nance bold
Full many did affray, that elſe fain enter would.

His name was, Danger.——

And lo! his hind parts, whereof heed I took
Much more deformed fearful ugly were,
Than all his former parts did earſt appear:
For hatred, murder, treaſon, and deſpight,
With many more, lay in ambuſhment there;
Awaiting to entrap the wareleſs wight
Who did not them prevent, with vigilant foreſight.
Fairy Queen, Book 4. St. 16, 17, & 20.

(41) Here, in this bottle (ſaid the ſorry maid)
I put the tears of my contrition,
Till to the brim I have it full defray'd;
And, in this bag which I behind me don,
I put repentance for things paſt and gon.
Yet is the bottle leak, and bag ſo torn,
That all which I put in falls out anon:
And is behind me trodden down of Scorn;
Who mocketh all my pain, and laughs the more I mourn.
Ibid. Book 6. Cant. 8. St. 24.

(42) The knight, then lightly leaping to the prey
With mortal ſteel him ſmote again ſo ſore,
That headleſs his unweildy body lay
All wallow'd in its own foul bloody gore;
Which flowed from his wounds in wondrous ſtore:
But ſoon as breath out of his breaſt did paſs,
That huge great body which the giant bore
Was vaniſh'd quite; and of that monſtrous maſs
Was nothing left: but like an empty bladder was.
Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 8. St. 24.

(43) Her twyfold teme, (of which two black as pitch
And two were brown, yet each to each unlich)
Did ſoftly ſwim away; ne ever ſtamp,
Unleſs he chanc'd their ſtubborn mouths to twitch:
Then, foaming tarre, their bridles they would champ;
And, trampling the fine element, would fiercely ramp.
Ibid. Cant. 5. St. 28.

(44) And catching hold of her ungracious tongue,
Thereon an iron lock did faſten, firm and ſtrong.
Ibid. Book 2. Cant. 4. St. 12.

(45) ——Bitter Pennance, with an iron whip,
Was wont him once to diſ'ple every day;
And ſharp Remorſe his heart did prick and nip,
That drops of blood thence like a well did play.
Ibid. Book 1. Cant. 10. St. 27.

the beſt tranſlators we ever had, to ſhew how deficient or incurious our tranſlators are, in repreſenting the allegories of the antients. It is but lately that I read over Mr. Dryden's Tranſlation of all the works of Virgil, in this light only; and in reading it, took down ſome notes of the miſrepreſentations and miſtakes which he ſeems to me to have fallen into, in that celebrated and excellent tranſlation, for want of this kind of knowledge. I know not whether this review of Dryden may not take up yet more of our time, than that of Spenſer has done: but I have had proofs enough of your patience; and ſhall therefore proceed, without making any more apologies.

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Boitard Sculp.

DIAL. XX.

The Defects of our Tranſlators of the ANTIENT POETS; in relation to theſe Allegorical Subjects: inſtanced from Mr. DRYDEN's Tranſlation of VIRGIL.

IT really grieves me, (continued Polymetis, as he was producing the notes he had taken from Mr. Dryden,) to make ſo free, as I ſhall be obliged to do, with the works of a man whoſe memory I ſo much love and eſteem. There is not any one writer, to whom I think our Engliſh poetry ſo much obliged for its improvements, as to Mr. Dryden; excepting only Mr. Pope: and even the additional improvements by Mr. Pope, are in a good meaſure owing to Dryden; as that gentleman always uſed to own, with expreſſions of the greateſt eſteem and gratitude. Before theſe two great maſters, our verſification in general may be looked upon as unformed. Dryden took it into his hands, when it was like a rough block of marble; till his time above half rude, and unchiſſeled. He went a great way toward ſhaping it; and Pope took it up where he had left it: and added all the ſoftnings, and graces, which it yet wanted. I am a good deal tempted to ſay more on this head: but it would not be fair to run into a digreſſion in the very entering upon my ſubject; and I muſt therefore confine myſelf to Mr. Dryden only. You know, what a ſpirit there is in moſt of his poems; and there is ſo much of it in his work before us, that it reads rather like an original than a tranſlation. It is this which makes us uſually go on in it with ſo much pleaſure, that we have ſcarce any time for minding its faults: for faults there certainly are in it; and muſt be, in every human compoſition. The particular defects I am to point out to you at preſent, are indeed of ſuch a kind as have been hitherto quite unknown to criticiſm: what all our poets, in general, have been guilty of: and relating to things that they have never been uſed to conſider, ſo regularly as they ought. We may therefore very well look upon them rather as a defect of the times, than as the defects of Dryden; for there has ſcarce been any demand for exactneſs in things of this kind, as yet, among us: tho' perhaps, when I have laid all my catalogue before you, you may think it not improper, that they ſhould be a little more conſidered than they have been hitherto; even by the beſt of our writers. But it is time that I ſhould go on, without any farther prefacing.

IN the firſt place then, the perſonages, dreſs, and attributes of the allegorical perſons deſcribed by Virgil, are ſometimes miſrepreſented in this tranſlation. Thus Bacchus, (as I mentioned to you occaſionally once before,) is deſcribed as having (1) a plump, jovial face, inſtead of that fine beauty which was his characteriſtic among the antients; Proteus, with gray hair (2), inſtead of dark-coloured; the goddeſs of Peace (3), with wings;

(1) On whate'er ſide he turns his honeſt face.
Dryden, G. 2. ℣. 540.

Et quocumque Deus circum caput egit honeſtum.
Virgil, G. 2. ℣. 392.

This miſtake was partly, from Mr. Dryden's being prejudiced by our modern figures of Bacchus; and partly, from his not attending to the true meaning of the word Honeſtus: which antiently ſignified, beautiful, when applied to any perſonage or figure; and which indeed is applied to good actions, for the ſame reaſon that Καλον was by the Greeks; from the fitneſs and beauty of all ſuch actions.

(2) This anſwer Proteus gave; nor more he ſaid:
But in the billows plung'd his hoary head.
Dryden, G. 4. ℣. 766.

Virgil ſays only, ſub vertice, ib. 529. The antients give all the ſea-deities, in general, Cærulean or dark-coloured hair; and Ovid mentions the ſame of Proteus, in particular. Faſt. Lib. 1. ℣. 3.

(3) And Peace, with downy wings, was brooding on the ground.
Dryden, Æn. 4. ℣. 762.

Virgil is ſo far from giving the goddeſs of Peace wings on this occaſion, that he does not ſpeak of her at all. He only ſays;

Cum

wings; and the Minotaure (4), with his lower parts brutal, and his upper part human: all without any authority from Virgil; and contrary to the manner in which we ſee theſe allegorical and fabulous beings repreſented, in the works of the antient artiſts that remain to us. Thus too, Tiber appears in a ſky-coloured robe (5), inſtead of a dark one: Aurora, is introduced with the new attribute of a (6) ſtreamer, in her hand; as the attendants of Bacchus carry (7) flags, in theirs: Cybele is drawn by Bacchus's (8) tigres, inſtead of her own lions: Neptune, is equipped (like the figure of Julius Cæſar, in the great church at Breda,) with a (9) Gothic mace; Janus, with a (10) bunch of keys; and Priapus, with a (11) lath-ſword.

As Mr. Dryden, in ſome places, gives the deities attributes that do not belong to them; ſo he miſrepreſents the actions and attitudes of them, in others. Thus where the original ſpeaks of Tiſiphone (12), as ſitting alone, before the gates of Tartarus: (in the ſame manner as I ſhewed her to you (13) in the picture relating to this paſſage, from the

Cum tacet omnis ager. ———
Æn. 4. ℣. 520.

I never remember to have met with any one antient repreſentation of Peace with wings. Indeed it is not likely there ever was any ſuch: for this was a goddeſs that all people deſired ſhould ſtay with them; and wings ſignify uncertainty and flight. That the antients looked on them in this light is evident from a very pretty epigram, occaſioned by an odd accident at Rome. There was a ſtatue of Victory there which had its wings melted off, by a ſtroke of lightning. Among a people ſo obſervant of omens, this muſt have been looked upon as a very bad one; had not one of the poets there given it the following happy turn, by writing this diſtich upon its pedeſtal:

Ρωμη παμβασιλεια, τεου κλεος ωποτ' ολειται·
Νικη γαρ σε φυγειν απτερος ω δυναται.

Stephens's Collection of Gr. Ep. or Inſcriptions; under this title. Εις αγαλμα Νικης απτερου, εν Ρωμη· ης τα πτερα κεραυνω κατεφλεχθη.

(4) The lower part a beaſt, a man above.
Dryden, Æn. 6. ℣. 37.

This is juſt contrary to the figures I have ſeen of the Minotaure; which have the head of a bull, and are human all below. Virgil only ſays, in general, Proles biformis. Æn. 6. ℣. 25.

(5) An azure robe was o'er his body ſpread.
Dryden, Æn. 8. ℣. 47.

—Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
Carbaſus. ———
Virgil, Æn. 8. ℣. 33.

(6) Now when the roſy morn began to riſe;
And wav'd her ſaffron ſtreamer thro' the ſkies.
Dryden, Æn. 7. ℣. 35.

Mr. Dryden here ſeems to have admitted ſome mixture of the allegory and the reality together; and ſo, I think, he has in the two lines which immediately follow the former.

When Thetis bluſh'd in purple not her own,
And from her face the breathing winds were blown.
Ibid. ℣. 37.

Virgil is free both from the ſtreamer, and this faulty mixture: all he ſays, is;

Jamque rubeſcebat radiis mare: & æthere ab alto
Aurora in roſeis fulgebat lutea bigis.
Æn. 7. ℣. 26.

(7) Then they, (whoſe mothers, frantic with their fear
In woods and wilds the flags of Bacchus bear,
And lead his dances with diſhevel'd hair,)
Increaſe the clamour, and the war demand.
Dryden, Æn. 7. ℣. 803.

Tum quorum attonitæ Baccho nemora avia matres
Inſultant thiaſis, (neque enim leve nomen Amatæ,)
Undique collecti coeunt, Martemque ſatigant.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 582.

(8) Hear thou, great mother of the deities,
With turrets crown'd; (on Ida's holy hill
Fierce tigres, rein'd and curb'd, obey thy will.)
Dryden, Æn. 10. ℣. 356.

Alma parens Idæa Deûm, cui Dindyma cordi,
Turrigeræque urbes, bijugique ad fræna leones.
Virgil. Æn. 10. ℣. 253.

(9) Amid that ſmother, Neptune holds his place;
Below the wall's foundation drives his mace:
And heaves the building from the ſolid baſe.
Dryden, Æn. 2. ℣. 829.

This is the tranſlation of that noble paſſage in Virgil:

Hic, ubi disjectas moles avulſaque ſaxis
Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum;
Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit: totamque ab ſedibus urbem
Eruit. ———
Æn. 2. ℣. 612.

(10) And antient Janus; with his double face,
And bunch of keys, the porter of the place.
Dryden, Æn. 7. ℣. 246.

Saturnuſque ſenex, Janique bifrontis imago,
Veſtibulo adſtabant. ———
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 181.

Janus is repreſented by the antients with a key, in one hand; and a long ſtaff in the other: agreeably to the deſcription of him in Ovid.

Ille tenens dextrâ baculum, clavemque ſiniſtrâ.
Faſt. 1. ℣. 99.

(11) ——The god obſcene who frights away
With his lath-ſword, the thieves and birds of prey.
Dryden, G. 4. ℣. 168.

——Cuſtos furum atque avium, cum falce ſalignâ,
Helleſpontiaci ſervet tutela Priapi.
Virgil. G. 4. ℣. 111.

(12) ——Cernis, cuſtodia qualis
Veſtibulo ſedeat; facies quæ limina ſervet.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 575.

You ſee, before the gate, what ſtalking ghoſt
Commands the guard; what centries keep the poſt.
Dryden, Æn. 6. ℣. 777.

(13) See Pl. 39. Fig. 1.

the famous Vatican manuſcript;) the tranſlation repreſents her as a ghoſt, walking, at the head of ſeveral others:——where the original mentions Juno's flying to our earth (14), the tranſlation makes her deſcend to hell:——and where Virgil ſpeaks of Eridanus's directing ſome of his waters down toward the vales of Elyſium (15), Mr. Dryden repreſents this river-god as making his ſtream firſt mount upward, and then as hiding his head under-ground. There is ſomething of this kind too, where the tranſlation makes Somnus draw a (16) trail of light after him, in his deſcent to Palinurus; whereas the original only mentions his cleaving the dark air; (or perhaps cauſing a ſerenity in it, the eaſier to deceive that pilot:) and where it deſcribes Sabinus (17), as reſting his head on a little pruning-hook; contrary to the original, and to the reaſon of the thing: for a painter or ſtatuary, I believe, would be reckoned to want judgment, who ſhould repreſent any figure, as reſting its head on a pruning-hook: and, by the way, ſcarce any thing can be good in a poetical deſcription; which would appear abſurd, if repreſented in a ſtatue, or picture.

I

(14) Hæc ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 323.
Thus having ſaid, ſhe ſinks beneath the ground,
With furious haſte; and ſhoots the Stygian ſound.
Dryden, Æn. 7. ℣. 450.

(15) Inter odoratum lauri nemus; unde ſuperne
Plurimus Eridani per ſylvam volvitur amnis.
Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 659.
Beneath a laurel ſhade; where mighty Po
Mounts up to woods above, and hides his head below.
Dryden, Æn. 6. ℣. 894.

To ſay the truth, Virgil here does not ſpeak of Eridanus perſonally, at all. He only ſays, that there is a conſiderable branch from that river, which makes its way under ground, (as the Po indeed plunges wholly under ground, not many miles from its riſe,) and ſinks quite down to Elyſium; where it falls, in a caſcade, down a hill covered on each ſide with trees, that always keep their verdure. This is, I think, the moſt pleaſing idea in all Virgil's Elyſium: and, poſſibly, he had an eye in it to the famous valley of Tempe in Theſſaly: reckoned the moſt delightful ſpot in the whole world; and beautified, in particular, by the fall of the river Peneus, from mount Pindus; with woods on each ſide of it. (See Ovid's Met. Lib. 1. ℣. 568, to 572.)

May I add another conjecture here, which would yet add farther to the beauty of this part, in Virgil's Elyſium? It is, that he may poſſibly mean, that the groves on each ſide of his caſcade are groves of orange-trees; and conſequently as pleaſing in their ſmell, as in their look. Orange-trees were firſt brought into Italy, in Virgil's time. As they were ſo lately introduced among them, the Romans had as yet no name for them; and it is therefore that Virgil, where he is ſuppoſed by ſome very good judges to ſpeak of this tree in his Georgics, is forced to point it out, by a good deal of circumlocution; and by deſcribing it very particularly. It is a tree which, according to his account, was brought into Italy from Media; whoſe fruit had a ſharp, ſour taſte; he ſays, that it was very good for the ſtomach and breath; and an excellent remedy againſt infections, and poiſons; that it was a large tree, (as the orange-trees are much larger in Italy than with us; and much larger in Media than in Italy;) that the leaf of it, was very much like the leaf of the laurel: but that it was diſtinguiſhed from the laurel, by its laſting flowers, and by the fine perfume that they caſt all around it. (Georg. Lib. 2. ℣. 126, to 135.) As they had then no diſtinct name for orange-trees, Virgil may here call them laurels, from their likeneſs to that tree; but, at the ſame time, he takes care to diſtinguiſh them from the common laurel, by mentioning the moſt ſtriking character of them, their fine ſmell: odoratum lauri nemus. I ſhould not have endeavoured to turn theſe Elyſian groves of Virgil into orange-groves, had it not been for the fine ſmell he attributes to them. Groves of laurel are more common in the gardens of Rome at preſent, than thoſe of any other trees whatever; but I could never yet perceive, in walking thro' any of them, the leaſt ſhare of the fine ſmell here mentioned. Tho' there was no Latin names for the orange-trees in Virgil's time, there were two not long after; at leaſt by the time of Pliny: for he calls it Malus Medica, or Aſſyria; in a paſſage, which agrees ſo extremely well with Virgil's account of this tree, in his Georgics; that I muſt add it to this note, tho' it is ſo unreaſonably long already. Malus Aſſyria, quam alii vocant Medicam, (ſays he,) venenis medetur: folium ejus eſt unedonis, intercurrentibus ſpinis: pomum ipſum aliàs non manditur. Odore præcellit, foliorum quoque; qui tranſit in veſtes unà conditus, arcetque animalium noxia. Arbos ipſa, omnibus horis pomifera eſt: aliis, candentibus; aliis, matureſcentibus; aliis verò, ſubnaſcentibus. Tentavere gentes transferre ad ſeſe, propter remedii præſtantiam, fictilibus in vaſis; dato per cavernas radicibus ſpiramento:——ſed niſi apud Medos, & in Perſide, naſci noluit. Hæc eſt autem, cujus grana Parthorum proceres incoquere diximus eſculentis, commendandi halitus gratiâ: nec alia arbor laudatur in Medis. Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 12. Cap. 3.

(16) —The ſoft God of Sleep, with eaſy flight,
Deſcends; and draws behind a trail of light.
Dryden, Æn. 5. ℣. 1092.
——Levis æthereis delapſus ſomnus ab aſtris
Aëra dimovit tenebroſum & diſpulit umbras;
Te, Palinure, petens.——
Virgil. Æn. 5. ℣. 840.

(17) There ſtood Sabinus, planter of the vines:
On a ſhort pruning-hook, his head reclines;
And ſtudiouſly ſurveys his generous wines.
Dryden. Æn. 7. ℣. 249.
——Paterque Sabinus
Vitiſator, curvam ſervans ſub imagine falcem.
Virgil. Æn. 7. ℣. 179.

Virgil is ſpeaking of the ſtatues of Janus, Saturn, and Sabinus, &c. ſo that, ſub imagine here may either ſignify that Sabinus's pruning-hook was partly held under the drapery of his figure; or, that it lay at his feet: but there is no manner of hint in the original, of his reſting his head upon it.

I Do not know any one, even of our greateſt poets, that has not been apt ſometimes to mix the natural and allegorical ways of ſpeaking together; in a manner, very uncommon among the antients. I think this is very blameable, wherever we meet with it: but whatever indulgences may be allowed to original writers; a tranſlator can certainly have no right to repreſent his author as confuſed, where he himſelf is uniform and clear. Yet there are inſtances in this tranſlation of mixed allegories, where the original is quite free from any ſuch mixture; and of other liberties, which I think ſcarce allowable to a tranſlator: ſuch as the introducing the allegorical ſtyle, where Virgil has not made uſe of it; and the omitting it, where he has. I ſhall juſt point out an inſtance or two of each, from the many which might be produced from Mr. Dryden's tranſlation. Such, as to the firſt (18), is his idea of the morning-ſtar ſhaking dew from his hair; and that of Xanthus, as ſtanding on a heap on his own waters:—as to the ſecond; Deucalion's (19) hurling his mother's entrails over the world; and Vulcan's riding with looſened reins:—and as to the third: the (20) calmneſs of the Tiber, in the eighth book of the Æneid; and the ſtorm of hail in the ninth.

ANOTHER ſet of faults in Mr. Dryden, in relation to the imaginary beings of the antients, is owing to his not being ſufficiently acquainted with their particular characters, rank, and dignity: and this makes him ſometimes vary from his original. I have obſerved to you before, how much Virgil was to be admired for deſcribing the face of Neptune

(18) Inſtances of mixt metaphor in Dryden, where there is no ſuch mixture in Virgil.

1.

So from the ſeas exerts his radiant head
The ſtar, by whom the lights of heav'n are led:
Shakes from his roſy locks the pearly dews;
Diſpels the darkneſs, and the day renews.
Dryden, Æn. 8. ℣. 781.

Qualis ubi Oceani perfuſus Lucifer undâ,
(Quem Venus ante alios aſtrorum diligit ignes)
Extulit os ſacrum cœlo, tenebraſque reſolvit.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 591.

2.

When crimſon Xanthus, doubtful of his way,
Stood upon ridges, to behold the ſea.
Dryden, Æn. 5. ℣. 1056.

——Nec reperire viam, atque evolvere poſſet
In mare ſe Xanthus.——
Virgil. Æn. 5. ℣. 808.

(19) Dryden allegorical, where Virgil is literal.

1.

——Theſe the laws
Impos'd by nature, and by nature's cauſe,
On ſundry places; when Deucalion hurl'd
His mother's entrails o'er the deſart world.
Dryden, Georg. 1. ℣. 94.

——Has leges æternaque fœdera certis
Impoſuit natura locis; quo tempore primùm
Deucalion vacuum lapides jactavit in orbem.
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 62.

2.

The flame, unſtopt at firſt, more fury gains;
And Vulcan rides at large with looſen'd reins:
Triumphant, to the painted ſterns he ſoars;
And ſeizes, in his way, the banks and crackling oars.
Dryden, Æn. 5. ℣. 865.

——Furit immiſſis Vulcanus habenis
Tranſtra per & remos, & pictas abiete puppes.
Virgil. Æn. 5. ℣. 663.

As I take it, Immiſſis habenis here is only meant to ſignify, without reſtraint, (or unſtopt, as Mr. Dryden tranſlates it:) and Vulcanus, is only uſed for fire; as Bacchus for wine, and Ceres for corn, in the ſame poem: Implentur veteris Bacchi. Æn. 1. ℣. 215. Et Cererem corruptam undis. Ib. 177.

(20) Dryden literal, where Virgil is allegorical.

1.

The following night, and the ſucceeding day,
Propitious Tiber ſmooth'd his watry way;
He rowl'd his river back: and pois'd he ſtood,
A gentle ſwelling, and a peaceful flood.
Dryden, Æn. 8. ℣. 120.

Tybris eâ fluvium, quàm longa eſt, nocte tumentem
Leniit; & tacitâ refluens ita ſubſtitit undâ,
Mitis ut in morem ſtagni placidæque paludis
Sterneret æquor aquis, remo ut luctamen abeſſet.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 89.

To ſay the truth, there ſeems to be ſomething of the mixed metaphor, (or rather, mixed allegory,) here in Virgil himſelf; and I know no occaſion in which the antients are ſo apt to fall into it, or at leaſt to border upon it, as when they are ſpeaking of rivers and river-gods.

2.

Or pattring hail comes pouring o'er the main,
When Jupiter deſcends in harden'd rain;
Or bellowing clouds burſt with a ſtormy ſound,
And with an armed winter ſtrew the ground.
Dryden, Æn. 9. ℣. 913.

This is meant to anſwer that noble agitated image of the Jupiter Pluvius, diſpenſing ſtorms and tempeſts;

——Quàm multâ grandine nimbi
In vada præcipitant; cum Jupiter, horridus Auſtris,
Torquet aquoſam hiemem & cœlo cava nubila rumpit.
Virgil. Æn. 9. ℣. 671.

Neptune as ſerene (21) and undiſturbed, at the very time that he ſtrongly reſents the improper liberties taken by Æolus in his diſtrict: but this ſerenity is turned into anger, in Mr. Dryden's tranſlation (22); and into rage and diſturbance, in his note on the place. The ſame ſort of fault is committed, as to the character of Hercules; tho' with more to ſupport it from the original, than in the former caſe. It is where that great hero is ſo long diſappointed in his purſuit of Cacus; and afterwards in the account of his combat with that monſter. The rage of Hercules on this occaſion is aggravated (23), and his appearance demeaned; in a caſe, where of the two what is ſaid ſhould rather have been touched more ſlightly, than more ſtrongly.—It is from this want of being better acquainted with the rank and characters of the perſonages introduced, that Mr. Dryden thinks it (24) preſuming in Minerva to throw the thunderbolts of Jupiter; and that he makes Venus (25) thunder: I think, without any authority from Virgil.—And this carries him

(21) ——Graviter commotus, & alto
Proſpiciens, ſummâ placidum caput extulit undâ.
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 127.
Eurum ad ſe Zephyrumque vocat; dein talia fatur.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 131.
——Tenet ille immania ſaxa,
Veſtras, Eure, domos: illâ ſe jactet in aulâ
Æolus; &, clauſo ventorum carcere, regnet.
Ibid. ℣. 141.

(22) And firſt an angry glance at both he caſt,
Then thus rebuk'd "Audacious Winds! from whence
This bold attempt? This rebel inſolence, &c.
Dryden, Æn. 1. ℣. 189.
His power to hollow caverns is confin'd;
There let him reign, the jailor of the wind!
With hoarſe commands his breathing ſubjects call;
And boaſt, and bluſter, in his empty hall.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 202.

Mr. Dryden, in his note on this paſſage, ſays—— "To raiſe a tempeſt on the ſea, was uſurpation on the prerogative of Neptune: who had given him no leave; and therefore was enraged at his attempt. I may alſo add; that they who are in a paſſion, (as Neptune then was,) are apt to aſſume to themſelves, more than is their due." Note on Æn. 1. ℣. 196.

The truth is, that Neptune here aſſumes leſs to himſelf, than was his due. He might have puniſhed them; whereas he only threatens them.

Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia veſtri?
Jam cœlum terramque meo ſine numine, Venti,
Miſcere, & tantas audetis tollere moles?
Quos ego—ſed motos præſtat componere fluctus:
Poſt mihi non ſimili pœnâ commiſſa luetis.
Maturate fugam!——
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 137.

(23) Alcides found the fraud: with rage he ſhook;
And toſs'd, about his head, his knotted oak.
Dryden, Æn. 8. ℣. 286.
The wretch had hardly made his dungeon faſt;
The fierce avenger came with bounding haſte:
Survey'd the mouth of the forbidden hold;
And here and there his raging eyes he roll'd.
He gnaſh'd his teeth; and thrice he compaſs'd round
With winged ſpeed the circuit of the ground:
Thrice at the cavern's mouth he pull'd in vain;
And, panting, thrice deſiſted from his pain.
Id. Ib. ℣. 306.
The wrathful god then plunges from above;
And, where in thickeſt waves the ſparkles drove,
There lights: and wades thro' fumes, and gropes his way;
Half findg'd, half ſtifled.——
Ib. ℣. 342.

There is too much perhaps of this in Virgil himſelf; but not ſo much, as in Dryden.

Hic verò Alcidæ furiis exarſerat, atro
Felle, dolor; rapit arma manu, nodiſque gravatum
Robur.——
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 221.
Ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius; omnemque
Acceſſum luſtrans, huc ora ferebat, & illùc,
Dentibus infrendens. Ter totum fervidus irâ
Luſtrat Aventini montem: ter ſaxea tentat
Limina nequicquam; ter, feſſus, valle reſedit.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 232.
Non tulit Alcides animis, ſeque ipſe per ignem
Præcipiti injecit ſaltu; quâ plurimus undam
Fumus agit, nebulâque ingens ſpecus æſtuat atrâ.
Ib. ℣. 258.

This laſt particular is great in Virgil, and little in Dryden; and fitter for the herdſman-heroe, (as he calls him in the beginning of the ſtory, ℣. 279.) than for the chief of all the heroes, who were deified for having acted for the good of mankind in this world.

(24) She (for the fault of one offending foe,)
The bolts of Jove himſelf preſum'd to throw.
Dryden, Æn. 1. ℣. 63.
Ipſa, Jovis rapidum jaculata e nubibus ignem,
Diſjecitque rates, &c.——
Virgil. Æn. 1. ℣. 43.

I have ſhown before, (Dial. VI. p. 58, & 63.) that Minerva, and Juno, were looked upon of old, as ſharing with Jupiter, in all his higheſt powers; and particularly, in that of diſpenſing his thunderbolts.

(25) But his bright mother from a breaking cloud,
To chear his iſſue, thundred thrice aloud:
Thrice, forky lightning flaſh'd along the ſky;
And Tyrrhene trumpets thrice were heard on high.
Then, gazing up, repeated peals they hear;
And, in a heav'n ſerene, refulgent arms appear:
Redning the ſkies, and glittering all around,
The temper'd metals claſh, and yield a ſilver ſound.
Dryden, Æn. 8. ℣. 699.
——Ni ſignum cœlo Cytheræa dediſſet aperto.
Namque improviſo vibratus ab æthere fulgor
Cum ſonitu venit; & ruere omnia viſa repentè:
Tyrrhenuſque tubæ mugire per æthera clangor.
Suſpiciunt. Iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens:
Arma inter nubem, cœli in regione ſerenâ,
Per ſudum rutilare vident; & pulſa tonare.
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 529.

Tho' it is true that the augurs of old did ſometimes attribute the power of caſting forth lightnings to all the twelve great gods, (in an inferior ſenſe to what was attributed by them to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva;) yet I do not imagine that Virgil here ſpeaks of Venus's caſting forth the lightning: and, much leſs, of her thundering. The paſſage indeed is difficult

him in ſome inſtances ſo far, that he quite overturns the character of the deity he is ſpeaking of: as for example, when one reads of a miſchievous goddeſs (26), with extraordinary terrors on her brow; who would gueſs that it was meant of Iris? And when a god is called a traytor-god, and a devil (27); who would ever imagine, that this ſhould be ſpoken of one of the moſt gentle, and moſt pleaſing of all the deities?

I MUST juſt obſerve here, that Mr. Dryden is apt to fall into faults of this kind on many other occaſions, as well as the laſt mentioned, from his not guarding ſufficiently againſt vulgariſms. Mr. Dryden certainly wrote, in general, with as much ſpirit as any man; and in the work before us, was preſſed on by other cauſes, to write with yet more rapidity than uſual. This muſt have occaſioned ſeveral negligences: and among the reſt, ſome low expreſſions, and mean lines; ſometimes very unworthy of the ſubject he is treating. It is hence, I ſuppoſe, that he ſpeaks of Bacchus's honeſt (28) face, and of the jolly (29) Autumn. It is hence, that he calls Juno, the buxom (30) bride of Jupiter; and Cybele, the (31) grandam-goddeſs. It is thus that he talks of Juno's (32) ſailing on the winds, and Apollo's (33) beſtriding the clouds. This made him fall into that (34) ſlovenly

ficult enough; ſo difficult, that moſt of the commentators quite paſs it by. But if they had of old, in Italy, that phænomenon which we call the Aurora Borealis; and you were to view this paſſage, in that light; it might perhaps be eaſy enough. That darting brightneſs; that ruſhing of the heavens; even the hearing of ſtrange noiſes, and the fancied appearance of arms; I remember, were all things talked of, on the appearance of the extraordinary phænomenon of this kind, which appeared in all our northern parts of Europe in the year 1716.

(26) The goddeſs, great in miſchief.——
Dryden, Æn. 5. ℣. 803.
——Haud ignara nocendi.
Virgil. Æn. 5 ℣. 618.
What terrors from her frowning front ariſe?
Id. Ibid. ℣. 844.
——Divini ſigna decoris,
Ardenteſque notate oculos; qui ſpiritus illi, &c.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 648.

(27) Then thus the traitor god began his tale.
Dryden, Æn. 5. ℣. 1097.
——Deus——
Virgil. Æn. 5. ℣. 841.
The victor Dæmon mounts obſcure in air.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 1120.
Ipſe volans tenues ſe ſuſtulit ales ad auras.
Id. Ibid. ℣. 861.

(28) See Note 1, anteh.

(29) Where Mr. Dryden calls Autumnus jolly, (Georg. 2. ℣. 9.) Virgil calls him, Pampineus; or, crowned with vine-leaves. (Ib. ℣. 5.)

(30) The ſpring adorns the woods; renews the leaves:
The womb of earth the genial ſeed receives.
For them almighty Jove deſcends; and pours
Into his buxom bride, his fruitful ſhow'rs:
And mixing his large limbs with hers, he feeds
Her births with kindly juice; and foſters teeming ſeeds.
Dryden, Georg. 2. ℣. 443.
Vere tument terræ; & genitalia ſemina poſcunt.
Tum Pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit; & omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore fœtus.
Virgil. Ibid. ℣. 327.

This is ſpoken, by Virgil, (more in the proper ſenſe, than the metaphorical,) of the middle, and lower air: and is one ſtrong inſtance, out of many, of his following the ſtyle of the old Roman poets of the firſt age, very cloſely. It is common with them to ſay that Jupiter was the ſame with the Æther, or middle air; in conſequence of which, they uſed to call the Æther, ſometimes ſimply, by the name of Pater; and ſometimes, Pater Æther.

——Aſpice hoc
Sublime candens, quem vocant omnes Jovem.
Ennius, in Thyeſte.
Iſteic is eſt Jupiter quem dico, Græci vocant
Aëra; quique ventus eſt, & nubes: imber poſtea,
Atque ex imbre frigus; ventus poſt fit, aër denuo:
Iſthæc propter Juppiter ſunt iſta, quæ dico tibi.
Id. in Epicharmo.
Hoc vide circum ſupraque, quod complexu continet
Terram: id quod noſtri cœlum memorant, Graii perhibent Æthera.
Quicquid eſt hoc, omnia is animat; format; auget; alit; ferat:
Sepelit, recipitque in ſeſe omnia; omniumque idem eſt pater.
Id. in Chryſe.
——Pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater Æther
In gremium matris Terraï præcipitavit.
Lucretius, Lib. 1. ℣. 252.

(31) The grandam goddeſs then approach'd her ſon;
And with a mother's majeſty begun.
Dryden, Æn. 9. ℣. 95.
Ipſa Deûm ſertur genetrix Berecynthia magnum
Vocibus his effata Jovem.——
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 83.

(32) She ſaid; and ſailing on the winged wind, &c.
Dryden, Æn. 12. ℣. 243.
——Sic exhortata, reliquit
Incertam.——
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 160.

(33) Apollo then beſtrode a golden cloud
To view the feats of arms and fighting croud;
And thus the beardleſs victor he beſpoke aloud.
Dryden, Ib. 9. ℣. 875.
Ætheriâ tum forte plagâ crinitus Apollo
Deſuper Auſonias acies urbemque videbat,
Nube ſedens; atque his victorem affatur Iülum.
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 640.

(34) Or if thro' miſts he ſhoots his ſullen beams,
Frugal of light, in looſe and ſtragling ſtreams;—
Or if Aurora, with half-open'd eyes,
And a pale ſickly cheek, ſalute the ſkies.
Dryden, Georg. 1. ℣. 596.
Aut ubi ſub lucem denſa inter nubila ſeſe
Diverſi rumpent radii; aut ubi pallida ſurget
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 447.

ſlovenly deſcription of Aurora, and that (35) ſtrange one of Taurus. This led him to uſe Bacchus with ſo much familiarity, as he does in the following couplet:

> Come ſtrip with me, my God! Come, drench all o'er
> Thy limbs in muſt of wine, and drink at every pore (36).

And to inſert thoſe little particularities, in his deſcription of Typhœus's ſurprize;

> Then trembles Prochyta; then Iſchia roars.
> Typhœus, thrown beneath by Jove's command,
> Aſtoniſh'd at the flaw that ſhakes the land,
> " Soon ſhifts his weary ſide: and, ſcarce awake,
> With wonder feels the weight preſs lighter on his back (37)."

And this; in Juturna's flight:

> She drew a length of ſighs; no more ſhe ſaid;
> But in her azure mantle wrapt her head:
> Then plung'd into her ſtream, with deep deſpair;
> " And her laſt ſobs came bubling up in air (38)."

IT is to this hurry and impetuoſity of Mr. Dryden in performing the work before us, that I ſhould be apt too to attribute his taking ſometimes one perſon for another; and ſometimes, one thing for another. Thus Tellus is mentioned in the tranſlation (39), inſtead of Veſta in the original; Ate (40), inſtead of Tiſiphone; Scorpius (41), inſtead of

(35) When with his golden horns, in full career,
The Bull beats down the barriers of the year;
And Argos, and the Dog, forſake the northern ſphere.
Dryden, Georg. 1. ℣. 308.

Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus, & averſo ſedens Canis occidit aſtro.
Virgil, Ib. ℣. 218.

(36) Dryden, Georg. 2. ℣. 12.

Huc, pater O Lenæe! (tuis hic omnia plena
Muneribus;) ——
Huc, pater O Lenæe, veni! Nudataque muſto
Tinge novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis.
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 8.

(37) Dryden, Æn. 9. ℣. 972.

Tum ſonitu Prochyta alta tremit; durumque cubile
Inarime, Jovis imperiis impoſta Typhœo.
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 716.

(38) Dryden, Æn. 12. ℣. 1283.

Tantum effata, caput glauco contexit amictu,
Multa gemens; & ſe fluvio Dea condidit alto.
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 886.

(39) Dii Patrii Indigites! & Romule! Veſtaque mater,
Quæ Tuſcum Tiberim & Romana palatia ſervas!
Virgil. Georg. 1. ℣. 499.

Ye home-born deities, of mortal birth!
Thou father Romulus! and mother Earth,
Goddeſs unmov'd! ——
Dryden, Ib. ℣. 670.

It is very true, that Veſta was ſometimes taken for Tellus in the old Mythology; but that was not under the character, in which ſhe is here repreſented. She is here repreſented as one of the deities who preſided over the welfare and ſafety of the Roman ſtate: as the goddeſs, to whom they kept up the perpetual fire; and in whoſe temple they depoſited the Palladium, or the pledge of their Empire over all the world. In this caſe, if the name of Veſta muſt be taken away, and any new one ſubſtituted in its room; Mr. Dryden had much better have called her Fire, than Earth.

I muſt juſt add, that there is another miſtake of perſons, in this very paſſage; and, indeed, a very groſs one. Virgil, by the Dii patrii here means the great Triad of deities, firſt received all over the eaſt; and afterwards, ſucceſſively, in Greece and Italy. Theſe the antient writers in general, (from Herodotus quite down to Macrobius,) uſually call by the title of Θεοι Πατρωοι, or Dii Patrii. There is an endleſs variety of opinions, who theſe three deities were, who were ſo much revered in the eaſt; and particularly in the iſland of Samothrace: but among the Romans, it is evident enough that the three deities received as the three ſupreme, were Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva: and therefore Virgil adds the word, Indigites, to fix it to the Θεοι Πατρωοι, or the three great ſupreme Gods, received as ſuch in his own country. Indigites here, is much the ſame as Noſtri, in Juvenal; where he is ſpeaking of theſe very deities. (Sat. 3. ℣. 145.) They are therefore no leſs perſonages than Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, (the three ſupreme, among all the gods of the Romans,) whom Dryden here repreſents Virgil as calling, " Home-born deities; of mortal birth."

(40) Pallida Tiſiphone media inter millia ſævit.
Virgil. Æn. 10. ℣. 761.

Amidſt the croud infernal Atè ſhakes
Her ſcourge aloft, and creſt of hiſſing ſnakes.
Dryden, Ib. ℣. 1080.

(41) Taygete ſimul os terris oſtendit honeſtum
Pleias, & oceani ſpretos pede reppulit amnes;

Aut

of Piſcis; Nereids (42), inſtead of Naiads; and Nymphs of the water (43), inſtead of Nymphs of the air. Thus, where the original ſpeaks of a mountain (44), the tranſlation turns it into a river-god: where the former mentions the three bodies of Geryon (45), the latter makes it three lives: and where Virgil ſpeaks, at moſt, but of eighteen water-nymphs; Dryden has increaſed them (46), in his account, to the number of fifty.

But the great fundamental fault of Mr. Dryden, in this view, is yet behind. What I mean is his being unacquainted with the real intent and deſign of the allegories, uſed by the antients; and indeed with their ſcheme of machinery, in general. The greateſt of the antient poets ſeem to have held, that every thing in the moral, as well as the natural world, was carried on by the influence and direction of the ſupreme being (47). It was Jupiter that actuated every thing; and in ſome ſenſe might be ſaid to do every thing, that was done. This univerſal principle of action they conſidered, for their own eaſe, as divided into ſo many ſeveral perſonages, as they had occaſion for cauſes. Hence, (as I have ſaid (48) before,) every part of the creation was filled by them with deities: and no action was performed, without the aſſiſtance of ſome god, or another; for every power ſuperior to man, they called by that name. This way of thinking, (or, at leaſt, this way of talking,) was received by many of their philoſophers, as well as poets: tho' it was particularly ſerviceable to the latter; and therefore appears ſo frequently in their works. Petronius Arbiter tells us (49), that a good epic poet ſhould always lay hold of this advantage; and ſhould carry on his whole action, by the help of what we call machinery: and where Horace ſpeaks againſt gods being introduced too freely, (in a paſſage that is ſo often quoted, and ſometimes not quite to the purpoſe;) he ſpeaks only againſt

Aut eadem, ſidus fugiens ubi Piſcis aquoſi,
Triſtior hybernas cœlo deſcendit in undas.
Virgil. Georg. 4. ℣. 235.

Firſt, when the pleaſing Pleiades appear;
And ſpringing upward ſpurn the briny ſeas:
Again, when their affrighted Quire ſurveys
The watry Scorpion mend his pace behind,
With a black train of ſtorms and winter wind,
They plunge into the deep; and ſafe protection find.
Dryden, Ib. ℣. 343.

(42) Betwixt two rows of rocks, a ſylvan ſcene
Appears above; and groves for ever green:
A grott is form'd beneath with moſſy ſeats,
To reſt the Nereïds, and exclude the heats.
Dryden, Æn. 1. ℣. 236.

Fronte ſub adverſâ ſcopulis pendentibus antrum:
Intus aquæ dulces, vivoque ſedilia ſaxo;
Nympharum domus.——
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 172.

(43) Twice ſev'n, the charming daughters of the main,
Around my perſon wait, and bear my train:
Succeed my wiſh, and ſecond my deſign;
The faireſt, Deïopeia, ſhall be thine:
And make thee father of a happy line.
Dryden, Æn. 1. ℣. 111.

Sunt mihi bis ſeptem præſtanti corpore nymphæ;
Quarum, quæ formâ pulcherrima, Deïopeiam
Connubio jungam ſtabili propriamque dicabo.
Virgil. Ib. ℣. 77. (Spoke, by Juno; to Æolus.)

(44) Addam urbes Aſiæ domitas; pulſumque Niphaten.
Virgil. Georg. 3. ℣. 30.

——Niphates with inverted urn,
And dropping ſedge, ſhall his Armenia mourn;
And Aſian cities in our triumph born.
Dryden, Ib. ℣. 47.

This it ſeems was objected to Mr. Dryden as a fault in his own time; and he endeavours to anſwer the objection, in his note on the place: where he pleads, for his making Niphates a river; from a connexion, which is not in Virgil.

(45) Tergemini nece Geryonis ſpoliiſque ſuperbus,
Alcides aderat.——
Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 203.

Th' avenging force of Hercules from Spain
Arriv'd in triumph; from Geryon ſlain:
Thrice liv'd the Giant; and thrice liv'd in vain.
Dryden, Ib. ℣. 268.

(46) There are but 18 nymphs mentioned by Virgil, in his account of Cyrene's grotto; including Clymenè and Cyrenè herſelf: (ſee Georg. 4. ℣. 333, to 350.) Of which paſſage Mr. Dryden ſays; "The poet here records the names of fifty river-nymphs: and, for once, I have tranſlated them all." Note, to his Tranſlation; Georg. 4. ℣. 477.

(47) Virgil, in his propoſition to the Æneid, ſays that every thing that happened to his hero was, Vi ſuperum; and Homer, in his propoſition to the Iliad, ſays that the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, (and all the miſchievous conſequences of it,) was only a fulfilling of the will of Jove: Διος δ' ἐτελειετο βουλη.

When Cicero ſays, "that reaſon obliges us to own that every thing is done by Fate;" (Fieri omnia a Fato, ratio cogit fateri, De Div. 1. 55.) he means juſt the ſame by that word, that Homer does by his Διος βουλη, and Virgil by his Vis ſuperum; Fatum, being nothing elſe but the word of Jupiter, or, (as they otherwiſe term it,) of the gods. Fatum dicunt eſſe, quod Dii fantur, vel quod Jupiter fatur. Iſid. Orig. Lib. 8. Cap. 2.——See Dial. X. p. 151, anteh.

(48) Dial. I. p. 2.

(49) Per ambages, deorumque miniſteria, & fabuloſum ſententiarum tormentum, præcipitandus eſt liber ſpiritus. Petr. Arb. §. 78.

againſt the introducing them too freely, on the ſtage (50): for in epic poems, the very beſt of the antient poets, and the greateſt patterns for writing that ever were, introduce them perpetually, and without reſerve. Homer, who was ſo highly admired by Horace, ſcarce does any thing without them: and Virgil, who was both admired and loved ſo much by him; (and whoſe Æneid was even publiſhed, ten years before Horace died;) follows Homer more cloſely in this, than in any other point I know of. But the example of Virgil is, I think, ſufficient for me at preſent; who has employed machinery ſo much and ſo freely in his Æneid, that almoſt the whole courſe of the ſtory is carried on by the intervention of gods. I ſhould be too tedious to you, ſhould I endeavour to trace this from the beginning to the end of that poem: but, if you pleaſe, we will juſt run over the firſt book of it, in this light. There you will ſee, that if Æneas meets with a ſtorm, juſt after his firſt ſetting out (51); it is Æolus that raiſes it, at the requeſt of Juno, and by the operation of the ſeveral Genius's that preſide over the winds:—— if the ſea grows calm again, it is by the appearance of the deity (52), who preſides over that element; who countermands thoſe winds, and ſends them back to their caves.—— If Æneas lands on the coaſt of Afric, and is to be received kindly, at Carthage (53); it is Mercury that is ſent by Jupiter, to ſoften the minds of the Carthaginians and their queen, toward him:——and if he eſcapes all the attacks and dangers in paſſing thro' an unknown country, and an inhoſpitable people, till he comes to their capital; it is Venus (54), who ſhrouds him in a cloud, and protects him from all danger. In fine, if the queen falls in love with him when he is arrived there; tho' ſhe be repreſented as not old, and he as very handſome: yet muſt Cupid (55) do no leſs, than undergo a transformation; to lie on her breaſt, and inſinuate that ſoft paſſion there. This ſort of management, which is uſed ſo much by Virgil in the entrance of his poem, runs thorough it quite to the end: and appears as fully in Æneas's combat with Turnus, in the laſt book; as it did, in his arrival to Carthage, in the firſt. Every ſtep, and progreſſion in the ſtory, is full of machinery; or, (according to Petronius's general rule,) is carried on by the interpoſition and adminiſtration of the gods.

OUR modern poets, in general, ſeem not to have had any right ideas of the antient ſcheme of machinery, till long after the reſtoration of poetry; not till about the middle of the laſt century; and even now, very imperfect ones. As they had not the ſame general plan, nor the ſame doctrines to go upon, they ran into ſeveral errors, in relation to it; both in their own practice, and in their notions of the antients: and ſeveral of theſe continue, in a great degree, to this day. The chief of theſe miſtakes were: firſt, that machinery was generally uſed of old only to make a poem look more ſtrange and ſurprizing; and ſecondly, that the poets were too apt to introduce machines, (or ſupernatural cauſes,) where they could not account for events, ſo naturally as they ſhould: whereas in reality, in the works of the antients, nature and machinery generally go hand in hand; and ſerve, chiefly, to manifeſt one another. Thus, for inſtance, in the ſtorm, in the very beginning of the Æneid: theſe imaginary beings are introduced in every part of it; but it is only ſuch beings, as are proper for the part in which they are introduced; and they appear there only to carry on the true order of the natural effects. The goddeſs of the upper air deſires the god of the winds, to let looſe thoſe turbulent ſubjects of his: they are let looſe: the ſea is immediately all in a tumult; and the god of the ſea appears, to make it all calm again. There ſeems to me, not to be any more difference in this, and the natural account of the thing; than if you ſhould ſay, that all the parts of

(50) Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet;
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus:
Aut in avem Progne vertatur; Cadmus in anguem.—
Nec deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.——————
Horat. de Art. Poet. ℣. 185, to 192.

(51) See Æn. 1. ℣. 38, to 90.

(52) See Ib. ℣. 128, to 160.

(53) See Ib. 1. ℣. 227, to 308.

(54) See Ib. ℣. 318, to 422. (and the effect of it, to 590.)

(55) See Ib. 661, to 727.

of matter tend towards each other; and I ſhould ſay, that ſome ſpiritual power always impels them towards each other. The effects are juſt the ſame: only in one caſe we look upon them, as acting; and in the other, as acted upon.

I Could run out much farther on this ſubject; but what I have ſaid, I think, may be ſufficient. To return therefore to Mr. Dryden. That great man ſeems to have fallen too much into the vulgar notions of machinery. It is this which makes him ſpeak of it, in ſo ſlighting and contemptuous a manner, in general: as where he ſays (56); "The matter of Ariſtæus's recovering his bees, might have been diſpatched in leſs "compaſs; without fetching the cauſes ſo far, or intereſting ſo many gods and goddeſſes "in that affair:" and in another place (57): "Of Venus and Juno, Jupiter and Mer-"cury, I ſay nothing; for they were all machining work." Thus, where he is ſpeaking of the three greateſt epic poets that have ever been, he excludes Milton, and admits Taſſo in his place; chiefly, becauſe the former deals ſo much in machinery: for out of the three reaſons (58) which he gives for the excluſion of Milton, two of them ſeem to be founded on that bottom. Indeed by theſe, and many other of his expreſſions, Mr. Dryden ſeems to have given into both the particular miſtakes I have mentioned to you, in the moſt vulgar notions of machinery: and to have imagined that Virgil generally introduces theſe imaginary beings uſeleſly, or only for ornament; and ſometimes bunglingly, or only to excuſe what is not otherwiſe well accounted for. Thus, in ſpeaking of the Diræ in the laſt Æneid, he ſays; "This machine is one of thoſe, which the poet "uſes (59) only for ornament:" and of the ſame, and Jupiter's weighing the fates of Æneas and Turnus; "Theſe two machines,—were (60) only ornamental; and the ſucceſs of "the duel had been the ſame without them:" and in another place, in general; "Our "author ſeldom employs machines (61), but to adorn his poem." Thus, on Neptune's calming the ſea in the firſt Æneid; and his conducting Æneas's fleet ſafe to the coaſt of Italy, in the fifth; he ſays: "I name theſe two examples, among a hundred which I omit, "to prove that Virgil, generally ſpeaking, employed his machines in performing thoſe "things; which might poſſibly have been done without them. What more frequent, "than a ſtorm at ſea upon the riſing of Orion? What wonder, if among ſo many ſhips, "there ſhould one be overſet which was commanded by Orontes; tho' half the "Winds had not been there, which Æolus employed? Might not Palinurus, without "a miracle, fall aſleep and drop into the ſea, having been over wearied with watching? "——But machines ſometimes are (62) ſpecious things, to amuſe the reader; and to "give a colour of probability to things, otherwiſe incredible." And thus, on Mercury's being ſent to haſten Æneas from Carthage, he makes the following exclamation. "Oh "how convenient is a machine ſometimes in an heroic poem! This of Mercury is "plainly one; and Virgil was conſtrained to uſe it here, or the honeſty of his hero would "be ill-defended (63).

I Muſt own to you, that this very machine laſt mentioned, (the introducing Mercury, to oblige Æneas to purſue his voyage to Italy,) which Mr. Dryden ſpeaks of as ſuch a forced one; ſeems to me to be particularly eaſy, and obvious; and very well adapted. What

(56) Life of Virgil, p. 46. 12mo.

(57) Dedication to the Æneid, p. 381, 12mo.

(58) Milton, he ſays, might have had a fairer plea to be reckoned among the firſt epic poets; "If the devil had not been his hero, inſtead of Adam;—— if the giant had not foiled the knight;——and if there had not been more machining perſons, than human, in his poem." Ded. to the Æneid, p. 352. 12mo.

(59) Ibid. p. 407.

(60) Ibid. p. 408.

(61) Note on Georg. 4. ỳ. 660.

(62) Ded. to the Æneid. p. 404. 12mo.
The word, ſpecious, is generally uſed in a bad ſenſe, in Engliſh. Horace uſes the word ſpecioſus, in a very different ſenſe; in ſpeaking of this very ſubject:

Non fumum ex fulgore, ſed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat; ut ſpecioſa dehinc miracula promat:
Antiphaten, Scyllamque, & cum Cyclope Charybdim.
De Art. Poet. ỳ. 145. (of Homer.)

(63) Ded. to the Æneid, p. 380.

What the vulgar believed to be brought about, by the will of their gods; the poets deſcribed, as carried on by a viſible interpoſition of thoſe gods: and this to me ſeems to be the whole myſtery of the machinery of the antients.—When the gods are thus introduced in a poem, to help on any fact with which they were particularly ſuppoſed to be concerned, I call that machinery, eaſy and obvious: and when the god thus introduced is the moſt proper that could be employed on that particular occaſion, I call it well adapted. This I take to be the caſe, in Virgil's introducing Mercury; on the occaſion above mentioned. It was a ſuppoſed fact among the Romans, that Æneas came to Italy in conſequence of the will of heaven, and the expreſs order of the gods; declared in oracles, and prophecies. What they thus ſuppoſed, Virgil realizes. The Fates, or will of heaven, in Virgil is Jupiter giving his orders: and the declaration of it to Æneas, is expreſſed by Mercury, (the uſual meſſenger of the will of heaven,) coming down to him; and giving him the orders he had from Jupiter. This machinery then is both obvious, and well adapted: and, we may add, that it could ſcarce be better timed, than when Æneas was at the greateſt ſtop he met with in his whole voyage for Italy; and when he was moſt in danger of quitting his deſign. This ſeems to me to be as obvious, and well adapted; as that known piece of machinery in the Roman poets, relating to the deification of Romulus. The vulgar among the Romans believed, that Romulus was the ſon of Mars; and that, when his time was come, he was received among the gods; on account of his birth, and for his great atchievements in war. The poets therefore, in mentioning this, ſay that Mars deſcended from heaven in his war-chariot; and carried up Romulus with him in it (64), to the abode of Jupiter. Thus they both ſay the very ſame thing; only the poetical way of expreſſing it, is more perſonal and deſcriptive than the proſe one. This I ſhould imagine to be generally the caſe, in the machinery of the antients: and as I was ſaying juſt now, that they commonly ſuppoſed that man could do nothing of himſelf; and was actuated in every thing by the direction of heaven, or the will of Jupiter; their poets had as full ſcope for this, as they could wiſh: for on that ſingle principle they might, I think, very fairly introduce ſome proper deity, as aſſiſting in any action; wherever they thought it would ſerve either to ſtrengthen, or beautify the narration. I ſhall juſt add one thing, which I have ſlightly hinted at before: that if any modern poet was to form a new ſcheme for machinery, conſiſting of good and bad angels; or of any imaginary beings, by whatever names he might pleaſe to call them: our poets would have as full ſcope for introducing them, whenever they pleaſed, on the doctrine of particular providence, in the moral world; or on that thought in the Newtonian philoſophy, which ſuppoſes all motion may poſſibly be occaſioned by the immediate impulſe of ſome ſpiritual being, in the natural; as the antient poets had from the doctrine of Fate, or the will of Jupiter, interfering in all things.

IF ſome great genius, in any future age, ſhould introduce and eſtabliſh ſuch a ſcheme as I am ſpeaking of; I ſhould imagine that his readieſt and beſt way, would be to adapt the characters and repreſentations already received from the antients, in all caſes where they might be eaſily and naturally transferred into his ſcheme. Thus the goddeſs of Peace, for inſtance, might as well be called the meſſenger of peace; and the Apollo inflicting plagues, might be turned into a deſtroying angel. In the doctrine of angels, as it already ſtands, he would find a full ſupply for the adminiſtration of any happineſs, or miſery, that can befal mankind: and if the imaginations of the ſchoolmen are not too whimſical to be made uſe of, even by the poets, in this caſe; he might there find all their hierarchies, degrees, and offices, already ſettled. The very name of angel in our ſenſe of the word, is much the ſame with that of a god in the language of the heathens; and our idea of devils, falls in very much with their notion of a fury. So that much might be done by only ſhifting the names, and retaining the old characters and repreſentations.

THE

(64) Horat. Lib. 3. Od. 3. ℣. 16. - Ovid. Faſt. lib. 2. ℣. 496. & Met. lib. 14. ℣. 820, &c.

THE reaſon why I ſhould think it would be the beſt way, for any one who was to form a new plan of machinery, to transfer the characters and appearances of their imaginary perſons from the antients; muſt, I believe be very obvious to you. He would by theſe means be ſupplied with a great number of them, ready made to his hands: generally, well known; and, for the moſt part, formed at firſt with much ſimplicity, and great expreſſiveneſs. He would have nothing to do, but to invent new ones of a like ſtamp, wherever there was a neceſſity of invention; and to diſcard the old ones, wherever they might be incompatible with his ſcheme, or at leaſt improper for it. A man of genius might by theſe means, I think, compoſe a new ſcheme with much more eaſe, than may be generally imagined. But in his application of it, he ſhould be particularly careful to be uniform; nor ever mix any one name of the gods of the heathens, with the names of the miniſters of bleſſings and vengeance uſed in our ſacred writings: a fault, which our great Milton himſelf is not always free from.

THUS, if any one was to form a new ſcheme for allegories in poetry, my collection here might ſtill be very uſeful to him: and if any ſuch inventor ſhould ariſe in our days, it ſhould be very much at his ſervice. However till ſuch a thing does happen, I think our poets ſhould follow the old ſcheme, as uniformly; as they ſhould a new one, when once received.

I HAVE for ſome time been talking to you on allegories only; as my ſubject led me particularly to conſiderations of that kind: but the idea of illuſtrating the works of the claſſics, from the figures of the antient artiſts, might be extended to ſeveral other things. Some of theſe I ſhall juſt point out to you: and you may hear me with the more patience, becauſe this will cloſe all I have to ſay on this head. Indeed, you have made me launch out into a great deal of talk, for theſe ten days: but heaven be praiſed, we at length begin to come in ſight of the ſhore!

Page 320 Boilard sculp.

DIAL. XXI.

Some Hints, to ſhew how this ſort of ENQUIRY, might be carried on and compleated.

WHEN I firſt began to make my collection, (continued Polymetis,) I did not think of confining it to the figures of the imaginary beings of the antients; but to take in ſeveral other things, which I thought might poſſibly be of uſe toward making the claſſics more intelligible: but after going ſome way in it, I found the deſign ſo extenſive, and ſo copious; that it ſeemed to me too much for any one man, (at leaſt, for ſuch an one as I am,) to compleat it in its full extent. I therefore choſe to confine myſelf to one part only; that of the figures of the heathen deities: but a part which, to ſay the truth, goes perhaps as far; as all the reſt would, if put together. I ſhall mention to you ſome of the principal points, which I at firſt thought of; but afterwards left untouched, and ready for any one who may ever think of making a ſecond collection.

HAD I gone on with my firſt deſign, and made a Muſæum for antiques relating to other ſubjects, as well as the heathen deities; what I ſhould have placed in the very firſt partition of it, would have been ſuch as are very much connected with them: ſuch, I mean, as relate to the amours of thoſe deities with mortals. Theſe are very common ſubjects, both with the artiſts and poets; and we generally find a very great agreement in their works, relating to them. Thus Jupiter's deſcent to Semele, in all his glory, is deſcribed (1) by Ovid with the ſame circumſtances, that you ſee it in gems (2); on which Jupiter appears ſurrounded with lightnings and fire, on that occaſion. Danaë is expreſſed in (3) gems, juſt as ſhe is deſcribed (4) by the ſame poet. You have the whole ſtory of Europa, told at large in a piece of Moſaic (5), at the Barbarini palace in Rome; and the figures of Jupiter carrying her acroſs the ſea, under the ſhape of a bull, are very common on gems: you ſee her, I believe, in one or other of them, in each of the attitudes which Ovid (6) gives her on that occaſion, in ſo many different parts of his works. Leda, and her ſwan, is yet more common on antiques; and appears on them often, as ſhe is deſcribed (7) by the ſame. The ſtory of Ganymede's being carried from mount Ida by the eagle, is a common ſubject in gems, ſtatues, and relievos. The poets ſometimes ſuppoſe this eagle to be Jupiter (8) himſelf; and ſometimes to be only that bird (9), ſent to perform the orders of Jupiter. The artiſts too ſeem to have followed ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other of theſe opinions: for the relievo in the antichamber to the Florentine-gallery, and the figure relating to this ſubject at St. Mark's library in Venice, expreſs the paſſion of love in the eagle himſelf; whereas many other repreſentations of the ſame ſtory, ſhew nothing but his care and fidelity. The artiſts too have not forgot Ganymede's

(1) Ovid. Met. Lib. 3. ℣. 293, to 309.

(2) Baron Stoſche's collection of drawings; at Florence. Vol. 2.

(3) Muſ. Flor. Vol. I. Pl. 66, 4.

(4) Ovid. Am. Lib. 3. El. 8. ℣. 34.

(5) See Turnbull's Paintings of the Antients. Pl. 8.

(6) See Met. Lib. 2. ℣. 873, to 875.——Ib. lib. 6. ℣. 105, to 107.——Faſt. lib. 5. ℣. 605, to 614.

(7) See Ovid. Her. Ep. 17. ℣. 56.——Met. lib. 6. ℣. 109.

(8) Rex ſuperûm Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore
Arſit; & inventum eſt aliquid quod Jupiter eſſe,
Quàm quod erat mallet; nullâ tamen alite verti
Dignatur, niſi quæ poſſet ſua fulmina ferre:
Nec mora, percuſſo mendacibus aëra pennis,
Abripit Iliaden.——
Ovid. Met. lib. 10. ℣. 160.

(9) Cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permiſit, expertus fidelem
Jupiter in Ganymede flavo.
Horat. Lib. 4. Od. 4. ℣. 4.

mede's preferment afterwards; nor the reſentment with which Juno uſed to regard him, in his high poſt: a ſubject ſo familiarly known from the relievos of old; that it may poſſibly on that account be only juſt hinted at by (10) Ovid, where he has an occaſion of ſpeaking of it. Theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable, among the numerous amours of Jupiter; the chief of the gods in debauchery, as well as in power. Several other of the heathen deities, tho' not ſo guilty as Jupiter, yet are not free from the ſame reproach. Neptune's rape of Cænis, (or ſome other lady,) is repreſented on a relievo (11), in the Admiranda; and Apollo's purſuit of Daphne, and her transformation into a laurel-tree, appears (12) on an old gem: tho', to ſay the truth, I have never met with this ſtory ſo well expreſſed in any work of the antient artiſts; as it is in Bernini's ſtatue of them, in the Villa Borgheſe. The amour of Bacchus and Ariadne is not uncommon, on gems: and the famous amour of Venus and Adonis is as common on them, as that of Diana and Endymion is on Sarcophagus's. But I muſt juſt obſerve to you, that the artiſts and poets have kept up a great deal of decorum, in their different manner of telling theſe two ſtories: for Venus, whoſe character is abandoned, is repreſented by them on this occaſion, as giving a looſe to her paſſion; whereas the chaſte Diana has (13) a veil over her head, and ſeems wholly engaged in contemplating the beauty of Endymion, while he is aſleep: beſide that, in this latter caſe, there are ſome other figures uſually inſerted by the artiſts; which ſeem to infer plainly enough that it was rather meant to ſhadow out ſome philoſophical myſtery, than to expreſs any real amour.

THESE which I have mentioned, and ſeveral others which I might have mentioned, would have ſupplied me with ſufficient furniture for the firſt partition in my long room, or gallery; had I carried on my deſign ſo far, as I was once inclined to do. In the ſecond partition, I would have ranged the copies of ſuch antiques, as relate to the heroes (14); or the offſpring of the gods, from their amours with mortals. There you might have ſeen, Zethus and Amphion, (the twin-ſons of Jupiter, by Antiopè,) revenging the cauſe of their mother on the unhappy Dircè: in the ſame manner as that ſtory is expreſſed in the famous group of figures, at the Farneſe palace in Rome; and as it is told (15) by Propertius. From whom, by the way, one learns an additional propriety obſerved by the artiſt, in laying Amphion's lyre by him: which the author of one of the old Latin tragedies had in his eye too; tho' he has acted leſs properly, in placing it (16) in his hand. Had he held it there, whilſt he ought to have been wholly engaged in other matters, Zethus would have had ſufficient reaſon to be angry with him for being too fond of his fiddle, and to have got him to quit it; as, it is ſaid (17), he did afterwards on a leſs important occaſion. There you might have ſeen Perſeus, the ſon of Jupiter by Danaë, with the true air of a hero, (that is, ſomething between a deity and a man,) giving his hand to the modeſt Andromeda; to lead her from the rock, where ſhe juſt before expected a moſt cruel death. You muſt remember the incomparable relievo that repreſents this ſtory, formerly in Cardinal Albani's noble collection at Rome; together with which it was purchaſed by the Pope, and is now placed in the Capitoline gallery:

(10) ——Nunc quoque pocula miſcet;
Invitâque Jovi nectar Junone miniſtrat.
Ovid. Met. Lib. 10. ℣. 161.

(11) Pl. 29.

(12) Maffei's Gems, Vol. II. Pl. 44.

(13) See Dial. XII. p. 199. anteh.

(14) Varia hujus vocabuli adferuntur etyma; mihi, quod Platoni placuit, maximè placet: ut ſit ab Ἔρως, amor; propterea quòd, ex amore deorum erga fœminas mortales, vel dearum erga mares mortales, geniti ſint. Ainſworth. in Vocab. Heroes. Theſ. Pars ult.

(15) Tu reddis pueris matrem; puerique trahendam
Vinxerunt Dircen ſub trucis ora bovis:
Antiope, cognoſce Jovem! Tibi gloria Dirce
Ducitur, in multis mortem habitura locis.
Prata cruentantur Zeti; victorque canebat
Pæana Amphion rupe, Aracynthe, tuâ.
Propertius, Lib. 3. El. 15. ℣. 42.

(16) Dextrâ ferocem cornibus taurum premens
Zetus; manuque ſuſtinet lævâ chelym,
Qui ſaxa dulci traxit Amphion ſono.
Oedipus, Act. 3. Sc. 1. ℣. 612.

(17) Nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.
Gratia ſic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque
Zethi diſſiluit: donec ſuſpecta ſevero
Conticuit lyra. ——
Hor. Lib. 1. Ep. 18. ℣. 43.

gallery: where it demands a particular attention, amidſt the many beauties that adorn that place. Ovid, in ſpeaking of Andromeda on this occaſion, makes her a compliment which is very common with the antients; tho' I would not anſwer for its ſucceſs now: he ſays, ſhe was as beautiful (18) as a ſtatue, or a work of art. He ſpeaks too, of that (19) modeſt air of her face; which is ſo very remarkably expreſſed, in the Capitoline relievo. I might have added to this ſecond partition, ſeveral drawings or copies from antiques, relating to the ſame hero; and ſome others: particularly, all the pieces that have any reference to the conqueſt of the Indies by Bacchus, and Hercules, conſidered as ſuch great conquerors; and as engaged in thoſe actions, which they are ſaid to have performed before the time of their ſuppoſed deification.

MY third partition would have been ſet apart for ſuch things as do not belong to the heroes, properly ſo called; but which are as evidently fabulous, as any thing relating to them. One might have ſupplied this part, with Arion on his Dolphin; Theſeus killing the Minotaure; and Bellerophon engaging with the Chimæra, from gems: and indeed almoſt the whole ſtory of the laſt of theſe is to be met with in the ſame; except his fall on the Aleïan fields, which I have never yet ſeen in any antique. Helle's paſſage over the ſea on a ram, and Dædalus's flight thro' the air, are repreſented on gems too. I could have had the ſtory of Narciſſus, from that pretty ſtatue of him in the Florentine gallery; and that of Actæon more at large, in five ſeveral compartiments, from a Sarcophagus in the Villa Borgheſe. The Judgment of Paris, between the three contending goddeſſes, is a very common ſubject in gems, ſtatues, pictures, and relievos; and the deſcent of Orpheus into hell might have been fully ſupplied, from ſome or other of them. The figures and ſtories of Amazons, are common too, in all ſorts of antiques; and I ſhould have known where to have met with a Cyclops, or a Pygmy, upon occaſion. Every one of theſe ſubjects are deſcribed by the poets, as well as expreſſed by the artiſts; and generally, thoſe which are moſt common with the latter, are moſt ſpoken of by the former.

PERHAPS

(18) Quam ſimul ad duras religatam brachia cautes
Vidit Abantiades; niſi quòd levis aura capillos
Moverat, & trepido manabant lumina fletu,
Marmoreum ratus eſſet opus. ———
Ovid. Met. Lib. 4. ℣. 674.

It is common with the antients, to commend living beauties, by comparing them to works of art.

———Contempla, Epidice;
Uſque ab unguiculo ad capillum ſummum eſt feſtiviſſima:
Eſtne, conſidera. Vide, ſignum pictum pulchrâ videris.
Plaut. in Epid. Act. 5. Sc. 1.

Ut facetè, atque ex picturâ, aſtitit.
Id. in Stichus, Act. 1. Sc. 3.

——Cervix, humerique, manuſque;
Pectoraque, artificum laudatis proxima ſignis.
Ovid. Met. Lib. 12. ℣. 398.

Lateri applicat meo mulierem, omnibus ſimulacris emendatiorem. Petron. Arb. p. 239.——Oſculum, quale Praxiteles habere Venerem credidit: jam mentum; jam cervix; jam manus; jam pedum candor, intra auri gracile vinculum poſitus, Parium marmor extinxerat. Ibid.

It ſeems to have been from hence too, that the Roman poets uſe ſo many terms drawn from ſtatues, to expreſs the beauty of the human body itſelf; as thoſe of Cereus, Eburneus, and Marmoreus:

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roſeam; & cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia.———
Horat. Lib. 1. Od 13. ℣. 3.

Illa quidem noſtro ſubjecit eburnea collo
Brachia, Sithoniâ candidiora nive.
Ovid. Amor. Lib. 3. El. 7. ℣. 8.

Littora marmoreis pedibus ſignate, puellæ
Id. Ib. Lib 2. El. 11. ℣. 15.

And, poſſibly thoſe of; Candidus, Nitidus, and Splendens:

Argonautas præter omnes candidum.
Hor. Epod. 3. ℣. 9.

——Liparæi nitor Hebri.
Id. Lib. 3. Od. 12. ℣. 6.

Urit me Glyceræ nitor,
Splendentis Pario marmore puriùs.
Id. Lib. 1. Od 19. ℣. 6.

Which laſt paſſage, is thus imitated by the author of one of the old Latin tragedies:

Hæc ſolem facies rarius appetat,
Lucebit Pario marmore clariùs.
Hippolitus, Act. 2. Chor.

In both theſe paſſages, we ſeem to be directed immediately to the idea taken from ſtatues: ſome of which among the antients are ſaid to have been ſo bright, that they could ſcarce bear to look upon them long and ſteadily. There was a Hecatè, in particular, in the famous temple of Diana at Epheſus; in cujus contemplatione (ſays Pliny) admonent æditui, parcere oculis: tanta marmoris radiatio eſt. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 36. Cap. 5.

(19) ——Manibuſque modeſtos
Celaſſet vultus, ſi non religata fuiſſet.
Ovid. Met. Lib. 4. ℣. 682.

PERHAPS you will ſay, that I ſhould rather have kept my Amazons for the next partition; becauſe Juſtin (20), and ſome other hiſtorians, ſpeak of them and their wars, not as fables but as realities. I ſhall not pretend to enter nicely into that queſtion: and indeed the elder hiſtory, in general, is ſo intermixed with fable, that it is often not eaſy to diſtinguiſh between dowright fictions, and pretended truths. Lucian, in his (21) catalogue of old ſtories, mixes them both indifferently together; perhaps becauſe even he, (who lived ſo much nearer thoſe times,) did not well know how to ſeparate them with any degree of exactneſs. But to return to the partitions for my gallery. In the fourth, I ſhould have placed the antiques that relate to ſuch things as ſeem to me to have been delivered for facts, in the antient hiſtory; and among theſe you might perhaps have met with ſome things as imaginary, as the Amazons and Pygmies. Here for inſtance, I ſhould have introduced the ſtory of Meleager and Atalanta, from the Sarcophagus in the Borgheſe palace; and that of Hero and Leander, from gems: and all the antiques that relate to the Theban and Trojan wars. If very little came in for the former, it would have been largely made up in the choice that there is for the latter. Among theſe you would have ſeen, the Rape of Helen (22), from an antient painting; the ſacrifice of Iphigenia, from the fine urn in the Juſtinian gardens; the barbarity of Achilles, in dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy; the taking away of the palladium, by Diomed and Ulyſſes; the ſtratagem of the wooden horſe; the death of Laocoon and his two ſons; the tearing of Caſſandra from the ſhrine of Minerva; the burning of Troy; and the eſcape of Æneas from the flames, with old Anchiſes on his ſhoulders; and the little Aſcanius following him with difficulty; juſt as he is deſcribed (23) by Virgil.

THIS would have led directly to my fifth claſs; which would have conſiſted of ſuch things, as fall in with the Roman hiſtory. Here you might have ſeen many things, relating to Æneas's arrival and eſtabliſhment in Italy; and, many, relating to the birth and ſtory of Romulus: the rape of the Sabines; Cochles alone defending the bridge, againſt the forces of Porſenna; Scævola, puniſhing his hand for miſplacing the blow he meant for that prince; Curtius, plunging into the gulph to ſave his country; Lucretia, dying by her own hand, not to outlive her chaſtity any longer than was neceſſary for its being revenged; the great Cincinnatus dreſſing himſelf, to leave his plough for the dictatorial chair; and ſeveral other of the moſt remarkable events, in the Roman ſtory. I mention only ſuch as I have chanced to meet with in antiques: and no doubt I ſhould have found out a great many more, had I carried on my deſign; as I firſt intended. In this partition, I ſhould have added the portraits of all the more eminent perſons among the Romans; from their medals and ſtatues: and have got together as entire a ſeries of them, as I could, quite from the foundation of Rome, to the times of Gallienus. Would not that be going too high? interpoſed Philander: for as you ſay, that the arts were not introduced into Rome, till the ſecond Punic war; I ſhould think, that the figures of the kings and conſuls before that time, muſt have been of too bad a taſte for the reſt of your collection. Had we no figures of them, ſays Polymetis, but what were done in their own times, and by their own countrymen, I ſhould indeed have been very little deſirous of having any

(20) Majore parte Europæ ſubactâ, Aſiæ quoque nonnullas civitates occupavere. Juſtin. Lib. 2.

When Julius Cæſar was threatning his enemies once very highly, and one of them ſaid in ridicule, "that it was not eaſy for any woman, to do all that he had threatned;" (alluding to the ſtories of him, when he lived in the court of Nicomedes;) Julius's anſwer was: "In Aſſyriâ quoque regnaſſe Semiramin; magnamque Aſiæ partem Amazonas tenuiſſe." Sueton. in Jul. Cap. 22.

(21) See Lucian, Περι ορχησεως. Tom. I. p. 801, to 806. Ed. Blaeu. Tho' his catalogue takes up ſo many pages, it is little more than a bare liſt of names; and yet, as he ſays, it is almoſt nothing in proportion to what he might have made it. Ταυτα παυυ ολιγα εκ πολλων, μαλλον δε απειρων το πληθος εξελων, τα κεφελαιωδεστερα καταλεξα. Ibid. p. 806.

(22) Turnbull's antient paintings, N°. 25.

(23) ——Sequitur patrem, non paſſibus æquis. Æn. 2. ℣. 724.

any of them in my collection: but the artiſts that came into Italy after the period you mention, worked often on ſubjects much earlier than their own times; and often choſe to repreſent the moſt ſhining parts of the Roman ſtory, and the moſt celebrated perſons that had been concerned in them. In this latter caſe, one may ſuppoſe that they took the diſtinguiſhing characters of their faces from the bungling artiſts, that had done any thing before them; but that they expreſſed them with more of art and beauty, in the execution of the work: as a good painter now might form a handſome portrait of our old Chaucer, from the miſerable one done by Oclive in his own time. That might very well have been the caſe, ſays Myſagetes, ſuppoſing they had had any Oclives then; but allowing you to ſuppoſe as much as you pleaſe, I do not ſee how theſe old Roman portraits could be of any manner of uſe toward explaining any thing in the claſſics: which I take for granted would have been the intent of your ſecond collection, as it was of your firſt. The chief thing, (replied Polymetis,) in this part of it, the portraits and perſonages of their moſt eminent men, would certainly have been more for pleaſure, than uſe; for that pleaſure, I mean, which we are apt to feel, even in ſeeing the features and air of any perſon, that we have heard much of and long admired: but there might have been ſome little uſe in it too; towards explaining an expreſſion, or paſſage now and then, in the Roman poets. I ſhall juſt give you an inſtance of this, in a very remarkable perſonage, that of Virgil. It ſeems to have been a vulgar opinion among the moderns, (at leaſt, among the modern commentators,) that Virgil was a rough-looking, ſlovenly man. To overturn this opinion, I ſhould not alledge Urſini's gem; which has ſo often been called a head of Virgil: both becauſe there is a great deal of reaſon to think, that it is falſly (24) attributed to him; and becauſe we have pictures of Virgil, drawn at full length, and much leſs to be diſputed. What I mean are two pictures, placed before (25) two of his Eclogues; in one of thoſe old manuſcripts of his works, in the Vatican library. You ſee him there, repreſented with a ſweet, modeſt countenance; and dreſſed particularly neat. Theſe pictures, if you will allow of their authority, (and I know of no other that can pretend to near ſo good an one,) may ſerve perhaps to give us the true ſenſe of an expreſſion, in Statius; and to ſave a paſſage in Horace, from the miſrepreſentations of his commentators. Statius, in ſpeaking of Virgil, applies the epithet of torvus (26), to him: whence ſome have been apt to imagine that Virgil had a ſtern or ſour look. But if one ought to truſt more to this picture, than to the commentators, we ſhould perhaps underſtand that expreſſion of his writings, rather than of his perſonage; with which it will by no means agree: whereas if it be applied to his works, it may ſignify the dignity and majeſty of them; which will agree with the context and the occaſion on which Statius uſes that expreſſion as much, as in the other ſenſe it would be foreign to both. The paſſage I had in my eye from Horace, is where that poet is ſpeaking of a man who had ſome little faults, mixed with more material excellencies; which might well enough conceal them, at leaſt to every good-natured obſerver. The faults or defects he mentions are (27), that he was a little too paſſionate; ſomewhat ungenteel in his converſation; and ill-dreſſed. Here, ſay the commentators, one ſees an inſtance of the ſly way that Horace had of touching on the faults of his beſt friends, even whilſt he is commending them: and the friend here touched upon, they will have to be Virgil. Virgil's appearance in the Vatican manuſcript is as oppoſite to this character, as can poſſibly be: and if that be of any authority, it will quite deſtroy this conjecture of the commentators; and ſhew that the paſſage is not to be underſtood of Virgil's

(24) That head ſeems to me to be evidently a head of the Apollo Muſicus; and agrees in all reſpects with that of the Apollo Muſicus, Pl. 13. Fig. 1. The reaſon why it has paſſed ſo currently for a Virgil, in all the politer countries of Europe, may be, Urſini's chriſtening it ſo firſt; the deſire people in general had, of having ſome head of Virgil or other: and their not knowing any thing of the figures of him, in the Vatican Virgil.

(25) The ſecond, and ſixth.

(26) Fors & magniloquo non poſthabuiſſet Homero;
Tenderet & torvo pietas æquare Maroni.
Statius, Lib. 5. Sylv. 3. ℣. 63.

(27) Iracundior eſt paulo; minus aptus acutis,
Naribus horum hominum: rideri poſſit, eo quòd
Ruſticiùs tonſo toga deſluit, & male laxus
In pede calceus hæret.——
Hor. Lib. 1. Sat. 3. ℣. 32.

Virgil's perſon. Were I to run over the whole liſt (28) that I had collected from the poets, relating to the perſonages of the more celebrated men in the Roman hiſtory; I doubt not but that we ſhould find ſeveral other inſtances, of the ſame nature: but it is ſufficient, I think, to have given you this plain proof of what I advanced; and therefore I ſhall go on, without hunting after any more, to my ſixth partition.

This would have conſiſted of all ſorts of things, that any way relate to the worſhip, or religious ceremonies, of the old Romans. Here I would have placed all the medals I could have got, that had either temples or altars, on their reverſes; and a number of them, relating to the Secular Games: the various ſorts of ſacrifices; from gems, paintings, and relievo's: the different dreſſes of their augurs, prieſts, camilli, and veſtal virgins, from ſtatues: the Lectiſternia, to the great gods: the proceſſions, in honour of them or any other of their deities; and particularly the Bacchanalian proceſſions, which are ſo frequent in antiques, as well as in the deſcriptions of the poets. To all theſe, one might have added two other articles, equally common in both; the ceremonies uſed in their marriages, and in their funerals: both of which, (and eſpecially the latter,) made a part of thoſe religious rites, which they moſt ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved.

In my ſeventh partition I would have ranged all the things, that belong to the arts and ſciences; and whatever was uſed by the Romans in civil life. Here you might have ſeen their dreſs; the furniture of their houſes; (among which the vaſes on gems, and other remains would have had the largeſt ſhare;) their feaſts; their games, and ſports; all the different ſorts of muſical inſtruments in uſe among them; their carriages, chariots, boats, and ſhips: and a number of other things, which would come under the ſame head; and which I omit, becauſe in this, (as in all the caſes before,) I have choſen to mention only ſuch particulars, as I know there would be a large ſupply for, both in the deſcriptions of the poets, and in the remains of the artiſts.

In my eighth and laſt partition, ſhould have been every thing that related to military affairs, or the art of war, among the Romans. Here you would have ſeen their different ſorts of arms, enſigns, and machines; which might have been, in a great meaſure, ſupplied from the Trajan and Antonine pillars: their military dreſſes, from the ſame: their mural, naval, laurel, and oaken crowns, from medals: their trophies and triumphs, from the triumphal arches. All theſe particulars taken together, would make ſufficient furniture for a gallery; ſuch as I at firſt deſigned: and would furniſh any one with materials, for going thorough an intire courſe of comparing the deſcriptions in the Roman poets with the remains of the antient artiſts. I ſhall make no excuſes for the many defects I may have been guilty of; eſpecially in this laſt ſcheme, for a ſecond collection. I mean it only as a hint for Philander, or any body that may ever happen to be inclined to carry on my deſign; and I dare ſay they would find it very eaſy, to improve much upon

(28) There is ſomething ſaid, (either perſonally, or with a view to ſome figures of them,) of Picus, by Virgil, Æn. 7. ℣. 187. and Ovid. Met. 14. ℣. 313. ——Aventinus; by Virgil, Æn. 7. ℣. 655.——Lavinia; by Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv. 2. ℣. 244.——Romulus; by ſeveral of the Roman poets: See Dial. IX. Note 107, to 111, anteh.——Numa; by Virgil, Æn. 6. ℣. 808.——Ancus Martius; by the ſame, ibid. ℣. 815.——and Servius Tullius; by Ovid. Faſt. Lib. 6. ℣. 571.

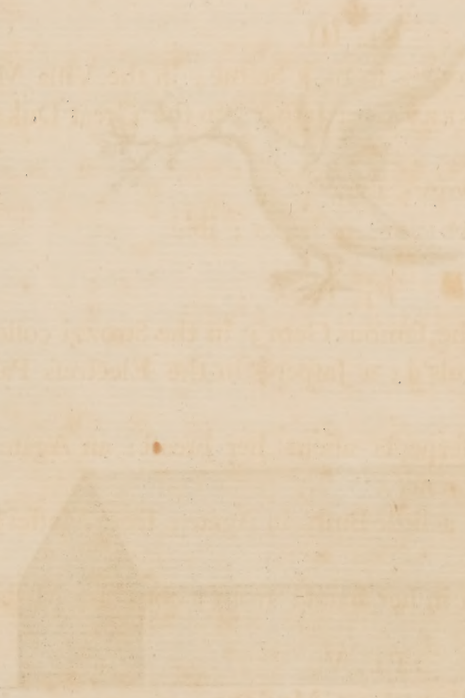
Of Lucretia, in Ovid. Faſt. Lib. 2. ℣. 831, & 843.—Claudia. Statius, Lib. 1. Sylv 2. ℣. 245.—Curtius. Id. Lib. 1. Sylv. 1. ℣. 66.—Cincinnatus. Perſius, Sat. 1. ℣. 73.—Camillus. Virg. Æn. 6. ℣. 826.—Manilius Torquatus. Id. Ibid.—Marcellus. Ibid. ℣. 855.——Regulus. Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 5. ℣. 41.—Paulus Æmilius. Virgil. Æn. 6. ℣. 836.—Petus & Arria. Martial. Lib. 1. Epig. 14.

Julius Cæſar. Lucan. Lib. 7. ℣. 458.—Auguſtus. Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 679. Ovid. ex Pont. Lib. 2. Ep. 8. ℣. 13. Lucan. Lib. 7. ℣. 458.—Livia. Ovid. Conſol. ℣. 48.——Druſus. Id. Ibid. ℣. 260.——Agrippa. Virgil. Æn. 8. ℣. 681. Ovid. de Art. Am. Lib. 3. ℣. 392.—Horace; in his own works; Lib. 2. Sat. 3. ℣. 308. Lib. 1. Ep. 7. ℣. 26. Lib. 1. Ep. 20. ℣. 24.—Meſſalina. Juvenal. Sat. 6. ℣. 129.—Britannicus. Octavia. Act. 1. Sc. 3. ℣. 172.—Octavia. Ibid. ℣. 220. & Chor. ℣. 283.—And Domitian. Juvenal. Sat. 4. ℣. 38.

Theſe are what I marked, by chance; in running over the Roman poets, principally with another view: ſo that I ſuppoſe, this liſt bears no proportion to what it might have been; had I been conſulting them, in this view only.

upon what I have only ſketched out for them. With this, as it is, I have already detained you too far into the night: for we are to riſe, you know, a little earlier than uſual to-morrow morning; that we may be in town time enough to ſee a triumph of our own: the entry of our honeſt ſailors, and their brave leader, with the treaſures that they have won from the Spaniard. In which, tho' we muſt not expect the pomp and regularity of a Roman triumph; and may perhaps meet with ſome very odd figures, among thoſe who officiate in the cavalcade; yet we ought at leaſt to conſider it, in one ſenſe, as a nobler triumph than the Romans could ever boaſt of: the warriors we are to ſee to-morrow being ſuch, as have carried the glory of the Britiſh arms into ſeas unknown to thoſe conquerors of the world, (as they always affected to call themſelves;) and among various nations, to which their eagles never flew.

Page 327 Boitard sculp.



AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ANTIQUES, inſerted in this Work: What they are; where kept: or whence copied.

PLATE I.

JUPITER: a Statue; in the Veroſpi Palace, at Rome.

PL. II.

N°. 1. JUPITER CAPITOLINUS: from a Medal of Vitellius; in Smid's Martial. p. 397.
2. WING'D FULMEN, on a ſhield: from the Columna Antonina, at Rome.
3. JUPITER FULMINANS: a Cornelian; in Senator Buonaroti's collection, at Florence.
4. Head of the MILD JUPITER: an Agate; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
5. Head of the TERRIBLE JUPITER: a little Buſt, in Agate; ibid.

PL. III.

1. Dreſs of the JUNO MATRONA: from a Statue; in the Villa Mattei, at Rome.
2. JUPITER, JUNO, and MINERVA: a Jaſper; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
3. Head of MINERVA: an Onyx; ibid.
4. DIOMED, with the PALLADIUM: a Jaſper; ibid.

PL. IV.

1. Head of MEDUSA: from the famous Gem; in the Strozzi collection, at Rome.
2. Ditto; with the Eyes convuls'd: a Jaſper; in the Electreſs Palatine's cabinet, at Florence.
3. MINERVA, with enraged ſerpents about her breaſt: an Agate; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
4. Ditto, with leſs enraged: a little Buſt, in Agate; from Maffei's Gems, Vol. II. Pl. 68.
5. Ditto, with Jove's Fulmen in her hand: from a common Medal of Domitian.

PL. V.

The VENUS OF MEDICI.

PL. VI.

1. A number of little CUPIDS, playing in a ſort of Circus: an antient Paſte, that formerly belonged to P. Bellori; from Agoſtini's Gemme Ant. Part 2. Pl. 61.
2. Several CUPIDS, playing by a river's ſide: a Medal; in the Piſani collection, at Venice.
3. CUPID, playing with a Butterfly: an Amethyſt; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
4. Ditto, going to torment a Butterfly: a Cornelian; in the Gherardini collection, at Florence.

5.

N°. 5. CUPID, careſſing Pſyche: a Statue; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
6. Ditto, tormenting her: a Chalcedon; Ibid.

PL. VII.

1. CUPID, riding on a Lion and playing on a Lyre: a Sardonyx; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. Ditto, riding on a Dolphin: from a Gem, in Agoſtini. Part 2. Pl. 58.
3. Ditto, breaking Jupiter's Fulmen: an Agate; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
4. The THREE GRACES, naked: a Sepulchral Lamp, that formerly belonged to P. S. Bartoli; from his Antiche Lucerne. Part 2. Pl. 42.
5. Three NYMPHS, or GRACES, cloathed; and dancing hand in hand: a Painting; in Dr. Mead's collection, at London.

PL. VIII.

1. VENUS, wheedling Mars: a Statue; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. VENUS, under the character of Indolence: a Sepulchral Lamp, that formerly belonged to P. S. Bartoli; from his Antiche Lucerne. Part 1. Pl. 8.
3. MARS GRADIVUS: a Cornelian; in the Cerretani collection, at Florence.
4. MARS, deſcending to Rhea Sylvia: a known Medal, of Antoninus Pius.

PL. IX.

MARS and NERIENE: a Relievo; in the Court of the Palazzo Mattei, at Rome.

PL. X.

1. VULCAN: a Cornelian; from Agoſtini's Gemme Antiche. Part 2. Pl. 36.
2. VESTA: a Medal, of Julia; from Choul. p. 235.
3. VESTALIS: a Medal, of Claudius; from the ſame. Ibid.
4. VESTA MATER: from a Medal, in Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 26. 11.
5. A Lamp, ſacred to Veſta: from the ſame. Ib. 28. 4.

PL. XI.

The APOLLO BELVEDERE.

PL. XII.

1 & 2. The NINE MUSES: a Sarcophagus; in the Capitoline Gallery, at Rome.
3. MUSE; going to receive a Child, juſt born: a Relievo; in the Palazzo Sacchetti, at Rome.

PL. XIII.

1. Head of APOLLO: an Agate; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. APOLLO LYRISTES: a known Medal, of Adrian.
3. APOLLO, and MARSYAS: a Jaſper; in the Maſſimi collection, at Rome.
4. DIANA VENATRIX: an Onyx; in Senator Buonaroti's collection, at Florence.
5. DIANA, and ACTÆON: a Gem; from Maffei. Part 3. Pl. 98.

PL. XIV.

1. DIANA TRIFORMIS: a Statue; from Montfaucon. Vol. I. Pl. 90. 5.
2. DIANA CÆLESTIS: a Statue; at the Earl of Leiceſter's Houſe, in London.
3. CERES: a Ruby; formerly in the Odeſcalchi collection, at Rome.
4. MERCURY: a Statue; in the Great Duke's Collection, at Florence.
5. Ditto, flying: a Picture; from the famous Manuſcript Virgil in the Vatican, at Rome.

PL.

PL. XV.

N°. 1. Mercury's SWORD: a Cornelian; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. Mercury's LYRE: at the foot of a ſtatue of Mercury; in the Montalti Gardens, at Rome.
3. MERCURY, giving up his Purſe to Fortune: a Gem; from Montfaucon, Vol. I. Pl. 76, 2.
4. Ditto offered to Minerva; who takes moderately out of it: an antient Painting; from a drawing by P. S. Bartoli, in Dr. Mead's collection, N°. 55. at London.
5. Ditto, offered to Pudicitia, who refuſes it: a Gem; in the collection formerly Lord Arundel's, and now Lady Betty Germaine's, at London.
6. TERMINAL MERCURY: from a Gem; in Agoſtini's Gemme Antiche. Part 2. Pl. 13.

PL. XVI.

The FARNESE HERCULES.

PL. XVII.

1. INFANT HERCULES, killing the Serpents: from an antient Paſte; in Senator Buonaroti's collection, at Florence.
2. Ditto, with Nurſe, and little Euriſtheus: a Medal; from Agoſtini's Dialoghi, p. 147, 11.
3. YOUNG HERCULES, killing a Lion: a Cornelian; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
4. YOUNG HERCULES, with a Lion's Skin over his head: a Statue; in the Capitol, at Rome.
5. Another Head, ditto: a Chryſolite; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.

PL. XVIII.

1. HERCULES, killing the Cleonæan Lion: a Chalcedon; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
2. Ditto, killing the Hydra: a Cornelian; in the ſame.
3. —— with the Erymanthian Boar: a Cornelian; in the King of France's Cabinet, at Verſailles.
4. —— Taming the wild Stag: from an Altar; till very lately at the gate of Albano, now in the Capitoline gallery.
5. —— killing the Stymphalides: }
6. —— reſting, after he has cleaned Augeas's ſtables: }
7. —— with a Bull on his Shoulders: }
8. —— killing the tyrant Diomedes: } from the ſame.
9. —— with Geryon: }
10. —— with the vanquiſhed Amazon: }
11. —— dragging Cerberus after him: }
12. —— gathering the Heſperian Fruit: }

PL. XIX.

1. HERCULES, and ANTÆUS: a Statue; in the Palazzo Pitti, at Florence.
2. HERCULES, and CACUS: a Medal, of Antoninus Pius; in the Vatican Library.
3. Head of the SUFFERING HERCULES: from a noble Greek Statue; in the Barbarini Palace, at Rome.
4. HERCULES BIBAX: a Cornelian; in the Veroſpi collection, at Rome.
5. HERCULES, and OMPHALE: a Statue; in the Great Farneſe Palace, at Rome.

PL. XX.

N°. 1. BACCHUS: a Statue; at the Marquis Cavalieri's, in Rome.
2. Little Heads of Bacchus, hanging on a Tree: a Cornelian; from Maffei's Gemme Antiche, Part 3. Pl. 64.
3. ESCULAPIUS: a Statue; in the Palazzo Maſſimi, at Rome.
4. ROMULUS: from a Medal of Antoninus Pius; in Choul, p. 175, 4.
5. Wolf, ſuckling Romulus and Remus: an Onyx; in the Riccardi collection, at Florence.
6. CASTOR and POLLUX, on horſeback: from a Medal of the Scribonian family; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 41, 12.
7. Ditto, ſtanding: from a Medal of the Sulpitian family; from the ſame; ibid. Fig. 11.
8. Heads of ditto: from a Medal; in Canini's Iconografia, Pl. 97.

PL. XXI.

1. PHILOSOPHY, and SOCRATES: from a Sarcophagus; in the Capitoline gallery, at Rome.
2. HOMER, and his MUSE: from the ſame.
3. PRUDENCE: from a Medal of Gordianus Africanus; in Vaillant's Numiſm. Rom. T. 1. p. 154.
4. JUSTICE: from a Medal of Galba; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 62, 9.
5. FORTITUDE: from a common Medal of Adrian.
6. TEMPERANCE: from a Medal; in the Piſani collection, at Venice.
7. PIETY; (in the common ſenſe of that word:) from a common Medal of Fauſtina.
8. Ditto; (in the leſs common ſenſe of it:) from a Medal of Marcus Aurelius; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 77, 2.
9. HONESTY: from a Medal of Veſpaſian; ib. Pl. 85, 7.
10. MODESTY: a Medal, of Herennia Etruſcilla; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
11. CLEMENCY: from a Medal of Veſpaſian; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 63, 4.

PL. XXII.

1. HAPPINESS: from a Medal of the younger Fauſtina; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 66, 8.
2. HEALTH: from a Medal of Domitian; ibid. 80, 3.
3. LIBERTY: from a common Medal, of Galba.
4. TRANQUILLITY: from a Medal, of Adrian; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 60, 3.
5. CHEARFULNESS: from a Medal, of L. Ælius; in Vaillant's Numiſm. Rom. T. 1. p. 70.
6. JOVIALITY: from a Medal, of Fauſtina; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 55, 9.
7. HOPE: from a Medal, of Peſcennius Niger; ibid. 54, 6.
8. SECURITY: from a Medal, of M. Aurelius; in Agoſtini's Dial. p. 48, 4.
9. CONCORD: from a Medal, of Gordian; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 81, 7.
10. PEACE: from a common Medal, of Titus.
11. PLENTY, (in general:) from a Medal, of Trajan; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 73, 5.
12. Ditto, (for a ſeaſon:) from a Medal, of Antoninus Pius; in Agoſtini's Dial. p. 70, 3.

PL. XXIII.

1. VICTORY: from a Medal, of Galba; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 68, 2.
2. HONOUR: from a common Medal, of Titus.
3. PROVIDENCE; (with a Globe of the earth, at her feet:) from a common Medal, of M. Aurelius.
4. Ditto; (with a Globe flung up into the air:) from a common Medal, of Pertinax.
5. NECESSITY: a Statue; in Montfaucon. Part 1. Pl. 197, 2.

6.

N°. 6. The THREE DESTINIES: from a Medal, of Diocletian; in Smids's Martial, p. 106, 6.
7. The GENIUS, of a Veſtal Virgin: from an antient Statue; in Mr. Hooke's Roman Hiſtory. Vol. I. p. 53.
8. Ditto, of Julia Mammæa: from a common Medal, of that Empreſs.
9. Ditto, of Nero: from a Medal of that Emperor, in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 42, 5.
10. FORTUNE, as conſtant: from a common Medal, of Adrian.
11. ——— as inconſtant: a Jaſper; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
12. ——— as taking care of Foundlings: a Cornelian; in Agoſtini's Gemme Ant. Pl. 71.

PL. XXIV.

Antient GLOBE OF THE HEAVENS: from the Statue of Atlas; in the Farneſe Palace, at Rome.

PL. XXV.

1. TAURUS, entire: from an Onyx; in Agoſtini's Gemme Ant. Pl. 135.
2. The TWELVE SIGNS of the Zodiac; Virgo, with full face: an Onyx; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
3. Ditto; with Libra, or Balance, held by a Man: a Medal, of Alexander; in the ſame.
4. CAPRICORN, entire: from a common Medal, of Auguſtus.

PL. XXVI.

1. The SEVEN PLANETARY DEITIES, in their Chariots; &c. a Drawing, from a Gem; in Baron Stoſche's collection, at Florence.
2. SATURN, with Wings, and Fetters: from a Chalcedon; in Agoſtini's Gemme Ant. Pl. 88.
3. LUNA, in her Chariot; preceeded by Heſperus: a Relievo; formerly on Trajan's Arch, and now on Conſtantine's, at Rome.
4. SOL, in his Chariot; preceeded by Phoſphorus: a Medal, of Antoninus Pius; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.

PL. XXVII.

1. ETERNITY: a common Medal, of Fauſtina.
2. The GREAT PLATONIC YEAR: a Medal, of Adrian; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
3. The FOUR AGES, of Man: a Painting; in Bartoli's Ant. Sepolcri. Pl. 5.
4. The FOUR SEASONS, of the Year: a Medal, of Commodus; in the Great Duke's collection, at Florence.
5. JANUS: a Medal, of Antoninus Pius; in Oiſelius's Theſ. Pl. 41, 2.

PL. XXVIII.

1. A GOD of the WINDS: a Relievo; in the Capitoline Gallery, at Rome.
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OR,

A List of such Paſſages in the Roman Poets; as may receive any manner of light, from the foregoing Work.

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	Dial.	Note
Ennius.		
Annal. Lib. 1. ℣. 21	10	1.
——— 129	7	70.
Epicharmus. ——— ℣. 12	6	80.
Alcmæon. ——— 7, &c.	8	86.
Chryſes ———	13	61.
Andromeda. ——— ℣. 2.	12	22.
Thyeſtes. ——— ℣. 1.	13	61.
Actius.		
Erigone. —℣. 362	8	86.
Prometheus. ℣. 628	16	115.
Trachyniæ. ℣. 715	9	7.
Incert. —℣. 785	6	80.
Pacuvius.		
Antiope. ℣. 17	4	12.
Plautus.		
Amphitruo. Prol. ——— ℣. 143	8	115.
Act. 5. Sc. 1. ℣. 64	9	15.
Bacchides. Act. 2. Sc. 3. ℣. 22	12	79.
Act. 3. Sc. 3. ℣. 30	17	3.
Rudens. Act. 2. Sc. 4. ℣. 9	7	7.
Truculentus. Act. 2. Sc. 6. ℣. 34	7	72.
℣. 49, &c.	7	72.
Cæcilius.		
Incert. ———	10	4.
Terence.		
Eunuchus. Act. 2. Sc. 3. ℣. 26	7	10.
Heautont. Prol. ——— ℣. 25	2	36.
Act. 4. Sc. 3. ℣. 1, &c.	2	36.
Phormio. Act. 1. Sc. 1. ℣. 10	10	77.
Afranius.		
Sella. ℣. 189 ———	10	5.
Lucinius Imbrex.		
Neæra. ℣. 1 ———	7	70.
Lucilius.		
Sat. Lib. 4. ℣. 6 ———	16	113.
Sat. Lib. 16. ℣. 1 ———	5	15.
23. ℣. 33 ———	13	27.
28. ℣. 57. ———	7	8.
Varro.		
Octogeſis. ——— ℣. 336 ———	7	14.
Satyra Menippæa. ℣. 461 ———	7	70.
Cicero.		
Tranſlation of Aratus. ℣. 21 ———	9	107.
℣. 61 ———	11	31.
℣. 125 ———	11	65.
℣. 154 ———	11	22.
Catullus.		
De Aty. Carm. 61. ——— ℣. 40 ———	8	10.
De Nupt. Pel. Carm. 62. ℣. 28 ———	14	41.
℣. 150 ———	16	42.
℣. 311 ———	10	75.
De Comâ Ber. Carm. 64. ℣. 5 ———	12	24.
Ad Gellium, Carm. 85. ℣. 6 ———	14	3.
Lucretius.		
Lib. 1. ℣. 66 ———	8	112.
— 119 ———	2	25.
— 251 ———	13	61.
2. 47 ———	16	24.
3. 993 ———	16	182.
— 1097 ———	16	180.
4. 1155 ———	6	63.
— 1158 ———	8	109.
5. 10 ———	10	1.
— 28 ———	9	32.
— 736 ———	12	74.
— 740 ———	13	54.
— 741 ———	13	39.
— 745 ———	12	76.
— 746 ———	12	75.
— 746 ———	13	53.
— 1197 ———	10	33.
6. 297 ———	6	10.
— 427 ———	13	32.
— 1271 ———	16	30

Poets

Poets of the AUGUSTAN AGE.

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	Dial.	Note
Ecl. 1. ℣. 6	6	75.
— 28	10	89.
— 72	15	74.
3. 59	2	13.
4. 1, &c.	12	55.
— 10	8	14.
— 46	10	75.
5. 73	14	37.
6. 2	8	33.
— 75	15	50.
7. 25	9	99.
— 32	8	94.
8. 13	9	99.
10. 62	15	59.
Georg. 1. ℣. 1	11	2.
— 17	15	81.
— 20	15	71.
— 31	14	3.
— 32, &c.	11	51.
— 38	16	206.
— 96	8	110.
— 204	11	2.
— 211	13	35.
— 217	11	81.
— 233	11	4.
— 245	11	6.
— 328	6	36.
— 404	15	50.
— 418	13	71.
— 447	12	93.
— 453	11	24.
— 462	13	13.
— 482	14	88.
— 490	2	48.
— 498	20	39.
2. 98	15	44.
— 126, &c.	20	15.
— 325, &c.	20	30.
— 334	13	37.
— 339	13	37.
— 342	11	118.
— 389	9	87.
— 392	9	83.
— 392	20	1.
— 473	10	12.
— 490, &c.	2	48.
— 521	12	64.
3. 37, &c.	16	189.
— 85	12	36.
— 359	12	39.
— 554	16	150.
4. 52	12	73.
— 125, &c.	15	57.
— 231, &c.	11	115.
— 329, &c.	15	74.
— 333, &c.	14	63.
Georg. 4. ℣. 342	14	38.
— 345	7	66.
— 361	14	60.
— 363	14	108.
— 371, &c.	14	92.
— 382	14	1.
— 407	14	32.
— 423	14	33.
— 425	11	111.
— 451	14	34.
— 482	16	131.
— 484	16	190.
Æn. 1. ℣. 4	20	47.
— 7	3	10.
— 16	6	39.
— 38, &c.	20	51.
— 42	6	80.
— 52	13	37.
— 52, &c.	13	57.
— 54	13	57.
— 71	13	58.
— 93	12	49.
— 126	7	5.
— 126, &c.	20	21.
— 255	6	22.
— 292	10	42.
— 499	8	97.
— 591	8	22.
— 740	8	62.
2. 167	6	67.
— 172, &c.	6	65.
— 406	12	49.
— 417	13	10.
— 612, &c.	6	40.
— 684	8	22.
— 688	12	49.
3. 96	3	11.
— 120	13	37.
— 275	8	64.
— 438	6	76.
4. 26	16	13.
— 122	6	80.
— 141	8	1.
— 143	8	25.
— 150	8	22.
— 175	16	150.
— 176	13	83.
— 181	13	86.
— 182	13	85.
— 186	13	90.
— 247	15	41.
— 248, &c.	15	40.
— 511	8	102.
— 569	8	114.
5. 662	20	19.
— 721	12	89.
— 740	12	83.

		Dial.	Note
Æn. 5. ỳ.	837	12—	90.
—	839	20—	16.
—	855	16—	64.
6.	25	20—	4.
—	129	9—	6.
—	129	9—	116.
—	139	9—	115.
—	274, &c.	16—	5.
—	278	16—	55.
—	289	9—	32.
—	298, &c.	16—	86.
—	418, &c.	16—	92.
—	435	16—	101.
—	436, &c.	16—	191.
—	473	16—	102.
—	575	20—	12.
—	577	16—	108.
—	578, &c.	16—	109.
—	586, &c.	6—	31.
—	605	16—	165.
—	620	16—	16.
—	638, &c.	16—	192.
—	645	16—	194.
—	658	20—	15.
—	701	16—	59.
—	741	16—	190.
—	802	9—	7.
—	802, &c.	9—	3.
—	835	3—	12.
—	843	6—	10.
—	854	15—	23.
7.	26	12—	100.
—	37	8—	44.
—	84	16—	162.
—	116	3—	17.
—	179	20—	17.
—	187	9—	111.
—	353, &c.	16—	158.
—	409	16—	113.
—	448	13—	84.
—	448	16—	150.
—	513	16—	160.
—	551, &c.	16—	161.
—	563, &c.	16—	162.
—	608	9—	12.
—	658	9—	24.
8.	32	20—	5.
—	64	14—	67.
—	77	14—	65.
—	137	15—	41.
—	194	9—	53.
—	198	9—	53.
—	203	9—	32.
—	219, &c.	20—	23.
—	264	9—	52.
—	267	9—	53.
—	287, &c.	9—	20.
—	298	9—	14.
—	349, &c.	13—	73.
—	369	12—	87.
Æn. 8. ỳ.	387	7—	55.
—	407	7—	77.
—	426, &c.	6—	35.
—	437	6—	71.
—	438	6—	70.
—	523, &c	20—	25.
—	601	15—	73.
—	630, &c.	9—	107.
—	654	5—	5.
—	677	3—	19.
—	677	8—	20.
—	704	8—	65.
—	713	14—	79.
—	728	14—	83.
9.	5	13—	79.
—	26	3—	19.
—	104, &c.	6—	20.
—	449	3—	5.
—	638	8—	8.
—	670	13—	71.
—	670	20—	20.
10.	32	3—	8.
—	58	15—	43.
—	62, &c.	6—	48.
—	212	14—	22.
11.	83	5—	10.
—	679	9—	12.
12.	77	12—	100.
—	164	12—	28.
—	206, &c.	6—	14.
—	402	9—	103.
—	701, &c.	15—	48.
—	811	6—	80.
—	888	14—	124.

Lib. HORACE.

I. Ode 1. ỳ.	5	10—	65.
—	29, &c.	3—	24.
—	33	8—	39.
—	35	3—	24.
2.	2	6—	36.
—	31	8—	92.
—	33	7—	15.
—	41, &c.	8—	1.
4.	13	16—	37.
7.	12	14—	63.
10.	6, &c.	8—	130.
12.	1	8—	30.
—	21	9—	77.
16.	12	13—	71.
17.	1, &c.	3—	22.
—	19	10—	26.
18.	16	10—	39.
21.	2	8—	8.
24.	3	8—	52.
30.	5, &c.	7—	43.
32.	9	9—	100.
—	10	7—	41.
35.	14	10—	52.
—	17	10—	94.

Lib.			Dial.	Note
I. Ode	35.	℣. 18, &c.	10	71.
	—	21	10	39.
	—	21	10	94.
	—	23	10	87.
II.	8.	15	7	32.
	13.	21	16	204.
	—	22	16	20.
	—	35	16	131.
	14.	8	9	32.
	16.	11	16	24.
	—	22	16	24.
	17.	5, &c.	3	22.
	19.	29	9	85.
III.	1.	40	16	24.
	3.	9	9	7.
	—	10, &c.	9	2.
	—	13	9	77.
	—	16	9	108.
	4.	2	8	46.
	—	59	6	38.
	—	61	6	79.
	11.	4	8	131.
	—	15, &c.	16	211.
	—	18	16	93.
	19.	17	7	44.
	21.	22	7	44.
	22.	4	8	101.
	24.	5, &c.	10	71.
	—	9	16	41.
	—	43	10	16.
	—	44	10	20.
	29.	53	10	88.
	30.	16	8	52.
IV.	3.	7	10	59.
	—	19	8	135.
	4.	3	21	9.
	—	44	13	8.
	5.	18	10	49.
	7.	12	12	71.
	12.	1	13	39.
	14.	25	14	90.
	—	44	14	75.
Epod.	2.	17	12	63.
	8.	3	12	57.
	15.	9	8	7.
	17.	41	11	116.
Carm. Sæc.		34	8	71.
		35	12	21.
		60	10	58.
Lib.				
I. Sat.	1.	19	6	26.
	—	36	13	34.
	—	69	16	186.
	—	71	16	180.
	2.	30	6	37.
	—	94	6	37.
	—	99	6	37.
	—	126	9	106.

Lib.			Dial.	Note
I. Sat.	3.	133	6	19.
	5.	40	3	20.
	—	63	14	37.
	6.	54	3	20.
	—	121	8	79.
	8.	1, &c.	15	64.
	9.	59	10	20.
	10.	44	3	2.
II.	3.	17	6	19.
	—	35	6	19.
	—	67	8	138.
	6.	101	12	90.
	7.	14	15	61.
I. Ep.	1.	30	9	10.
	2.	4	10	3.
	—	23	10	26.
	—	63	10	31.
	3.	17	8	74.
	—	25	9	99.
	7.	87	10	51.
	12.	29	10	58.
	18.	42	21	17.
	19.	4	9	98.
II.	1.	7, &c.	9	1.
	—	26	2	11.
	—	59	2	32.
	—	62	2	19.
	—	71	17	3.
	—	86	2	8.
	—	126	17	3.
	—	146	2	12.
	—	156	5	20.
	—	178	10	67.
	2.	187, &c.	10	79.
Ars Poet.		144	20	62.
		413	10	16.
Fast.		OVID.		
Lib. I.		℣. 2	11	2.
		37	9	110.
		95	12	119.
		114	12	127.
		125	12	118.
		141	8	102.
		199	5	5.
		229, &c.	12	125.
		234	12	8.
		281	10	57.
		286	14	86.
		614	14	104.
		645	15	21.
		652	11	67.
		711	10	53.
II.		28	6	19.
		72	12	35.
		79	11	23.
		81	11	42.
		155	8	93.

Fast. Dial. Note

Lib. II. ℣.155—15—59.
312—12—14.
312—12—109.
418—9—107.
455—11—67.
496—9—108.
501—9—109.
597—14—123.
607—6—26.
634—15—35.
856—12—10.
III. 43—12—59.
45—7—84.
108—11—8.
235—12—72.
363—10—33.
404—12—96.
500—9—86.
690—14—46.
729—9—77.
773—9—82.
789—9—88.
848—6—78.
IV. 1—7—19.
14—8—43.
127—15—57.
143—14—17.
162—11—56.
162—11—77.
196—8—43.
231—15—59.
371—12—39.
388—11—106.
424—8—106.
603—8—116.
712—12—102.
714—12—97.
895—12—66.
907, &c.—15—69.
944—12—99.
954—6—53.
V. 16—12—22.
37—16—169.
80—8—45.
104—8—130.
127—10—58.
160—12—99.
169—15—41.
209, &c.—15—54.
217—12—112.
323—10—51.
356, &c.—15—53.
413—11—96.
550—12—81.
VI. 91—10—53.
358—15—25.
375—9—110.
487—6—26.
652—6—57.
707—8—80.

Fast. Dial. Note

Lib. VI. ℣.752—9—102.
772—12—81.

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Lib. El. 1. ℣. 10—8—93.
I. 2. 31—10—11.
3. 11—9—98.
8. 50—12—59.
— 59—8—60.
9. 31—7—57.
— 40—7—66.
13. 2—12—101.
— 10—12—95.
14. 31, &c.—8—1.
— 34—14—17.
II. 6. 46—10—73.
III. 1. 1, &c.—10—29.
— 3—14—63.
3. 10—6—36.
6. 40—14—76.
— 44—14—60.
10. 3—8—106.
12. 22—15—50.

Ars Am.

Lib. ℣. 32—6—37.
I. 88—7—16.
213—8—12.
220—15—37.
226—15—31.
232—9—85.
II. 122—17—3.
310—6—70.
537—10—20.
540—10—62.
563—7—66.
614—7—11.
657—7—14.
670—12—57.
III. 62—12—58.
62—12—114.
65—12—114.
84—12—92.
141—8—60.
143—8—93.
180—12—96.
347—9—98.
348—9—85.
348—9—100.
388—12—45.
411—9—99.
452—7—16.
504—6—68.

Rem. Am.

℣. 39—7—30.
547—7—20.
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Heroïdes.

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— 159—12—28.
5. 28—6—29.

Heroïdes. Dial. Note

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8. 105 — 12 — 29.
9. 77, &c. — 9 — 76.
— 98 — 9 — 45.
11. 13 — 13 — 56.
— 14 — 13 — 7.
12. 79 — 8 — 101.
13. 33 — 9 — 85.
15. 23 — 8 — 1.
— 24 — 9 — 85.
— 165 — 8 — 63.
16. 64 — 8 — 119.
— 81 — 10 — 27.
17. 117, &c. — 10 — 27.
20. 41 — 10 — 20.
— 60 — 14 — 39.

Ibis.

ỳ. 201 — 12 — 70.

Consʃ. ad Liv.

ỳ. 121, &c. — 14 — 64.
164 — 10 — 73.
282 — 12 — 96.
361 — 16 — 40.

Metamorph. Dial. Note

Lib. I. ỳ. 14 — 14 — 14.
59 — 13 — 32.
72, &c. — 11 — 118.
108 — 13 — 18.
127 — 7 — 5.
166 — 6 — 27.
176 — 6 — 15.
184 — 16 — 169.
265 — 13 — 11.
270 — 13 — 79.
331 — 14 — 8.
333 — 14 — 21.
528 — 8 — 123.
564 — 8 — 7.
579 — 14 — 63.
671 — 8 — 117.
690 — 15 — 59.
II. 13 — 14 — 49.
23, &c. — 12 — 46.
25 — 12 — 80.
26 — 12 — 56.
26 — 12 — 115.
27 — 12 — 61.
28 — 12 — 62.
29 — 12 — 66.
30 — 12 — 72.
41 — 12 — 28.
50 — 8 — 10.
63 — 12 — 39.
83 — 11 — 56.
85 — 12 — 36.
119 — 12 — 113.
133 — 12 — 44.
143 — 12 — 90.
195, &c. — 11 — 56.
231 — 12 — 25.

Metamorph. Dial. Note

Lib. II. ỳ. 255 — 14 — 76.
272, &c. — 15 — 13.
325 — 6 — 11.
325 — 6 — 35.
752 — 6 — 60.
773 — 6 — 56.
848 — 6 — 11.
849 — 6 — 35.
III. 45 — 11 — 6.
180 — 8 — 96.
293 — 21 — 1.
421 — 8 — 9.
421 — 9 — 89.
607 — 9 — 84.
608 — 9 — 94.
IV. 17, &c. — 9 — 84.
20 — 9 — 77.
92 — 12 — 90.
188 — 7 — 64.
189 — 7 — 66.
193 — 8 — 10.
490 — 16 — 141.
494 — 16 — 137.
656, &c. — 15 — 39.
665 — 8 — 126.
719 — 8 — 126.
726 — 8 — 126.
V. 319 — 16 — 168.
325 — 16 — 171.
339 — 8 — 45.
506 — 16 — 206.
553 — 19 — 7.
VI. 74 — 6 — 2.
76 — 14 — 6.
118 — 8 — 106.
130 — 6 — 59.
175 — 15 — 41.
217 — 8 — 92.
231 — 8 — 90.
265 — 8 — 89.
293 — 8 — 88.
298 — 8 — 85.
487 — 12 — 40.
686 — 13 — 23.
705 — 13 — 24.
VII. 411, &c. — 9 — 35.
542 — 9 — 42.
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324 — 11 — 20.
341 — 11 — 25.
350 — 11 — 28.
361 — 11 — 78.
381 — 11 — 106.
386 — 11 — 111.
399 — 11 — 109.
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409 — 11 — 95.
424 — 11 — 100.
430 — 11 — 103.
II. 162 — 11 — 82.
163 — 11 — 83.
164 — 11 — 72.
199 — 11 — 76.
212 — 11 — 74.

Lib.		Dial.	Note
II.	℣. 232	11	65.
	258	11	53.
	259	11	78.
	440	11	82.
	492	11	69.
	529	11	54.
	661	11	82.
III.	257	11	65.
	332	11	53.
IV.	190	11	44.
	203	11	53.
	261	11	68.
	272	11	69.
	467	11	63.
	506	11	74.
	522	11	115.
	530	11	41.
	560	11	62.
	797	11	67.
V.	13	11	86.
	14	11	103.
	20	11	10.
	20	11	37.
	22	11	32.
	25	11	25.
	36	11	86.
	37	11	86.
	60	12	87.
	206	11	43.
	207	11	110.
	262, &c.	11	13.
	306, &c.	11	119.
	319	11	19.
	338	11	98.
	411	11	24.
	445	11	35.
	484	11	22.

Roman Poets; of the THIRD AGE.

Lib.	LUCAN.	Dial.	Note
I.	℣. 45, &c.	11	50.
	65	9	98.
	146, &c.	6	10.
	189	15	19.
	577	16	123.
	662	12	20.
II.	360	14	46.
	397	16	162.
III.	587, &c.	4	16.
	638	4	24.
IV.	57	11	75.
	652	9	44.
V.	561	4	6.
	629	4	8.
	642	4	11.
	649	4	12.
VI.	254	10	22.
	394	11	61.
	468	13	63.
VII.	133, &c.	4	13.
VIII.	686	10	97.
IX.	132	11	56.
	354	6	62.
	364	9	36.
	656	16	169.
	678	8	126.
	796	4	2.

	PERSIUS.		
Prol.	℣. 6	9	99.
Sat. 1.	78	4	12.
	117	3	25.
3.	76	10	21.
5.	31	15	35.
	82	10	50.
Sat. 5.	℣. 132, &c.	10	28.
	151	10	77.
6.	62	8	62.

	PETRONIUS.		
Bel. Civ.	℣. 115	8	65.
	250, &c.	10	38.
Fr. in the Corp. Poet.	566	13	32.

Lib.	SILIUS ITALICUS.		
2.	℣. 484	10	41.
3.	33	9	17.
	44, &c.	9	20.
	323	6	62.
	524	13	26.
4.	410	15	27.
8.	361	6	45.
10.	352	16	66.
	357	16	63.
12.	622, &c.	13	68.
	720, &c.	13	68.
13.	320	15	18.
	326, &c.	15	79.
	364	6	45.
	790	16	2.
	845	16	32.
14.	467	15	52.
	475	15	52.
15.	18, &c.	10	24.
	29	6	59.
	77, &c.	9	4.
	101, &c.	10	20.
	285	12	88.
16.	76	9	105.
	261	6	6.

Dial. Note

VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Argonaut.

Lib. 1. ℣. 16, &c. — 11 — 50.
78 — 10 — 67.
106 — 14 — 66.
116 — 6 — 80.
129, &c. — 11 — 87.
132 — 14 — 45.
154 — 9 — 12.
593, &c. — 13 — 57.
610 — 13 — 10.
652 — 13 — 52.
680 — 14 — 6.
2. 102, &c. — 7 — 61.
207 — 16 — 51.
208 — 7 — 62.
271 — 9 — 85.
492 — 8 — 1.
3. 47, &c. — 15 — 86.
56 — 15 — 82.
524 — 14 — 124.
4. 93, &c. — 12 — 31.
670 — 6 — 80.
5. 210 — 14 — 110.
413, &c. — 11 — 122.
414 — 12 — 29.
416 — 11 — 115.
6. 56 — 6 — 11.
56 — 6 — 36.
174 — 6 — 79.
457 — 7 — 18.
8. 29 — 12 — 23.
70 — 16 — 56.
186 — 14 — 66.

STATIUS.

Sylvæ.

Lib. 1. Syl. 1. ℣. 69 — 14 — 102.
— 217 — 12 — 68.
— 235 — 7 — 63.
2. 10 — 8 — 31.
— 44 — 16 — 87.
— 118 — 14 — 19.
— 249 — 9 — 99.
— 270 — 7 — 8.
3. 62 — 15 — 59.
— 73 — 14 — 97.
— 75 — 14 — 98.
4. 25 — 9 — 104.
— 101 — 9 — 102.
— 108 — 9 — 103.
5. 3 — 9 — 98.
— 4 — 8 — 135.
— 8 — 7 — 79.
— 18 — 14 — 123.
6. 4 — 12 — 5.
— 5 — 12 — 78.
— 62 — 10 — 22.
2. 1. 217 — 12 — 68.
6. 73, &c. — 16 — 49.
7. 34, &c. — 4 — 36.

Lib. Dial. Note

2. Syl. 7. ℣. 131 — 16 — 29.
3. 1. 18 — 12 — 77.
— 27 — 12 — 52.
— 39 — 9 — 61.
— 40 — 9 — 76.
— 48 — 9 — 15.
— 132 — 7 — 79.
— 135 — 12 — 59.
2. 15 — 11 — 119.
— 34 — 14 — 48.
3. 7 — 10 — 36.
— 62 — 9 — 85.
4. 25 — 9 — 104.
— 29 — 7 — 18.
— 83 — 7 — 51.
4. 1. 16 — 12 — 128.
3. 67 — 14 — 100.
5. 5 — 12 — 70.
— 6 — 12 — 73.
6. 31 — 7 — 57.
— 40 — 9 — 17.
— 57 — 9 — 71.
— 58 — 9 — 71.
5. 1. 156 — 16 — 44.
— 235 — 7 — 63.
2. 26 — 9 — 42.
— 124 — 9 — 42.
— 129 — 9 — 105.
3. 6 — 9 — 98.
— 7, &c. — 9 — 99.
— 115 — 9 — 99.
— 291 — 14 — 107.
4. 10 — 12 — 98.
— 19 — 16 — 63.
5. 4 — 8 — 135.

Thebais.

Lib. 1. ℣. 24, &c. — 11 — 50.
28 — 12 — 28.
91 — 16 — 136.
111 — 16 — 140.
203 — 6 — 23.
338 — 12 — 22.
351 — 13 — 12.
352 — 13 — 33.
485 — 9 — 16.
487 — 9 — 12.
631 — 8 — 92.
633 — 16 — 36.
662 — 10 — 89.
2. 45 — 7 — 2.
47 — 14 — 12.
49 — 16 — 198.
136 — 12 — 96.
208 — 13 — 82.
218 — 14 — 111.
236 — 6 — 56.
238 — 6 — 57.
528 — 12 — 88.
716 — 6 — 56.
3. 2 — 12 — 90.

Lib.		Dial.	Note
3.	33	12	90.
	414	12	33.
	426, &c.	13	87.
4.	186	8	80.
	828	9	17.
	832	14	61.
5.	61, &c.	7	61.
	395	6	35.
	437, &c.	9	115.
	530	11	5.
6.	26	12	93.
	27	12	106.
	240	12	15.
	271	9	17.
	272	9	18.
	274	14	111.
	573	7	6.
	896	9	47.
7.	37	13	29.
	51	10	22.
	151	9	85.
	466	16	146.
	565	9	78.
8.	24	16	29.
	27	16	90.
	273	12	43.
	274	11	119.
	511	9	46.
	519	6	73.
	551	8	50.
9.	436	9	85.
	482	14	116.
	822	7	54.
10.	69	6	80.
	82	13	81.
	89, &c.	16	72.
	101, &c.	16	68.
	107	16	58.
	111	16	61.
	119	13	81.
	499	9	42.
	641, &c.	10	22.
	644	10	22.
11.	495	10	35.
	571	16	88.
12.	272	16	201.
	307	16	62.
	492	10	47.
	583, &c.	9	46.
	606, &c.	6	72.

Achilleis.

Lib.		Dial.	Note
1.	℣. 60	14	11.
	344, &c.	8	103.
	488	15	8.
2.	15	12	40.
	16	14	58.
	67, &c.	4	32.
	152	6	58.
	164	8	10.
2.	℣. 165	8	1.
	239	12	30.

TRAGOEDIÆ LATINÆ.

Medea.

Act. 1.	℣. 63	10	56.
	83, &c.	8	1.
5.	954	8	91.

Hippolytus.

Act. 1.	Ch. 274	7	19.
2.	751	9	81.
	755, &c.	8	1.

Oedipus.

Act. 2.	Ch. 408	9	84.
	508	9	83.
3. Sc. 1.	611	21	16.

Agamemnon.

Act. 3. Sc. 1.	528	6	80.
	Ch. 731	16	87.
	762	16	128.

Hercules Furens.

Act. 1.	Ch. 180	12	59.
2. Sc. 1.	216, &c.	9	20.
	219	9	15.
	225	9	17.
	248	9	29.
3.	2. 723	16	197.
	Ch. 844	11	55.

Hercules Oëtæus.

Act. 4. Sc. 2.	1293	9	24.
	Ch. 1518	12	28.

Octavia.

Act. 1. Sc. 3.	173	8	1.
2.	2. 560	7	32.

MARTIAL.

Lib.				
1.	Ep. 36. ℣. 2	17	3.
	77. 7	9	99.
2.	64. 8	8	79.
3.	58. 7	12	76.
4.	45. 8	8	9.
	45. 8	9	89.
	54. 5	10	72.
6.	29. 6	8	11.
7.	1. 1, &c.	6	77.
	73. 2	8	120.
	94. 1	12	76.
8.	8. 2	12	130.
	40. 1, &c.	15	63.
	41. 2	12	76.
9.	20. 1	4	34.
	102. 3, &c.	9	20.
	102. 5	9	34.
	102. 6	9	26.
	104. 5	9	34.

Lib.		Dial.	Note
14.	Ep. 48. ℣. 1, &c.	9	42.
	107. 2	9	91.
	177. 1	9	15.
	179. 1, &c.	6	78.

JUVENAL.

Sat.		Dial.	Note
2.	℣. 98	10	76.
3.	20	15	57.
	86, &c.	9	48.
	144, &c.	6	80.
	186	8	5.
4.	103	6	19.
	149	8	115.
5.	101	13	16.
	125	9	52.
6.	15	10	44.
	172	8	83.
	392	12	121.
	604	10	92.
7.	29	9	99.
	64	9	98.
	67, &c.	3	16.
	82, &c.	4	33.
8.	℣. 152, &c.	17	3.
	1, &c.	8	143.
	54	8	148.
	88	10	31.
	107	5	32.
9.	2	8	79.
10.	124	2	50.
	180, &c.	13	57.
	333	14	46.
	335	14	46.
	356, &c.	10	69.
	360, &c.	10	23.
	365	10	69.
	366	10	80.
11.	107	7	68.
12.	4	6	62.
13.	20	10	1.
	38	12	8.
	78	12	28.
	81	7	2.
	81	14	1.
15.	110, &c.	17	4.
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THE

GENERAL INDEX.

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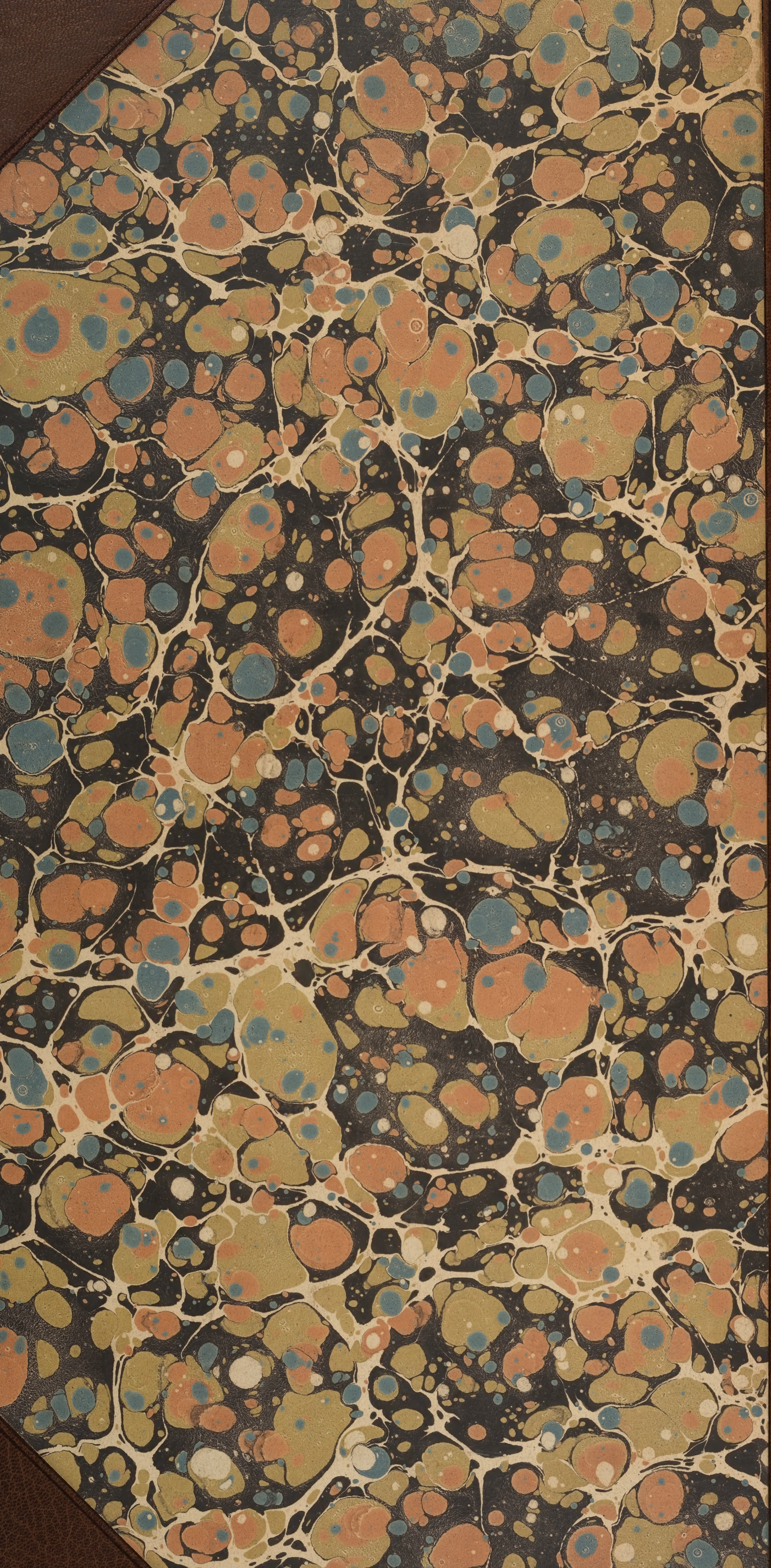
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